

LESLIE THREATTE

THE GRAMMAR
OF ATTIC INSCRIPTIONS

I



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OF ATTIC INSCRIPTIONS

Volume One

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**TO THE MEMORY
OF MY FATHER**

PREFACE

Konrad Meisterhans published the first edition of his *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften* in 1885. This was the first comprehensive reference grammar based on Attic inscriptions, and it provided the foundation for the study of the language of these important sources for the history of the Attic dialect. A revised and expanded second edition appeared in 1888. In compiling these volumes Meisterhans used the recently issued volumes of the first edition of the *Inscriptiones graecae* (IG I–III, 1873–), although some fascicles had not appeared even by the time of his second edition.¹ Eduard Schwyzler, who two years before had been awarded first prize in a competition organized by the University of Zürich for his *Grammatik der pergamenischen Inschriften* (issued under the name Schweizer, which he was using in his earlier years), published his greatly expanded third edition of the grammar of Meisterhans in 1900. This volume has remained the standard work of reference. In making his revisions Schwyzler was able to use all the fascicles and supplements to IG I–III except some of the indices. He also sought new texts in recent issues of periodicals, chiefly the *Athenische Mitteilungen*, *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, *Athenaion*, and *Archaiologike Ephemeris*. The last two were both being published in Greece. Although Schwyzler's own description of his revision as "meine in kurzer Zeit durchgeführte und fast nur die neu erschienenen Texte berücksichtigende Bearbeitung"² is certainly unduly modest, he was unable to do more than make extensive additions to the earlier work, which he had to leave essentially unchanged. Most of his additions were new examples, but he also greatly increased the usefulness of the book by placing greater emphasis on explaining orthographical phenomena from a philological standpoint. He also gave the work a more comprehensive character by systematically including evidence from the defixiones just published by Wünsch in IG III. 3 and from the dipinti on Attic black- and red-figure vases published in P. Kretschmer's *Die griechischen Vaseninschriften ihrer Sprache nach untersucht*.³ A few dipinti had also been mentioned by Meisterhans.

The dissertation of W. Lademann, *De titulis atticis quaestiones orthographicae et grammaticae*,⁴ published in 1915 and justifiably praised by Schwyzler,⁵ made the next major contribution to the grammatical study of Attic inscriptions. Lademann was able to use the first fascicle of IG II², part one (nos. 1–831, state decrees) and most of

¹ Notably the third fascicle of the supplements to IG I (IG I, suppl. pp. 133–206, appeared 1891); the supplements to IG II (IG II.5, appeared 1895); the indices to IG II (1893) and to the supplements to IG I (1903); the volume of R. Wünsch containing the defixiones (IG III.3, 1897).

² *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift* 36 (1916) col. 1371.

³ Published at Gütersloh, 1894.

⁴ Kirchhaini, 1915.

⁵ Cf. note 2 supra.

the second fascicle (nos. 832 ff., state and other decrees).⁶ Lademann's work is actually an appendix to the Meisterhans-Schwyzler grammar, treating a selected number of problems, many of them phonological, and concentrating on texts of the Hellenistic Period. A more recent series of such appendices, apparently independent of Lademann, but including the evidence of the numerous new texts published in the last sixty years, has been published by A. S. Henry in the *Classical Quarterly*;⁷ these are also limited almost exclusively to texts of the Hellenistic Period.⁸

Appendices limited to particular periods have naturally not replaced the grammar of Meisterhans and Schwyzler as the standard work of reference, although the discovery of large numbers of new Attic inscriptions since 1900 has made it a quite unreliable reference work today. By 1968 the American excavations (begun in 1931) in the Athenian Agora alone had already unearthed more than 7,000 new inscriptions. This site has yielded the largest number of texts, but large numbers have also been found in the Roman Agora, the Ceramicus, on the slopes of the Acropolis, and in many districts outside the city such as Brauron, Rhamnus, etc. Furthermore, the texts known to the nineteenth century have often been augmented by one or more new fragments, and even when they have not, many texts have been corrected and more accurately interpreted by scholars. The dates of many documents have also been changed or accurately fixed for the first time. All this new evidence has in fact made the grammar of Meisterhans and Schwyzler inaccurate in so many details that its complete revision has long been a desideratum for epigraphers and for philologists interested in Attic writing.

The debt owed to Meisterhans, Lademann, and especially Schwyzler will often be apparent in these pages. The volume of new evidence, however, has become so large that more than appendices to their work was needed. I have tried to base the present grammar on a comprehensive reexamination of all the evidence available. This plan has not been easy to execute: the sources of inscriptions today are a great deal more numerous and diverse than they were in the late nineteenth century, when virtually all the texts could be found in the *Inscriptiones graecae* and a few issues of some five periodicals. It was also clear almost from the beginning that a great many of the readings, especially those on stone inscriptions, would have to be verified by inspection of the monuments themselves. In section two of the Introduction (pp. 10 ff. infra)

⁶ At least he cites some texts in this fascicle by *IG* II² numbers, but others according to *IG* II or *IG* III numbers or periodicals; the *IG* II² numbers are not necessarily from the earlier part of the fascicle.

⁷ *CQ* n. s. 14 (1964) pp. 240 ff.; 16 (1966) pp. 291–297; 17 (1967) pp. 258–295 (Phonology); 19 (1969) pp. 289–305 (Morphology).

⁸ Sven-Tage Teodorsson's *The Phonemic System of the Attic Dialect 400–340 B. C.* (*Studia graeca et latina Gothoburgensia* 32, Lund 1974) appeared too late to be taken into consideration in this book, although I have been able to add a few references to it. His copious lists of examples usually include data from the Archaic Period and the fifth century as well as the Hellenistic Period. In general I do not believe that the methodological practices he employs are all correct, nor do I find convincing much of his interpretation of the data, especially when he assumes very early dates for certain sound changes.

there is a survey of the various printed sources of texts of inscriptions and a discussion of the criteria used in selecting readings for verification.

Following the precedent of Meisterhans and especially Schwyzler I have attempted to give explanations for most orthographical deviations. Although the explanation of many phenomena is apparent, there are many other cases which are controversial. Thus it is often difficult to decide whether a spelling anomaly is due to some purely mechanical cause, i.e. a *graphic mistake* such as a simple copying error or accidental omission, or whether there is in fact some phonological basis for it. Again, if phonological causes can reasonably be assumed, their precise nature may be disputable, or the implications of certain spellings as evidence for the pronunciation of contemporary Attic may be highly debatable. In some cases it seemed to me that no decision was possible, and I have listed two or more possible explanations. Doubtless some of my interpretations will not be accepted by all, but I did not feel that this grammar would be as useful if it were merely a descriptive collection of data, especially as the decision where to place many spellings was only possible after some interpretation had been given to them. In some cases, there was so much doubt that a spelling had to be treated under more than one category. The usefulness of the assembled data will not, I think, be vitiated by these grammatical explanations, whether my own or those of other scholars. Where such explanations have been made generations ago, I have not often repeated older bibliography unless still useful, but have preferred to refer the reader to some recent statement of the explanation, which will usually serve as a source of earlier bibliography on the problem. The bibliographies given in the individual sections are also not intended in any sense to be exhaustive: they merely refer the reader to the appropriate section of the grammar of Meisterhans and Schwyzler or other grammars (where older bibliographical references will normally be found, repeated by me only when indispensable) and to recent articles treating the phenomenon in question when they seemed particularly useful.

The transliteration of Greek names into English is continually a difficulty. In most cases I have simply transliterated without Anglicizing the name, e.g. Kleombrotos, Kadmos, etc. But the striving for rigid consistency produces many forms which seem peculiar, and I see no reason why I should not write Macedonia, Sunium, rather than Makedonia, Sounion, since I do not call these places [ma-ke-do-ni-a], [su-ni-on]. I have accordingly kept the traditional forms for many well known toponyms, e.g. Attica, Acropolis, Sunium, Rhamnus, Ceramicus, Delphi, etc., and personal names, e.g. Achilles, Pericles, Socrates, etc. In the names of the vase-painters I have simply copied Beazley's spelling of the name.

Of the many who have provided help to me in the preparation of this book the greatest thanks go to Sterling Dow. It was he who first suggested this project to me, and for a decade he has consistently and constantly given his support in the form of encouragement, assistance in obtaining funds for research and publication, in suggestions and comments on the content of the work, and in many other ways. I would also like to thank especially Eugene Vanderpool for many helpful suggestions and an unflagging interest in this project. These two scholars have saved me from many

errors and wrong decisions. To Kevin Clinton I express the warmest thanks for much help and advice; through his help it was possible to verify the readings of almost all the texts at Eleusis, and the designation (L.) by an inscription at Eleusis normally means the verification of the reading was made by him. Ronald Stroud has tirelessly provided encouragement and advice, and was always willing to write yet another letter to further this project; I express my deepest gratitude to him here. I would like also to thank warmly Volkmar Schmidt, who read the proofs through the end of section 14 (p. 267), and both supplied helpful references and suggested many corrections. Others who have helped me with specific problems include John Traill, James Oliver, John Lynch, John Kroll, Terrence Boring, Robert Rodgers, Barbara Saylor, Stella Grobel Miller, Stephen Miller, John More, David Jordan, Evie Bell, Andrea Shankman, and for help with the proofreading, Dennis Anderson and Victor and Cara Hanson.

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Gainesville, Florida, December 20, 1977

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NOTES ON CITATIONS OF INSCRIPTIONS

The now standard Leiden system of editorial signs is used throughout, and citations of earlier published texts using different systems have been revised accordingly. Thus:

- [] enclose text now lost, but which can be restored with reasonable certainty.
- () enclose letters completing words intentionally abbreviated or shortened by the writer.
- < > enclose text which is believed to have been intended by the writer; letters may have been accidentally omitted by him; left incomplete (i.e. Λ for A); or others may have been wrongly carved in their place (i.e. Δ for Λ).
- { } enclose text which is superfluous and was unintentionally added by the writer.
- [[]] indicate text deliberately erased in antiquity.
- α A dot under a letter means that traces on the stone are not incompatible with it, but that other letters are also epigraphically possible (e.g. / could be Λ , Δ , or A) if the traces are considered by themselves without reference to the context.
- ... Dots represent lost or illegible letters equal in number to the number of dots.
- Hyphens represent an uncertain number of lost letters.
- υ = a letter-space left blank.
- vacat* = part of a line left blank.
- | indicates the beginning of a new line on the monument, printed only where significant for the lemma, e.g. $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota$ | $\omega\varsigma$, where the extra iota might be due to beginning the new line, and | is therefore printed.

$\eta\iota$ means HI on the stone; η indicates only H on the stone.

In general, quotations from inscriptions are given in lower-case letters with accents, breathings, etc., as in *IG II²*. Texts in pre-403 script are given as in *IG I²*; when ambiguity is possible, spellings in Ionic script may follow the Attic script in parenthesis.

The use of individual capital letters indicates the actual letters on the stone or other writing material. Thus “EI for E” means the actual carving of the letters EI in place of an E. This device is sometimes necessary to avoid confusion. Thus “ei for e” would imply the use of diphthong or long vowel in place of a short vowel. But the “confusion of η and ι ” simply indicates use of eta in place of iota (either short or long) and of iota in place of eta.

Sequences of letters and sections of text are normally given in capital letters only when the letters cannot be interpreted unambiguously (i.e. they are not recognizable as a part of a word, or they could be interpreted in more than one way) or when there is some reason making it necessary to show the reader more accurately the appearance of the text. In such cases the letters indicate the principal features of the letters of the text, e.g. whether sigma is Σ or ς , Λ or λ for lambda, etc.; but minor features of no interest for the grammar or for the restoration if the text is fragmentary are not necessarily rendered (i.e. tails on rho, projection of a letter above or below the line, etc.).

Phonetic equivalents are given in square brackets (cf. *infra*, p. XXVIII).

References to the various corpora of Greek inscriptions are to *volume* and *number*, the volume indicated by a Roman numeral, the number by an Arabic. Superscript numbers with volumes always indicate editions; fascicles are indicated by numerals on the line:

IG XII.3 = Volume 12, fascicle 3

IG IV² = Volume 4, edition 2

The reference to the line follows the number of the text and is separated from it by a point on the line:

IG III.3 no. 102 a.2 = line 2 of no. 102 a in IG III, fascicle 3

In order to simplify the numerous references to the second edition of the Attic corpus, the letters IG, the *fascicle* no., and *no.* before the number of the text are generally omitted, and IG II² and IG I² are cited as II², I²:

II² 1672.3 = line 3 of no. 1672 in IG II² (in fascicle 1 of part 2)

I² 38.10 = line 10 of no. 38 in IG I²

Note: Avoided is the less correct designation of IG II² as IG II²/III².

For a *particular lemma*, the following citations mean:

Ἀμύντας II² 1006, col. 2.108 = Ἀμύντας occurs in line 108 of column 2

Αλνῆου II² 2461.54, 55 = Αλνῆου occurs in line 54 and again in line 55

τῆι II² 112.8 (bis) = τῆι occurs twice in line 8

τῆι II² 1.5, 8, etc.; or II² 1.5, 8, *al.* = τῆι occurs in lines 5, 8, and elsewhere

θεραπῆας II² 1329.8–9 = θεραπῆας begins in line 8 and is completed in line 9

Where a given lemma is followed by several texts, the lemma will only be given for each text when the reading is partly restored or in some other way abnormal, cf. ἐρηφορήσασα(ν) in 6.014.

Citations from *SEG* are to volume, number, and line, e.g. *SEG* 10.138.5 = line 5 of no. 138 in volume 10. References to *SEG* are given only when they lead to useful bibliography or definitive texts, or when texts are published in publications not much used by epigraphers (cf. p. 11 *infra*). Usually it is more useful to give the reference to the actual publication of a text rather than to *SEG*, as the reader can often find a photograph in the former. For *Hesperia* there is an excellent set of concordances to *SEG* by A. S. Henry, cf. *Hesperia* 36 (1967) pp. 196–224; 37 (1968) pp. 399–425; 38 (1969) pp. 522–529. References to tribute texts are given as in IG I² with the *ATL* 2 references added purely for convenience (e.g. they lead to photographs, bibliography, etc.).

Wherever possible ambiguity whether a numeral refers to a 'page' or 'number' has been avoided, and except in citations from *SEG* and IG I²–II² as just explained, the use of 'p.' (= 'page') and 'no.' (= 'number') should make all references sufficiently clear. The cumbersome '*ibid.*', '*op. cit.*', etc. used in *SEG* have been avoided in favor of repeated abbreviations, easier to read and easier to identify. The use of '*ib.*' is confined to citations from a single text, e.g.

βαρβίλλα II² 3169/70.25, Ἀττάλλα *ib.* 31 = βαρβίλλα occurs in line 25, Ἀττάλλα in line 31, of II² 3169/70

The confusing system of references to *CIA* (= *Corpus inscriptionum Atticarum*) used by MS³ and others has been avoided in this book. The following table of equivalents may prove helpful:

System in this book:	=	<i>CIA</i> system in MS ³ :
<i>IG</i> I		<i>CIA</i> I
<i>IG</i> I suppl.		<i>CIA</i> IV.1
<i>IG</i> II		<i>CIA</i> II
<i>IG</i> II.5		<i>CIA</i> IV.2
<i>IG</i> III		<i>CIA</i> III
<i>IG</i> III.3		<i>CIA</i> III.3 (defixiones)

Lademann has a peculiar practice of using 'e.' to indicate the second edition of the *IG*: thus his 'e. 38.10' = *IG* II² 38.10.

The symbol (L.) (= 'lapis') always indicates confirmation of the reading(s) through examination of the stone or squeeze(s) or both. Unless otherwise indicated, this symbol refers to all the lemmata cited from a given text at a given point.

Dates: A system of Latin abbreviations similar to that employed by Kirchner in *IG* II² has been employed; *all dates may be assumed to be B. C. unless otherwise indicated.*

s. Ia.	=	First century B. C.
s. IIp.	=	Second century A. D.
382/1	=	During the (Julian) year ca. July 382–ca. June 381
360–350	=	During the decade 360–350 B. C.
init. s. IIp.	=	Early in the second century A. D.
fin. s. IIa.	=	Late in the second century B. C.
s. III/IIa.	=	Sometime in the course of the period 300–100 B. C.
fin. s. Ia./init. s. Ip.	=	Sometime in the period of the late first century B. C. and the early first century A. D.
ante 38/7	=	Before the year 38/7 B. C.
post 128/9p.	=	After the year 128/9 A. D.

Throughout this book the following major periods are to be interpreted as follows:

Archaic Period	=	ca. 725–ca. 479 B. C.
Classical Period	=	ca. 479–ca. 323 B. C.
Hellenistic Period	=	ca. 323–ca. 31 B. C.
Roman Period	=	ca. 31 B. C.–ca. 300 A. D.

Type of Text: The following abbreviations indicate the various types of texts cited:

decree	=	state decree, decree of the βουλή and δῆμος. other types of decrees are indicated, e. g. decree (deme).
ded.	=	dedication (cf. Introduction pp. 3–4, and for the designation 'priv.' p. 5).
cat.	=	catalog
cas. list.	=	casualty list
sep. mon.	=	sepulchral monument, gravestone
inv.	=	inventory, accounts, records
loc.	=	locatio (mortgage or rental agreement)
horos	=	boundary stone

pryt. cat.	=	prytany catalog
eph. cat.	=	ephebic catalog
doc.	=	document
publ.	=	public (cf. Introduction p. 2, pp. 3 ff.)
priv.	=	private (cf. Introduction p. 2, pp. 4 ff.)

Phonetic equivalents are printed in Roman type and enclosed in square brackets.

The system employed is essentially that of the International Phonetic Alphabet.

A dot after a letter indicates *vowel length*, e. g. [aː] = ā.

Before Roman times vowels in square brackets may be assumed to be short, i. e. [e] = ě, although [ē] may sometimes appear to prevent confusion. But after the period of vowel isochrony (cf. 25.00, p. 385 infra) a vowel in square brackets indicates a vowel without indication of length, i. e. [i] indicates the single i-vowel (originally ĭ or ĭ̄).

The different ē- and ō-vowels and diphthongs are indicated as follows:

[ɛː]	=	η, ē as in μήτηρ
[eː]	=	αι, ē as in εἶναι
[ɔː]	=	ω, ō as in ἄγω
[oː]	=	ου, ō as in τὸ (later = [uː] τοῦ)
[eʲ]	=	diphthong as in λείπω in the earliest period
[ɛʲ]	=	ηι, diphthong consisting of [ɛː] and [ʲ], as originally in τῆι
[eʷ]	=	ευ
[aːʷ]	=	ἄντοῦ, etc.

Aspiration is indicated by an apostrophe: [pʰ] = φ

The so-called 'voiced aspirates' are also indicated by an apostrophe: [bʰ]

[j] = a sound similar to English 'y' in 'yes'; [y] = French 'u' of 'lune', German ü

A dot under a stop indicates that it is lenis, as opposed to fortis; thus [p̣] indicates a lenis voiceless labial stop similar to the 'b' in English 'lobster'. The precise nature of the differences between fortis (sometimes called 'tense') and lenis (sometimes called 'lax') consonants is subject to some dispute; it is usually explained as a matter of the amount of energy expended in the release of the stop (cf. Heffner, *Phonetics* p. 120). Some phenomena of Greek orthography can be explained in the view of some scholars by resorting to the theory of lenis and fortis stops (cf. Lejeune, *Phonétique* p. 54 [= *Traité* p. 45], where the terms are 'fortes' and 'douces').

Note also: √__C	=	the vowel iota in the environment before a consonant
√__V	=	the vowel iota in the environment before a vowel
ε/C__CC	=	the vowel epsilon in the environment after a consonant + ι and before two consonants, e. g. -πιΕντ-
ε(← ει)	=	an ε which has developed from an earlier ει
CιVC→CVC	=	the sequence consonant + iota + vowel + consonant develops to consonant vowel consonant, i. e. -σιας changes to -σας.

All phonetic transcriptions are of course only very approximate.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cf. also Dates and Type of Text on pp. XXVII–XXVIII supra.

C, V = consonant, vowel (cf. p. XXVIII supra).

(L.) = reading confirmed on stone or squeeze (cf. p. 12 infra).

MS³ = K. Meisterhans, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*, revised by E. Schwyzler, Berlin, 1900.

Lademann = *De titulis atticis quaestiones orthographicae et grammaticae*, Kirchhain, 1915.

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
AAA	Ἀρχαιολογικά Ἀνάλεκτα ἔξ Ἀθηνῶν (<i>Athens Annals of Archaeology</i>)
AAG ²	G. M. A. Richter, <i>Archaic Attic Gravestones</i> , London, 1961
ABV	J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic Black-Figure Vase Painters</i> , Oxford, 1956
acc.	accusative
add.	addenda
AE	Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς
AFD	B. D. Meritt, <i>Athenian Financial Documents</i> , Ann Arbor, 1932
Agora 3	R. E. Wycherley, <i>The Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia</i> (vol. 3 of <i>The Athenian Agora: Results of Excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens</i>), Princeton, 1957
Agora 15	B. D. Meritt, J. S. Traill, <i>Inscriptions, The Athenian Councillors</i> (vol. 15 of the same series), Princeton, 1974
Agora 17	D. W. Bradeen, <i>Inscriptions, The Funerary Monuments</i> (vol. 17 of the same series), Princeton, 1974
Agora 21	M. Lang, <i>Graffiti and Dipinti</i> (vol. 21 of the same series), Princeton, 1976
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AJP	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
al.	occurring elsewhere in the same text (cf. p. XXVI supra)
Allen	F. D. Allen, <i>On Greek Versification in Inscriptions</i> (Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens 4 [1885–1886] pp. 30–204)
Allen, <i>Vox Graeca</i>	W. S. Allen, <i>Vox Graeca</i> , Cambridge, 1968
AM	<i>Athenische Mitteilungen</i>
Annuario	<i>Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni italiane in Oriente</i>
Arvanitopoulos, <i>Epigraphike</i>	A. S. Arvanitopoulos, Ἐπιγραφική, Athens, 1937
ARV ²	J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic Red-Figure Vase Painters</i> , Oxford, 1963

ATL	B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery, M. F. McGregor, <i>Athenian Tribute Lists</i> 1–4, Cambridge, Mass., 1939–1953
Attische Urkunden (= SB Vienna)	A. Wilhelm, <i>Attische Urkunden</i> 1–5 (= <i>Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien: philos.-historische Klasse</i>), 1911–42
Austin	R. P. Austin, <i>The Stoichedon Style in Greek Inscriptions</i> , Oxford, 1938
Avi-Yonah, Abbreviations	M. Avi-Yonah, <i>Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions (The Near East, 200 B. C.–A. D. 1100)</i> (= supplement to volume 9 [1939] of <i>The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine</i>)
BCH	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
Bechtel, Personennamen	F. Bechtel, <i>Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit</i> , Halle, 1917
bf.	Attic black figure
BMFA	<i>Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston</i>
BMMA	<i>Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art</i>
Bondesson	B. Bondesson, <i>De sonis et formis titulorum Milesiorum Didymaeorumque</i> , Lund, 1936
v. Bothmer, Amazons	D. von Bothmer, <i>Amazons in Greek Art</i> , Oxford, 1957
Bradeen-McGregor	D. W. Bradeen, M. F. McGregor, <i>Studies in Fifth-Century Attic Epigraphy</i> , Norman, Oklahoma, 1973
BSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
Buck, GD ²	C. D. Buck, <i>The Greek Dialects</i> , Chicago, 1955
C	Consonant (cf. p. XXVIII supra)
CAH	The Cambridge Ancient History, Cambridge, 1923–
Caskey-Beazley	L. D. Caskey, J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic Vase Painters in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston</i> , 1 (1931), 2 (1954), 3 (1963)
Charisterion Orlandou A	Χαριστήριον εἰς Ἀναστάσιον Κ. Ὁρλάνδον, Τόμος Α, Athens, 1965
CHA	W. K. Pritchett, B. D. Meritt, <i>The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens</i> , Cambridge, Mass., 1940
CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> 1–4, Berlin, 1828–1877
Clinton, Sacred Officials	K. Clinton, <i>The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries</i> (= <i>Transactions of the American Philosophical Society</i> vol. 64), Philadelphia, 1974
col.	column
Conze	A. Conze, <i>Die Attischen Grabreliefs</i> , Berlin 1893–1922
CP	<i>Classical Philology</i>
CQ	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
CR	<i>Classical Review</i>
CSCA	<i>California Studies in Classical Antiquity</i>
CVA	<i>Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum</i>
DAA	A. E. Raubitschek, <i>Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis</i> , Cambridge, Mass., 1949
dat.	dativo
Davies, APF	J. K. Davies, <i>Athenian Propertied Families, 600–300 B. C.</i> , Oxford, 1971

DEG	P. Chantraine, <i>Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque</i> 1–4.1 (A–Y), Paris, 1968–1977
A. Debrunner-	A. Debrunner, <i>Geschichte der griechischen Sprache</i> 2, <i>Grundfragen und Grundzüge des nachklassischen Griechisch</i> , Berlin, 1969
Deltion	Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον
DGE	E. Schwyzer, <i>Dialectorum graecarum exempla epigraphica potiora</i> , Leipzig, 1923
Dinsmoor, Archons (1931)	W.B. Dinsmoor, <i>The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age</i> , Cambridge, Mass., 1931
Dinsmoor, Archon List (1939)	W.B. Dinsmoor, <i>The Athenian Archon List in the Light of Recent Discoveries</i> , New York, 1939
Dover, Hist. Comm. Thuc. 4	K. J. Dover, <i>Historical Commentary on Thucydides</i> 4, Oxford, 1970
Eleusiniaka	K. Kourouniotes, <i>Eleusiniaka</i> 1, Athens, 1932
Eckinger	T. Eckinger, <i>Die Orthographie lateinischer Wörter in griechischen Inschriften</i> , Munich, 1892
Ergon	Τὸ Ἔργον τῆς ἐν Ἀθῆναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας
FD	<i>Fouilles de Delphes</i> , Paris, 1909–
FH	P. Friedländer, H. Hoffleit, <i>Epigrammata: Greek Inscriptions in Verse, From the Beginnings to the Persian Wars</i> , Berkeley, 1948
fr.	fragment
FR	A. Furtwängler, K. Reichhold, <i>Griechische Vasenmalerei</i> , Berlin, 1904–1932
Furtwängler, Beschreibung	A. Furtwängler, <i>Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium</i> , Berlin, 1885
Furnée	E. J. Furnée, <i>Die wichtigsten konsonantischen Erscheinungen des Vorgriechischen</i> (= <i>Janua Linguarum, Series practica</i> no. 150), The Hague, 1972
GDI	H. Collitz, F. Bechtel, <i>Sammlung der griechischen Dialektinschriften</i> , Göttingen, 1884–1915
gen.	genitive
Geschichte gr. Religion ³	M. P. Nilsson, <i>Geschichte der griechischen Religion</i> 1 (= <i>Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft</i> 5.2.1), Munich, 1967
GEW	H. Frisk, <i>Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch</i> , Heidelberg, 1960–1972
GGA	<i>Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen</i>
GGN	<i>Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen: philologisch-historische Klasse</i>
Gignac	F. T. Gignac, <i>A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods</i> , vol. 1: <i>Phonology</i> (<i>Testi e Documenti per lo Studio dell'Antichità</i> no. 55), Milan, 1976
GM	F. Maier, <i>Griechische Mauerbauinschriften</i> 1, Heidelberg, 1959
Graef-Langlotz	G. Graef, E. Langlotz, <i>Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen</i> , Berlin, 1925–1933
Graindor, Album	P. Graindor, <i>Album d'inscriptions attiques d'époque impériale</i> , Paris, 1924

<i>Gramm. gr.</i>	<i>Grammatici graeci</i> 1–4, Leipzig, 1867–1901
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>
Guarducci, EG	M. Guarducci, <i>Epigrafia greca</i> 1 (1967), 2 (1969), 3 (1974), Rome
Güntert, <i>Reimwortbildung</i>	H. Güntert, <i>Über Reimwortbildungen im Arischen und Altgriechischen</i> , Heidelberg, 1914
GVI	W. Peck, <i>Griechische Vers-Inschriften</i> 1, Berlin, 1955
Haspels, ABL	C. H. E. Haspels, <i>Attic Black-Figured Lekythoi</i> , Paris, 1936
HBf	J. C. Hoppin, <i>Handbook of Black-Figured Vases</i> , Paris, 1924
Heffner, <i>Phonetics</i>	R.-M. S. Heffner, <i>General Phonetics</i> , Madison, Wisconsin, 1964
Hermann, <i>Silbenbildung</i>	E. Hermann, <i>Silbenbildung im Griechischen und in den andern indogermanischen Sprachen</i> , Göttingen, 1923
Hicks, BMI	E. Hicks, <i>The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum I, Attika</i> , London, 1874
HN ²	B. V. Head, <i>Historia nummorum</i> , Oxford, 1911
HRF	J. C. Hoppin, <i>Handbook of Attic Red-Figured Vases</i> , Cambridge, Mass., 1919
HSCP	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
IC	<i>Inscriptiones Creticae</i>
ID	<i>Inscriptions de Délos</i>
IF	<i>Indogermanische Forschungen</i>
IG	<i>Inscriptiones graecae</i>
IGAA	L. H. Jeffery, <i>Inscribed Gravestones of Archaic Attica</i> (= <i>BSA</i> 57 [1962] pp. 115–153)
<i>Imagines</i> ²	J. Kirchner, G. Klaffenbach, <i>Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum</i> , Berlin, 1948
Immerwahr, <i>Book Rolls</i>	H. R. Immerwahr, <i>Book Rolls on Attic Vases</i> (= <i>Studies for B. L. Ullmann</i> 1, pp. 17–48), <i>Storia e letteratura</i> , Raccolta 93 (Rome, 1964)
Immerwahr, <i>Sprunt Studies</i>	H. R. Immerwahr, <i>Some Inscriptions on Attic Pottery</i> (= <i>The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science</i> 46), Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1964
<i>Jahrbuch</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
JOAI	<i>Jahrbuch des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts</i>
Kaibel	G. Kaibel, <i>Epigrammata graeca ex lapidibus conlecta</i> , Berlin, 1878
Kern	O. Kern, <i>Inscriptiones graecae</i> , Bonn, 1913
<i>Kerameikos</i> 3	W. Peck, <i>Kerameikos: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 3, Inschriften, Ostraka, Fluchtafeln</i> , Berlin, 1941
Klein	W. Klein, <i>Die griechischen Vasen mit Meistersignaturen</i> , Wien, 1887
Kretschmer, <i>Vaseninschriften</i>	P. Kretschmer, <i>Die griechischen Vaseninschriften ihrer Sprache nach untersucht</i> , Gütersloh, 1894
Kroll	J. Kroll, <i>Athenian Bronze Allotment Plates</i> , Cambridge, Mass., 1972
KS	<i>Kleine Schriften</i>
KZ	cf. ZVS

(L.)	confirmation of reading on monument, cf. p. 12 infra
Lademann	W. Lademann, <i>De titulis atticis quaestiones orthographicae et grammaticae</i> , Kirchhain, 1915
Lang, <i>Graffiti</i>	M. Lang, <i>Graffiti in the Athenian Agora</i> , Princeton, 1974
Larfeld, <i>Handbuch</i> (1914)	W. Larfeld, <i>Griechische Epigraphik</i> (= <i>Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft</i> 1.5) Munich, 1914
Larfeld, <i>Handbuch</i> 2.1, 2.2	W. Larfeld, <i>Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik, Zweiter Band: Die Attischen Inschriften</i> 1 (1898), 2 (1902), Leipzig
Lattermann, <i>Bauinschriften</i>	H. Lattermann, <i>Die griechischen Bauinschriften</i> , Strassburg, 1908
Lejeune, <i>Phonétique</i>	M. Lejeune, <i>Phonétique historique du mycénien et du grec ancien</i> , Paris, 1972
Lejeune, <i>Traité</i> ²	M. Lejeune, <i>Traité de phonétique grecque</i> , Paris, 1955
LSAG	L. H. Jeffery, <i>The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece</i> , Oxford, 1961
LSJ	Liddell and Scott, <i>Greek Lexicon</i> , ed. 9 and <i>Supplement</i> (1968), Oxford
LTL	E. Forcellini, <i>Lexicon Totius Latinitatis</i> (6 vols., 1864–1926, with appendices in 1940), Padua
Maass, <i>Prohedrie</i>	M. Maass, <i>Die Prohedrie des Dionysostheaters in Athen</i> (= <i>Vestigia</i> 15), Munich, 1972
MAMA	<i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua</i> , Manchester, 1928–1962
Mayser	E. Mayser, <i>Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit</i> 1.1 (1923 [= 1906]), 1.2 (1938), 1.3 (1936), Berlin
Mayser-Schmoll	E. Mayser, H. Schmoll, <i>Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit</i> 1.1 ² , Berlin, 1970
Meiggs-Lewis	R. Meiggs, D. M. Lewis, <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B. C.</i> , Oxford, 1969
Meillet-Vendryes	A. Meillet, J. Vendryes, <i>Traité de grammaire comparée des langues classiques</i> , Paris, 1963
Meritt, <i>Athenian Year</i>	B. D. Meritt, <i>The Athenian Year</i> (Sather Classical Lectures no. 32), Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1961
MG	Modern Greek
MS ³	K. Meisterhans, E. Schwyzer, <i>Grammatik der attischen Inschriften</i> , Berlin, 1900
Nachmanson, <i>Altgriechische Volkssprache</i>	E. Nachmanson, <i>Beiträge zur Kenntnis der altgriechischen Volkssprache</i> , Uppsala, 1910
no.	number
nom.	nominative
n. s.	new series, nuova serie
OGIS	W. Dittenberger, <i>Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i> , Leipzig, 1903–1905
p.	page; post, A. D.: (cf. <i>Dates</i> , p. XXVII supra).
PA	J. Kirchner, <i>Prosopographia Attica</i> , Berlin, 1901–1903
Pape-Benseler	W. Pape, G. Benseler, <i>Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen</i> , Braunschweig, 1863–1870

<i>Paralipomena</i>	J.D. Beazley, <i>Paralipomena to Attic Black-Figure and Red-Figure Vase Painters</i> , Oxford, 1971
Peck, AG	W. Peck, <i>Attische Grabinschriften 1</i> (= <i>Abhandlungen der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin: Klasse für Sprache, Literatur und Kunst</i> , Jahrgang 1953, no. 4); <i>Attische Grabinschriften 2</i> (= <i>op. cit.</i> , 1956, no. 3)
Pečírka, <i>Enktesis</i>	J. Pečírka, <i>The Formula for the Grant of Enktesis in Attic Inscriptions</i> , Prague, 1966
Pfuhl, <i>Malerei</i>	E. Pfuhl, <i>Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen</i> , Munich, 1923
pl.	plural
<i>Praktika</i>	Τὰ Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας
Rabehl	W. Rabehl, <i>De Sermone Defixionum Atticarum</i> , Berlin, 1906
RA	<i>Revue archéologique</i>
RE	<i>Pauly's Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , Stuttgart, 1894–1974
REG	<i>Revue des études grecques</i>
Reinmuth	O. Reinmuth, <i>The Ephebic Inscriptions of the Fourth Century B.C.</i> (= <i>Mnemosyne</i> , suppl. 14), Leiden, 1971
rf.	Attic red figure
Richter-Hall	G.M.A. Richter, L.F. Hall, <i>Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art</i> , New York, 1936
RM	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie</i>
Robert, <i>Etudes</i>	L. Robert, <i>Etudes épigraphiques et philologiques</i> , Paris, 1938
Robert, <i>Noms indigènes</i>	L. Robert, <i>Noms indigènes dans l'Asie-Mineure gréco-romaine 1</i> , Paris, 1963
Robert, Collection Froehner	L. Robert, <i>Collection Froehner I: Inscriptions grecques</i> , Paris, 1936
RP	<i>Revue de Philologie</i>
SB	<i>Sitzungsbericht(e)</i>
Schwyzler, GG	E. Schwyzler, <i>Griechische Grammatik</i> (= <i>Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 2.1</i>) 1–4, Munich, 1938–1971
Schwyzler, <i>Gram. pergamenischen Inschriften</i>	E. Schwyzler (at this time spelled Schweizer), <i>Grammatik der pergamenischen Inschriften</i> , Berlin, 1898
SEG	<i>Supplementum epigraphicum graecum</i> , 1–25
Siewert	P. Siewert, <i>Der Eid von Plataiai</i> (= <i>Vestigia</i> 16), Munich, 1972
SIG ³	W. Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum</i> , Leipzig, 1915–1924
sing.	singular
Smith, <i>Catalogue</i>	C.H. Smith, H.B. Walters, <i>Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum</i> 2 (1893), 3–4 (1896), London
Sokolowski, <i>Lois</i> ²	F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques</i> (= <i>Ecole française d'Athènes, Travaux et mémoires des anciens membres étrangers de l'école et de divers savants</i> , fasc. 18), Paris, 1969 (= new ed. of J.v. Protz, L. Ziehen, <i>Leges Graecorum Sacrae</i> 1 [1896], 2 [1906], Leipzig)
Sokolowski, <i>Supplément</i>	F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques, Supplément</i> , Paris, 1962

<i>Staatsverträge</i> 2	H. Bengtson, <i>Die Staatsverträge des Altertums</i> 2, <i>Die Verträge der griechisch-römischen Welt von 700 bis 338 v. Chr.</i> , Munich, 1962
<i>Staatsverträge</i> 3	H. H. Schmitt, <i>Die Staatsverträge des Altertums</i> 3, <i>Die Verträge der griechisch-römischen Welt von 338 bis 200 v. Chr.</i> , Munich, 1969
Strohschein	A. Strohschein, <i>Auffälligkeiten griechischer Vokal- und Diphthong-schreibung in vorchristlicher Zeit</i> , Berlin, 1941
Sturtevant	E. H. Sturtevant, <i>The Pronunciation of Greek and Latin</i> , Philadelphia, 1940
suppl.	supplement
TAM	<i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i> , Vienna, 1901–1941
TAPA	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
Tod, <i>GHI</i> 1, 2	M. N. Tod, <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions</i> Volume 1, <i>To the End of the Fifth Century B. C.</i> , Oxford, 1947 Volume 2, <i>From 403 to 323 B. C.</i> , Oxford, 1948
Turner, <i>GMAW</i>	E. G. Turner, <i>Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World</i> , Oxford, 1971
V	Vowel (cf. p. XXVIII supra)
Vanderpool, <i>Ostracism</i>	E. Vanderpool, <i>Ostracism at Athens</i> (The University of Cincinnati, <i>Lectures in Memory of Louise Taft Semple</i> , Second Series), 1970
Vidman	L. Vidman, <i>Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae</i> , Berlin, 1969
Wackernagel, <i>Dehnungsgesetz</i> <i>Wien Anzeiger</i>	J. Wackernagel, <i>Das Dehnungsgesetz der griechischen Komposita</i> , Basel, 1889 <i>Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien</i>
Wilhelm, <i>Beiträge</i>	A. Wilhelm, <i>Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde</i> (= <i>Sonderschriften des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien</i> 7), 1909
Wilhelm, <i>Neue Beiträge</i>	A. Wilhelm, <i>Neue Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde</i> 1–6 (= <i>Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien: philos.-historische Klasse</i> , Vienna), 1911–32
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>
ZVS	<i>Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung</i> (= <i>Kuhns Zeitschrift</i>)
Zgusta	L. Zgusta, <i>Kleinasiatische Personennamen</i> , Prague, 1964
Ziebarth, <i>GGN</i> 1899	E. Ziebarth, <i>Neue attische Fluchtafeln</i> (in: <i>Nachrichten der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften</i> 1899, pp. 106ff.)
Ziebarth, <i>SB</i> Berlin 1934	E. Ziebarth, <i>Neue Verfluchungstafeln aus Attika, Boiotia und Euböia</i> (= <i>Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: philologisch-historische Klasse</i> , Berlin), 1934

(The foregoing list includes only titles cited in abbreviated form.)

INTRODUCTION

I. Sources

This grammar takes into account all the surviving written documents from Attica from the earliest period (ca. 725?) until approximately the end of the third century after Christ. A few texts, certainly later than ca. 300 A.D., but included by Kirchner in *IG II²*, have also been included. Virtually all the texts studied have been previously published, and inscriptions which are now in fact lost, but whose texts have been recorded by earlier observers, beginning with Cyriacus of Ancona in the first half of the fifteenth century, have not been excluded.

By far the majority of texts are inscriptions carved on stone monuments, now numbering considerably more than 20,000, and this grammar is based primarily on a comprehensive study of them. The earliest Attic examples of this type are probably no earlier than the last quarter of the seventh century, and they become numerous only after ca. 575 (cf. *LSAG* pp. 76–7, nos. 7–8, 12–13). Also included is evidence from the numerous inscriptions, both incised and painted, on pottery, ostraca, pinakia, stone and metal plaques, tablets, slates, etc. These are especially important as evidence for Attic writing in the earlier Archaic Period, when stone inscriptions are rare, and for less formal, everyday writing practices at all periods.

The material studied is confined geographically to texts from Attica. Thus texts inscribed for Athenians at Delphi, or carved at Delos, Oropos, and elsewhere during periods of Attic control, have not been systematically studied, although they may occasionally be cited to provide additional examples or relevant supporting evidence. Texts of non-Athenians found in Attica are not excluded, although those written entirely in a non-Attic dialect are treated only when they contain or have been alleged to contain material relevant to the Attic dialect. Dipinti on Attic pottery are included without reference to the place the vase was found on the assumption that they were painted on before firing at Athens.

The geographical limitations have been imposed partly for reasons of necessity. The bulk of Attic texts is already so considerable without the inclusion of the numerous Delian, Delphic, and other texts which have an Attic connection, that it seemed advisable to make this geographic exclusion. And yet a thorough study of the texts which are Attic in both the geographic and the dialectal sense should produce results which would make the evaluation of Attic texts from elsewhere more profitable, i.e. it would make it possible to isolate instances in which the local idiom has influenced the language of the Attic text. There is no doubt that such influence sometimes occurred, as for example at Oropos. A few Attic texts found on Salamis and one from Aegina (*IG IV* no. 39) have been included.

A major distinction can be made between texts inscribed for a group of individuals and those inscribed for an individual or family, or between *public* and *private* documents. The principal types of public texts are: decrees of the βουλή and δῆμος, or state decrees (designated simply: decree); decrees of other organized groups, such as demes, phratries, tribes, groups of orgeones, technitai of Dionysus, etc.; sacred calendars and sacred laws or regulations (sometimes difficult to distinguish from decrees of groups); imperial edicts; inventories, official records and accounts, building contracts, etc. of various organized bodies such as the Hellenotamiai, other types of tamiai or managers of various sanctuaries, epistatai of Eleusis, amphiktyons, naval boards, etc. (designated: inv.); catalogs and lists such as those of prytaneis or other magistrates, ephebes, lists of victors in the Theseia, Dionysia, etc. (designated: cat.); casualty lists, which are really a type of public funerary memorial (designated: cas. list); dedications set up by organized groups, of officials or others (often followed by lists of names and hence difficult to distinguish from catalogs) (designated: ded.); public horoi or boundary stones; a few sepulchral monuments erected by groups or the state for one or more individuals. These distinctions sometimes break down, as when more than one inscription occurs on a single monument or when a sacred calendar or building inventory is appended to a decree, etc., but by and large these are valid categories into which almost all public texts can be placed. Nearly all the inscriptions of this type which are preserved are inscribed on stone.

The mid-sixth-century bronze plaque inscribed by a group of tamiai, I² 393 (= *LSAG* p.77, no. 21), is without parallel at Athens, but as there are no contemporary public texts in this early period it is impossible to say such plaques were rarer at Athens than elsewhere, where they are sometimes well attested, as e.g. at Elis (cf. p.5 *infra*). Stelai of bronze are known from literary sources, and one small fragment of one dating ca. 450 B.C. has been published by R.S. Stroud, cf. *Hesperia* 32 (1963) pp.138 ff. (with the literary testimonia for this type of document). A state decree on a bronze plaque dating from the first quarter of the fourth century has recently been published by D. Peppas-Delmousou in *AE* 1971 pp. 137 ff.; unfortunately the plaque is too fragmentary to make it certain whether it was nailed to a backing like the earlier I² 393, on which the nail holes are preserved, or had a frame, or whether it was without any attachment of another material. The Athenians are known to have kept copies in the Archives on bronze plaques in some cases (cf. *AE loc. cit.*), and the fourth-century plaque may be of this type.

The private texts include: dedications of private persons; funerary monuments, usually gravestones, of individuals, often including their immediate family (designated: sep. mon.). These are the types of private text normally carved on stone, although many of the archaic dedications are incised on bronze objects or pot sherds. To the foregoing must be added chiefly: graffiti on pots or fragments of pottery and on other objects; ostraca (in the restricted sense, cf. p.7 *infra*); curse-tablets or defixiones, usually incised on lead plaques; dikasts' pinakia; dipinti on Attic black- and red-figure pottery.

The orthographical practices of some of these classes may be examined briefly here in more detail:

The state decrees date from just before 500 B.C. until well into Roman times, but most of them fall into the period ca. 450–ca. 50 B.C., when they are the type of public text of which examples are most numerous. As might be expected, documents of this type maintain the greatest formality in orthography, achieving the highest degree of standardization. Certain phenomena are found only very rarely in them, or even not at all: cf. for example, $\Omega = \text{ov}$ (cf. 2.034), confusion of ι and ϵ (cf. 7.01), of η and ι (cf. 8.02), of η and ϵ (cf. 8.01), of $\bar{\iota}$ and $\epsilon\iota$ before the later Hellenistic Period (cf. 9.021–9.022), etc. There are, however, a number of cases in which orthographical standardization was apparently not sought even in these texts. Thus E and EI for [e] frequently occur in the same decree in the period ca. 460–350 (cf. 9.011–9.012; but the rare E for the original diphthong $\epsilon\iota$ is largely absent from decrees, cf. 16.01), and a similar variation between O and OY occurs ca. 410–350 (cf. 13.01–13.02). In decrees in Attic script H = [h] is not uncommonly omitted in a few places, and sometimes a sporadic use of H for [e] (later written H) creeps into these documents (cf. 2.021; 42.011). By 350 B.C. the use of EI and OY has been standardized, but the diphthong $\eta\iota$ is being spelled both EI and HI, and this spelling is not standardized until the third century, when EI is normal (but not universal!) for $\eta\iota$ everywhere except in the relative pronoun HI (but EI occurs rarely) (cf. 23.00). Decrees only rarely show difficulties with double consonants (cf. 43.012; 43.021–43.022), but especially in the fourth century there is the greatest inconsistency in the writing of final nasals and of nasals in composition when before labial or velar stops (cf. 48.04–48.05). By the time of the last great body of decrees (ca. 125–90 B.C.), variation between $\bar{\iota}$ and $\epsilon\iota$, between $\bar{\alpha}\iota$ and $\bar{\alpha}$, η and $\eta\iota$, ω and $\omega\iota$; and η for $\epsilon\iota$ before vowels are all attested in them (cf. 9.022; 22.02; 9.031).

The other public documents of the Classical and Hellenistic Periods, i.e. decrees of demes, tribes, etc. and the various types of inventories and catalogs, conform to a somewhat less rigorous standard of orthography than the state decrees. In them are attested more frequently the use of O for ov (inherited diphthong) (cf. 21.01); confusion of oi and $\omega\iota$ (cf. 17.03), of η and ϵ (cf. 8.01), etc. There are some very unusual texts in this group, e.g. I² 374, an inventory for the Erechtheum for the years 408–406, which has completely haphazard use of H = [h] (cf. 42.0111); II² 1183, a decree of a deme dated to just after 340 B.C., with many crude copying errors (cf. 8.01, no. 7; 11.041; 41.03; etc.); II² 1237, decree of a phratry of 396/5 B.C., with E = η (cf. 2.04) and O for ov (cf. 21.01), and even $\kappa\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ (cf. 16.01); II² 1672, an enormous building inscription from Eleusis of 329/8 B.C., with numerous orthographical peculiarities (cf. p. 14 *infra*). The fifth-century tribute lists provide a large body of evidence bearing on the interesting question of the Atticization of foreign toponyms; in many cases there was no standardization (cf. especially 6.013; 6.04; 9.021; 11.015; 42.011; 44.031; 46.011–46.012).

By the Roman Period decrees and inventories are largely absent, and the major types of formal public documents are catalogs of ephebes and prytaneis and the many dedications set up by various $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\alpha\acute{\iota}$, sometimes in conjunction with the $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$. Here must also be included formal dedications of private individuals (often priests or

magistrates) such as herms and statue-bases, since there is no recognizable difference in the language of these texts and other public texts. In addition, there are a few imperial edicts, and the language of the imperial letters also forces them to be grouped with formal public documents. The following phenomena are largely lacking in the foregoing types of text: confusion of η and ϵ (cf. 8.01), of η and ι (8.02), of \omicron and ω except in certain proper names (cf. 12.012). The spelling of nasals before stops is now largely standardized, N being preferred to M or Γ in most instances (cf. 48.04–48.05). The principal places where the spelling is not standardized are: 'Αρῆου and 'Αρεῖου occur, rarely even in the same text (cf. 9.031); confusion of ϵ and α is found sometimes in these texts after ca. 130 A.D. (cf. 15.013); there is hesitation between $\tilde{\alpha}$, η , ω and $\tilde{\alpha}\iota$, $\eta\iota$, $\omega\iota$ (cf. 22.02); both EI and I are found for $\tilde{\iota}$ and $\epsilon\iota$, often in close proximity in the same text (9.023).

The edict of Constantius Chlorus and Galerius Maximianus dated 305/6 A.D., II² 1121, is atypical, exhibiting a much lower standard of orthography than documents of the period of the Severan dynasty less than a century earlier (cf. e.g. II² 1077, II² 1078); in the edict of Chlorus there is a frequent confusion of α and ϵ even in inflectional endings (cf. 15.013, no.98) and a hesitation between $-\alpha$ and $-\epsilon\alpha$ in feminine abstract nouns foreign to formal documents of earlier periods.

Of the various types of private inscriptions the stone monuments may be considered first.

The influence of the purchaser on the monument can be seen in spellings like $\Theta\epsilon\iota\beta\tilde{\eta}\sigma$, with Boeotian vocalization (cf. 8.03), which occurs on sepulchral monuments. But it is doubtful if any except perhaps the crudest stone inscriptions were carved by private individuals rather than by specially trained stone masons. Certain rock-cut texts in grottoes and caves are probably exceptions to this, and there are also graffiti on fragments of stone (cf. p.7 *infra*). It should also be noted that the names of several persons frequently appear on gravestones, and it is possible that once such monuments were in place, the same stone-cutters were not always retained for making later additions to the text. Certainly more than one hand can sometimes be identified on such monuments, and there may be varying standards of orthography. And yet it seems doubtful that names were very often added without obtaining the services of a stone mason. As early as the Archaic Period the same hands can be identified on certain dedications and gravestones, and these hands can sometimes be associated with particular sculptors and their workshops, as the exhaustive studies of the dedications in the DAA of Raubitschek and of the sepulchral monuments in Jeffery's IGAA have now shown. Even such ordinary and inexpensive gravestones as the kioniskoi of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods cannot have been manufactured by private individuals, and it is reasonable to assume that the inscription was normally carved on the monument at the stone yard by a professional.

To what degree the orthography of private documents like dedications and gravestones earlier than 480 B.C. might have differed from contemporary public texts such as decrees is difficult to assess because of the rarity of public texts in this period.

Public inscriptions may in fact have been unusual at Athens before the fifth century, although the exceptional bronze plaque of ca. 550 (cf. p.2 *supra*) perhaps indicates that such inscriptions were in use there as it is known they were elsewhere, e.g. in Elis. But it is of great interest that the earliest state decree, I² 1 (ca. 510? cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.27), was carved by the same stone-cutter as two dedications usually dated ca. 490–480, cf. I² 659 and I² 552 + I² 526 (cf. *DAA* pp.100–102, nos.93–94). The decree shows an embryonic stoichedon which can also be seen in other contemporary dedications and funerary monuments (cf. 3.022) in addition to orthographical features normal in private texts (e.g. ἐὸμέ, cf. 48.01). Probably the differences which can be seen by the later fifth century between the orthographical practices of private stone texts, especially certain sepulchral monuments, and public inscriptions should not be assumed for the Archaic Period, when spelling may well have been much less rigid in all types of documents.

This divergence between the two types of texts can be seen developing in the fifth century when the Attic script was largely retained in public texts after Ionic letters were much more widely used in private ones (cf. 2.01), and there is no doubt that by 400 B.C. and in all later periods there are several orthographical phenomena which are normally or even exclusively found only in private texts. The most important of these are: E for the original diphthong ει (cf. 16.01); confusion of η and ε (cf. 8.01), of η and ι (cf. 8.02), of ει and ι before the last quarter of the third century B.C. (cf. 9.022); ει for ι (cf. 9.024); confusion of ο and ω before ca. 150 A.D. and thereafter when going beyond a few proper names (cf. 12.011–12.012); confusion of αι and ε in inflectional endings (cf. 15.013); confusion of voiced and voiceless stops (cf. 35.00); confusion in the writing of nasals (cf. 41.01–41.03); difficulties with geminates (cf. 43.012); ζμ for σμ (cf. 44.02); certain cluster simplifications (cf. 46.04; 47.00).

It is especially the sepulchral monuments which illustrate a lower standard of orthography, whether because of carelessness or semi-literacy on the part of the stone-cutter or the person responsible for preparing his copy (the purchaser?). On the other hand many of the dedications belong more with public texts in their spelling practices. In the Archaic Period it is difficult to separate public from private texts anyway (as seen *supra*), but of the large group of Acropolis dedications there is no discernible difference between the few public ones and the majority which are private, nor do the archaic sepulchral monuments, coming from many localities in Attica, differ significantly from the dedications except in a considerably less frequent use of stoichedon. It has also been seen (cf. pp.3–4 *supra*) that no divergence between dedications of the various βουλαί, with or without the δῆμος, and formal monuments of private individuals such as herms and statue-bases can be detected in Roman times, and the same is true of most dedications of the Hellenistic Period. One group of dedications which does have more in common with the less formal sepulchral monuments are dedications of private individuals to deities (many examples can be seen in the group published in *IG* II² 4351–II² 4880), often with short texts of the form ὁ δεῖνα Ἀσκληπιῶι, etc. [ἀνέθηκε]. Post-400 B.C. dedications of this type are designated herein: ded. (priv.). It must be stressed that there are large and elaborate sepulchral

monuments illustrating a very formal standard of writing, especially from the Classical Period. Nevertheless, many gravestones, especially after 300 B.C., show a quite careless standard of writing, in which there can sometimes occur evidence for sound changes before it appears on other stone monuments. The orthography of the imperial letters seems to group them with public texts (cf. p.4 *supra*), although they are in some sense really private documents.

It is worth noting that several texts of the group of sepulchral curse-texts erected for the noted sophist Herodes Atticus about the middle of the second century after Christ show orthographical crudities (cf. 8.02, nos. 19–21; 21.00b).

The dipinti on Attic black- and red-figure pottery are a very important body of evidence for Attic writing from the seventh to the fourth centuries B.C. Meisterhans and Schwyzer did not exclude evidence of this type (cf. p. VII *supra*), and Jeffery saw, when she made her comprehensive study of the earliest Attic texts, that the dipinti had to be treated like other examples of early Attic writing (cf. *LSAG* pp.76–77). The dipinti are especially important for the period before 500 B.C. when other types of texts are rare. No account of the grammar of Attic could fail to take these texts into account, and the normal practice of excluding painted inscriptions from epigraphy would not be suitable for a book of this type. The signatures of the vase painters are especially valuable, since they often provide repetitions of the same name or word, not always spelled the same way. That some vase painters were not Athenian is certain, a fact very rarely known about sculptors of archaic stone texts; some painters are also known to have been slaves. The subject matter of the dipinti is quite limited: in addition to the signatures and the *καλός*-names, there are numerous names serving to label deities or heroes depicted on the vases and a few short phrases, usually fairly colloquial. As the texts were painted on by professionals in the workshop, they are not direct evidence for everyday writing in quite the same way as graffiti. Cases in which the purchaser determined the text of dipinti on the vase bear a certain resemblance to private stone sepulchral monuments. By and large the vase painters were probably not very educated, and by the fifth century the careless style of writing seen on most vases has nothing in common with any but the crudest inscriptions on stone.

The attribution of vases in Beazley's catalogs makes it convenient to refer to dipinti on groups of vases by the name of the painter. This is purely a matter of convenience and does not necessarily imply that all the inscriptions were executed by the painter himself. It would be naive to assume that the inscriptions were not sometimes put on by a helper, and rarely different hands can be recognized in the same signature. Genuine dipinti on Attic pottery can be regarded as Attic inscriptions regardless of the place of finding because they were painted on in Athens before the firing of the vase (cf. p.1 *supra*). The lack of a satisfactory corpus of dipinti makes the study of these texts difficult (cf. p. 11 *infra*).

The simplest type of graffiti is seen in some of the earliest Attic texts: a phrase indicating ownership, probably incised by the owner himself, usually on pottery (cf. 9.0111, p.176, etc.); or a phrase indicating that the object has been dedicated, such as *ἡρώει μ' ἄγαλμα* (sc. *ἀνέθηκεν*) on a sherd found in a well in the Agora (cf. *LSAG*

p.78, no.33 and plate 4). Then there is the earliest Attic text, a hexameter on what was probably a prize oinochoe (cf. I² 919; *LSAG* p.76, no.1). Cf. a well-cover incised with ἰσμιον πρέατ(ος) (i.e. ἰσθμιον φρέατος), published *Hesperia* 18 (1949) pp.117–9. Graffiti also occur sometimes on fragments of stone, such as the very early one, I² 484 (= *LSAG* p.76, no.2); or the group of slates found in Plato's Academy, probably those of schoolboys, cf. *BCH* 83 (1959) p.579, and plate 14 on p.581 (= *SEG* 19.37), dating from the fifth century B.C.

The fifth-century B.C. ostraca are a special type of graffito. These are fragments of pottery inscribed with the names of the men whom the voters casting them as ballots wished to have banished for ten years. To the mere handful of such texts known when *IG I²* was published (cf. I² 908–I² 911), excavations in the Agora and elsewhere had added enough to make the total more than 1500 by 1960, and the unearthing of thousands in the Ceramicus in recent years has brought the total beyond 6500 (cf. Vanderpool, *Ostracism* p.4). Only a few of the ostraca have actually been published, but it has been possible to include some account at least of the unpublished ones in the Agora through the generosity of Professor Vanderpool. While in many cases the ostraca were doubtless prepared by the users, in some cases groups of ostraca with the same name, or rarely even different names, were evidently prepared by the same hand. It seems clear that in at least one case the enemies of one of the leading candidates for ostracism saw to it that many ready-made ostraca were available, presumably prepared by slaves. Thus in the nearly two hundred ostraca of Themistocles from the north slope of the Acropolis a total of only about fourteen different hands can be recognized (cf. *Hesperia* 7 [1938] pp.228 ff.; Vanderpool, *Ostracism* pp.11–13). But even in cases like this the same word is being written by a number of individuals, and even ostraca executed by the same hand are not always consistent in their orthography (cf. 2.034; 38.0212b, no.21). The very large numbers of texts with the same name can provide important information not known from other types of text, cf. on Θεμισθοκλῆς (cf. 38.0212b, no.21).

A very few of the ostraca are actually painted on, although usually after firing of the vases. But two real dipinti, in which glaze-paint was employed and the inscription fired, exist: one of Καλλιχσενος, dated to the 480s; another of Μένων, dated to the 440s. Professor Vanderpool has plausibly suggested that these ostraca were made by professional potters in the manner most natural to them (cf. *Ostracism* pp.19–20).

Another important special class of graffiti is the defixiones, or curses scratched on lead sheets which were then folded or rolled up and dropped into wells or graves. These are found occasionally from ca. 450 B.C. until the third century after Christ, and many are very difficult to assign to any precise period. The majority are thought to date from the fourth or third centuries B.C. The orthography of these texts is often very crude.

Another group of texts inscribed on metal are the bronze dikasts' pinakia of the first half of the fourth century B.C. (cf. I² 1835–I² 1923; J.H. Kroll, *Athenian Bronze Allotment Plates*, Cambridge, Mass., 1972). These were stamped with the

letters A–K, indicating the ten tribes, before distribution to individuals. The owners' names were put on later in a *pointillé* technique which we may assume was not normally executed by the owners, but by employees of the state at the place of distribution. Recent excavations in the Agora and the Ceramicus have unearthed numbers of lead pinakia of the fourth and third centuries B.C. which were used to identify horses belonging to the hippeis (cf. *AM* 85 [1970] pp. 198–269 for the Ceramicus tablets; the Agora tablets are published in *Hesperia* 46 [1977] pp. 83–140; cf. *Hesperia* 42 [1973] pp. 176–178). As there are only a few types of horses, there are many repetitions of the same words. These texts were presumably prepared by persons employed by officials of the hippeis.

Of the foregoing types of graffiti, those on pottery or pottery fragments, the slates, the defixiones, some of the ostraca, and a few others were actually scratched by individuals on the material. Another group of purely private inscriptions on metal which were not of this type is the large group of archaic bronze dedications from the Acropolis (cf. *IG* I² 401–I² 462). These are usually incised on the rims or on fragments of bronze vessels, or on statuettes, and they must normally have been prepared for the dedicant by the metal-worker, at least when deeply incised. These texts date chiefly to the second half of the sixth century B.C. (cf. *LSAG* p. 68, note 1), and the spelling practices seen on them do not differ significantly from that on contemporary dedications on stone.

The fifth-century dipinti, ostraca, and certain other graffiti share a degree of lack of adherence to standard orthography not seen on stone monuments, and the defixiones of the fourth and third centuries also exhibit peculiarities in spelling not found on even the crudest private grave monuments. Rare or not attested on stone monuments, but well attested in dipinti and ostraca are: Ω for ου (cf. 2.034); λη, μη, ρη (cf. 1.022); use of Η, Ω for short vowels (dipinti only) (cf. 2.031, 2.033); confusion of ι and ει before 400 B.C. (cf. 9.021); Κλινίας, Κλιτίας for Κλῆνίας, etc. (cf. 9.0211); Υ for ου (cf. 13.04); -δϥ- for -νδϥ- (cf. 41.01). In the defixiones may be seen a confusion of η and ε unparalleled in post-400 B.C. stone texts; some early examples of confusion of η, ι and ει (cf. 8.02; 8.03); and a frequent omission of final nasals (cf. 48.06). When dipinti and graffiti are in advance of stone texts in showing certain sound changes, they are not usually more than 25–50 years ahead. Thus a case of EI for [e] on a bf. vase no later than the second quarter of the sixth century B.C. is followed by a similar example on a sepulchral monument of ca. 525 (ca. 9.011, nos. 1–2); examples of OY for the long o-vowel of more recent origin occur on vases only a few years before the first examples on stone (cf. 13.01, nos. 1 ff.).

An exceptional case can be seen in the defixio from a grave in the Ceramicus dated to ca. 450 B.C. on the basis of the pottery deposit, but showing many features typical of Attic writing of ca. 350 B.C. and later, i.e. exclusive use of EI for [e], preference for OY (or exclusive use of it if a few cases of final -O are abbreviatory shortenings), both EI and HI for ηι, Εὐκλέας ~ Εὐκλέας, cf. *Kerameikos* 3, p. 91, no. 3. As the defixio was tied to the finger of the deceased it must date to the same period as the burial. The regularity with which fourth-century writing practices are followed, however, is unparalleled to a disconcerting degree, and some suspicion

about the date of the grave must remain: perhaps the pottery used had been kept for some time before the burial. There are certainly defixiones considerably later than 450 B.C. which are still in Attic script (cf. 2.012), although in a private text of the type seen here there is no reason why the Ionic script cannot have been used as early as 450 B.C. A similar disparity may be seen in another defixio, *Hesperia* 6 (1937) p.389, no.3 (inv. no. IL 493), found in a deposit of s. Ip., but with writing practices which look like those of the third century A.D. on other types of inscriptions.

In addition to the foregoing classifications of inscriptions based on genres, there are also other groupings which are significant for grammatical analysis. Here might be mentioned texts which are not strictly speaking in Attic, such as some of the amphiktyonic decrees (cf. *IG* II² 1126 ff.) and a certain number of other texts. There is also a group of texts of Roman times, chiefly from the reign of Hadrian, which is consciously archaizing, as can be seen from the style of lettering and the use of the pre-403 B.C. Attic script, cf. e.g. II² 3380 (aet. Hadriani) ded. (ν, O = ω); II² 5007 (ante 150 p.) oracle (in verse, E, O = η, ω; χσ falsely for ξ, cf. p.21 infra; ν = λ; ς; tailed rho; old form of pi); II² 5004 (aet. Hadriani) altar (O = ου); II² 5506 (aet. Hadriani) sep. mon. (H = [h] twice); II² 5063 (aet. Rom.) label on theatre-seat (E = η, but Ω); II² 3194 (144/5–149/50 p.) ded. (H = [h], E, O, = η, ω); II² 3121 (ca. 150 p.) ded. (H = both [h] and η; E = η; Λ = γ; Σ; tailed rho); II² 4742 (s. I/II p.) ded. (priv.) (ν = λ); II² 6791 (ca. 177 p.) altar associated with the grave of Herodes Atticus (E = η; tailed rho; archaic form for alpha and omega); as well as several dedications from the Acropolis, including two copies of I² 400 dated by Raubitschek to Augustan times, cf. *DAA* pp. 148–149; note also *IG* XIV, no. 1390, sep. mon. erected on the Appian Way outside Rome by Herodes Atticus (cf. II² 6791 supra) (ca. 150 p.), with H for [h] (including ἐνὶ ὁδῷ), E; O = ω, ου; Λ = γ; ν = λ; ς; cartwheel theta.

The large group of texts in verse also presents special problems of its own. There are a few verses among the graffiti (e.g. I² 919), the dipinti, and even one on an ostrakon (cf. 34.022, p.433 infra), but most of the metrical texts are on stone monuments, usually dedications, both public and private, and especially private sepulchral monuments. The diction of these texts is often influenced by the artificial poetic diction of the Ionic-Epic tradition, although there are also new and sometimes strange creations, especially in the Roman Period. Metrical texts of all periods also show occasional use of ā instead of η, a Dorism (cf. 6.041, p.131 infra). Also very frequent in them are spellings which go against the metre, or *contra metrum* spellings, a feature well attested in the Greek papyri from Egypt. Thus elision is frequently not indicated where demanded by the metre, *scriptio plena* (cf. 33.012 infra), as well as crasis (cf. 34.022) and movable ny (cf. 49.00). The treatment of intervocalic iota also varies (cf. 10.04 a–b infra). Metrical inscriptions comprise, to be sure, a special class, but it is clear that in many cases the writing practices in them are identical to those of prose texts, and they cannot therefore be excluded from any analysis of the grammar of Attic inscriptions which is comprehensive.

II. Published texts of inscriptions

The printed sources of the texts of inscriptions from Attica are a great deal more numerous and varied today than they were at the end of the last century. Since that time there has appeared an entire new edition of the *Inscriptiones graecae*, IG I² and IG II², still the largest collection of epigraphical texts from Attica. But many of the editions of texts in it are long out of date. Moreover, as this edition began to appear in the early twentieth century and was completed about 1940, the span of years for which the periodical literature is the only source of new texts is more than 35 years, and for some types of texts much longer. There are also many more periodicals which regularly publish texts of new inscriptions or revisions of older texts than there were before 1900. There are also several annual epigraphical reports, of which the most important are the 25 volumes of the *Supplementum epigraphicum graecum* (SEG) and the 'Bulletin épigraphique' in the *Revue des études grecques*. These reports are also sources of new texts, revisions of old texts, etc., but not even the SEG is sufficiently comprehensive that it can be relied upon to contain mention of all the necessary publications including new texts. There is also a host of specialized studies such as the *Prytaneis* (*Hesperia*, suppl. 1 [1937]) of S. Dow, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis* of A. E. Raubitschek, the third volume of the publications of the Ceramicus excavations of W. Peek, and many others.

In addition to the SEG and the various annual bulletins the following periodicals have been systematically examined for texts of inscriptions and related information: *Athenische Mitteilungen* (through volume 85 [1970]), *Archaiologike Ephemeris* (through 1971), *Archaiologikon Deltion* (through volume 25 [1970]), *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* (through volume 99 [1975]), and *Hesperia* (through volume 46, no. 3 [1977] and including supplements 1–16 [1976]); as well as the *American Journal of Archaeology*, *American Journal of Philology*, *Annual of the British School at Athens*, *Annuario della scuola archeologica di Atene*, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, *Ta Athenaika*, *Neon Athenaion*, *Polemon*, *Revue des études grecques*, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, the *Jahrbücher* and *Jahreshefte* of the German and Austrian archaeological institutes in Athens, the *Praktika* and the *Ergon* of the Greek Archaeological Society in Athens, the *Archaiologika Analecta ex Athenon*, the *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, and a few others. I was able to include the material from volumes 15 (1974), 17 (1974), and 21 (1976) of the volumes of publications of the excavations in the Athenian Agora, but only at the last stage of writing. Cf. also the Bibliography, pp. XXIX ff. *supra*.

Many inscriptions have been augmented by new fragments or have been edited several times. In such cases even the choice of the proper publication reference may be difficult, and a single one may not suffice. Unfortunately epigraphical publications have not adopted the practice of retaining some original designation, usually the first published edition, of a text as its permanent label (as seen in Papyrology, Assyriology, etc.). In general I have tried to refer the reader to the most useful edition(s) of a text, giving the most up-to-date and complete version of it. For the numerous new texts from the Agora this usually means an issue or supplement of *Hesperia*. The SEG numbers

of texts are included only when the texts are published in periodicals somewhat less easy of access, as the texts in *SEG* do not usually have independent authority. When a text or part of a text has been published in *IG I*¹ or *IG II*², the *IG* number is also normally given for reference, although the text there may be obsolete, since many scholars use the original numbers in *IG* for filing subsequent additions to the text, new editions of it, and other relevant bibliography. References to major collections such as *DAA*, *LSAG*, *SEG* (for indispensable bibliographical references, usually concerning dates of texts), Meiggs-Lewis, *ATL* 2, etc. have often been added for the clarification of the references and the convenience of the reader.

Citation of the dipinti involves special difficulties, as Kretschmer's very thorough book, *Die griechischen Vaseninschriften ihrer Sprache nach untersucht*, can no longer be relied upon to give an accurate text. Many of the vases have been republished with revised texts of the inscriptions, in various periodicals or elsewhere. Kretschmer's book includes many texts based on old drawings or poor photographs. The readings of these texts have often been improved, and certain other inscriptions have proved to be modern. Evaluation of texts on vases which have not subsequently been republished or which are on vases which are actually lost is problematical. Where phenomena are unique or extraordinarily rare scepticism is certainly justified, particularly if the reading involves letters which can be easily confused by the eye, such as kappa and chi, or theta and omicron. Wherever possible I have cited vases according to Beazley's catalogs, since these serve to fix the vases authoritatively in terms of artist (and consequently date) and enable the reader to locate the vase and bibliography concerned with it. As Beazley normally includes only signatures and *καλός*-names it has usually been necessary to refer the reader to a second publication for the text of the dipinto (usually the *CVA* or one of the handbooks).¹

There is still much uncertainty about the archon list for the period after 300 B.C., especially in the third and second centuries B.C. I have consistently followed the list in B.D. Meritt's *Athenian Year* with subsequent revisions in *TAPA* 95 (1964) and a few other minor changes. Although grave objections have been raised against parts of this list, and it will undoubtedly change more as additional texts become available, it is the most widely used version of the list today, and if it is used consistently as the basis for the dates in this book, it should be easy for its users to make adjustments as the list undergoes further correction. Accordingly all the dates of texts published in *IG II*² and elsewhere have been revised to agree with this list.² Likewise the date of many of the fifth-century decrees is still being debated, and I have merely referred the reader to a recent volume of *SEG* or to the Meiggs-Lewis collection as authority for the date cited. It simply was not possible in most cases to introduce discussion of the arguments for competing dates in citing texts, especially as usually these dates are too close together for the grammatical features of the texts to offer crucial evidence one way or the other.

¹ None of the planned corpus of dipinti has as yet appeared, cf. H. R. Immerwahr's announcement in *Acta of the Fifth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy* (Cambridge, 1967 [1971]) pp. 53ff.

² Meritt's new archon list published in *Historia* 26 (1977) pp. 161ff. incorporates a few changes too minor to be significant for grammatical studies: only a few names are moved to different years, usually with a change of only a few years (maximum difference is 12 years).

Early on in the preparation of this book it became obvious to me that published texts of inscriptions, even of those which have been published several times or 'revised', are not always reliable, especially in giving the small details of orthography of particular interest to the grammarian, and I realized that verification of many readings on the monuments themselves was unavoidable. Even when readings have been given correctly in the published texts, information has often been omitted there which is indispensable for the interpretation of grammatical phenomena, such as the presence of erasures, crowding, features of the hand which might make for copying errors, etc. In some cases verification has been made necessary by the contradictory readings printed in different editions of a text without editorial comment: the most recent text has not necessarily proved the most reliable.

Although I have examined a number of vases and small objects, the recently published texts of dipinti produced by experts on vase painting are largely trustworthy, and I have accordingly been concerned for the most part to verify readings on stone inscriptions, which comprise the main source of evidence for this study and where the most was to be gained from checking. Ideally every example in this book should have been verified, but as that would have taken more than a lifetime and was obviously impossible, a selection naturally had to be made; indeed, many readings are not subject to much doubt. Rare or unique anomalies, or those on monuments described as difficult to read, damaged, peculiar in other respects, etc. were obviously selected for checking; so also spellings on monuments which have been dated considerably earlier or later than other such spellings. Readings which have been verified on the stone are designated by the symbol (L.) (= lapis; the symbol has been transferred to other types of objects such as vases, etc.). A certain number of readings which could be recognized as not very doubtful have nonetheless been checked both because a random sample of most types of phenomena was usually verified and because all the readings on a given stone were sometimes verified at the time it was examined for a particularly doubtful case. Many other readings, usually those less likely to be inaccurate, have been verified from photographs, although they have not been designated in any special way because the citations of the publications of the photographs would have made cumbersome additions to the references. Checking the readings on the monuments themselves has enabled the making of many corrections and facilitated the interpretation of a good many readings in a new way, although sometimes going back to the monument has not only failed to resolve a difficulty but even raised new ones.

In conclusion reference must be made to a special class of inscriptions which contains many orthographical variants. These are the texts on stone whose only source are copies made by early observers, beginning with Cyriacus of Ancona in the first half of the fifteenth century and continuing into the nineteenth century. While there is usually no question of intended falsification here,³ these earlier copyists could not

³ I follow Meisterhans and others in excluding the almost certainly spurious Lenormant texts, *IG* II nos. 221, 301, 328; III nos. 3548–3638.

rely on the expertise developed in the field of epigraphy, especially in the past 150 years; they had no comprehensive handbooks and little epigraphical experience. To cite one example, xi of the form Ξ was often misread as sigma (cf. 45.01, pp.552–553 *infra*). They also tended to regularize spellings without editorial comment, and sometimes were careless in copying or produced inaccurate copies because they worked under adverse conditions. The last copyist who could be placed in this tradition is Pittakes, who published copies of large numbers of now lost inscriptions around the middle of the last century. It is certain that in some cases he regularized spellings without mentioning it; he seems also to have sometimes recorded texts inaccurately from memory. Sometimes Pittakes or some other early copyist is confirmed in a peculiar spelling variant (cf. confirmation of Pittakes' copy of I² 772, *Hesperia* 42 [1973] pp.173–4, no. 1), but by and large the opposite tends to prove true (for some cases cf. 12.011; 35.02; 45.01; 49.00 *infra*). In fact the evidence of these texts known only from early copies must often be regarded as doubtful, especially when it contains spellings which are very peculiar and unparalleled. There may, however, be special circumstances in individual cases, and no blanket rejection or evaluation of this type of evidence is justified.

III. The Nature of the Evidence: Problems of Interpretation

The grammarian's first object is naturally to establish the reliability of the published text. Since in many cases the previously published version or versions of an inscription cannot be taken at face value, verification of the readings on the monuments themselves or from photographs may be necessary.¹ Establishment of the definitive reading is of course especially difficult or even impossible when the text is known only from a copy and the actual monument, vase, etc. has been lost or destroyed.² Part of the establishment of the text is also the ascertainment of any physical features on the monument such as erasures, crowding, etc. which could have some bearing on the interpretation of spelling anomalies.

But the problems of interpreting epigraphical evidence from a grammatical point of view only begin with the establishment of the most reliable texts. The first decision which must be made about an orthographical variant is whether it can be explained in purely graphic terms or not, i.e. is it some sort of mechanical phenomenon showing nothing about the language of the writer? Typical examples of cases easy to decide are such things as erroneous dittography caused by beginning a new line; simple mistakes in copying such as writing a letter for one similar to it or reversing the order of two similar letters; omission of a letter adjacent to the same or a similar letter; omission of a letter or letters at the start of a new line; letters left incomplete, such as O for Θ, Λ for A, C for E, etc. Then there are other purely graphic phenomena which are not

¹ Cf. p. 12 *supra* for criteria used in selecting phenomena for verification.

² For the difficulties in dealing with early copies as sources of inscriptions on stone, cf. p. 12 *supra*; for early drawings of lost vases, cf. p. 11 *supra*.

errors at all, such as omissions at the ends of words caused by lack of space, especially at the ends of lines or where crowding, erasures, etc. are present; the closely related phenomenon of intentional abbreviatory shortening of words by dropping off one or more letters at the end; places left blank on the stone because of damage on its surface at the time of carving. But many cases are not so easy to decide as the foregoing. For example it would be difficult to decide if final -O for -ov in a small fragment dated ca. 340 B.C. were an abbreviatory shortening or a late case of O for ov because the absence of other abbreviations or less ambiguous cases of O = ov might be due merely to the small amount of preserved text.

Especially difficult to evaluate are cases in which an omission is involved. And yet the evidence for many phonological phenomena can in fact involve loss of a letter, e.g. η, ω, etc. for ηι, ωι, etc.; ι for ει; E, O for ει, ου; Y for ου; vowel syncope; geminates written simplex; τῆστοῦς; absence of movable ny; etc. Omission is a natural and easy error, but one which in the case of texts carved on stone normally requires time-consuming erasures to correct. To a certain extent the degree of isolation seen in a spelling (or in its date) can help to determine whether the loss of a letter is phonologically significant or not: does the example fit into a pattern of contemporary phenomena or is it quite unparalleled? To give an example: a spelling like ἐνθδε for ἐνθάδε in a metrical text is certainly only a careless omission, because it leaves an unpronounceable combination of letters; a few other spellings like ἀνέθκεν, Κτησκλης, etc., while leaving a pronounceable combination of letters, might be the same sort of graphic mistake as ἐνθδε—it is difficult to decide. But Βερνικίδης for Βερηνικίδης is quite another matter, for it occurs in a number of contemporary texts and exhibits a kind of vowel syncope recognizable in Greek, cf. σκρόδον. So also an example of ι for ει might be convincing as more than an accidental omission if there were contemporary examples on other texts or if there were cases of ει for ι in the same or contemporary texts.

Each of the many cases difficult to resolve must be evaluated in terms of the text in which it occurs. It should be noted whether the text shows other signs of carelessness in its execution which might tend to make one suspect careless omission, i.e. letters left incomplete, other certain omission, copying mistakes, etc. Caution must be used here, however, for it should be apparent that an individual prone to carelessness in writing or copying might also be likely to fail to maintain conservative standard orthography, occasionally allowing variants which betray developments such as sound changes. The large inventory of 329/8, *IG II² 1672*, illustrates well this combination. So also do the cruder sepulchral monuments, difficult to evaluate because of the small amount of text on each monument: they are prone to graphic mistakes, but can also be seen to show evidence of phonological phenomena before other more formal documents. It must be admitted that in some instances it is simply impossible to decide whether a spelling variant is due to purely graphic factors or not.

Before proceeding further it would be well to consider who was responsible for the orthographical variants of texts carved on stone. Many of the accidental graphic mistakes can be safely attributed to the stone-cutter, e.g. letters left incomplete, or other spellings which can be related

to some physical aspect of the stone such as crowding, erasures, new lines, etc. So also most of the copying errors are presumably the mason's, although it would be risky to say all are, as it is not known whether any recopying might have been done before the copy was presented to the stone-cutter. Even in the case of decrees and inventories of the Classical and Hellenistic Periods, which we know were the responsibility of an official, normally a γραμματεὺς, nothing is known of the processes involved in the preparation of the final copy from which the stone-cutter worked. Certainly some purely graphic errors, such as omissions, dittographies, etc., could just as easily have been made on the papyrus copy as by the stone-cutter. As for the variants which are evidence for grammatical phenomena, such as phonetic spellings instead of traditional ones, there seems to be no way to tell who was responsible. It is reasonable to suppose they were usually on the copy, as the mason was probably required to carry out the purely mechanical task of reproducing his exemplar exactly; but here too no certainty is possible, for it has been demonstrated that even persons trying to make mechanical copies sometimes alter spellings in accordance with their pronunciation. In some cases the stone-cutters may have prepared their own copies from which to work; for example, a formal dedication of the Roman Period shows considerable artistry in the arrangement and spacing of the text on the monument, for which it seems far more likely the carver was responsible than the person(s) who ordered the monument. The execution of texts which were to be placed on stones in the stoichedon style may also have necessitated preparation of a special copy at the stone yard. Presumably all texts actually carved on stone by masons (not included here of course are graffiti incised on fragments of stone, cf. p.7 *supra*) were prepared from written copies on papyrus or some other temporary material, although even here one could conceive that some kioniskoi might have been dictated to the stone-cutter by the purchaser since the texts are so short and the monuments may well have been mass produced and thus ready on demand except for the inscription.

Problems of interpretation do not end with the elimination of purely graphic phenomena. In the first place the significance of spellings may be in doubt. Frequent confusion of εἰ and ι is not difficult to interpret: εἰ has clearly passed from [eː] to [iː], i.e. it has become identical with ἰ. The sound change involved is easy and natural, and εἰ has continued to have roughly this same sound until the present day. The change of ἰ to εἰ would be less natural and would require the assumption of another change back to [iː] in order to explain the pronunciation in MG, and it may therefore be discounted. But other spelling variants are not so clear. In the course of the fourth century εἰ is gradually adopted as a variant for ηἰ as in τιμεῖ, δοκεῖ (subjunctive), etc. Does this mean that ηἰ is now no longer a diphthong, but equivalent to the εἰ of εἶναι, etc., i.e. [eː], or does it mean that ηἰ has changed from a long diphthong [eːi] to a short one [eː] (as if ωἰ were to change to οἰ)? Do variants like Πειραεὺς for Πειραιεὺς indicate the iota was actually dropped or had it become some kind of y-like glide between vowels which could not be indicated graphically, i.e. was Πειραεὺς = [peː-raʲeːs]? Do spellings like Ἡρακλειους, Ἀλαιοιως indicate a similar glide developing between ε and a following back vowel, or do they indicate ε has a closer sound here, comparable to [eː], but short? Or are they perhaps due to graphic confusion, brought on by variations like Λαύρεον for Λαύρειον, etc.?

Difficulties of interpretation also arise because of the essentially conservative nature of the written word generally, and of the language of stone inscriptions from Athens, especially formal public documents, in particular (although even in them there were

cases where spelling was not standardized, cf. pp.3–4 supra). Thus evidence for a sound change may appear fairly late, and even after the change in pronunciation has definitely occurred, evidence for it in inscriptions may be rare. In the early period, it is encouraging to find the stone texts (at least the private ones) not lagging much behind the more everyday texts among the dipinti and graffiti (cf. p.8 supra) in providing evidence for sound changes. For later times the sepulchral monuments usually provide evidence of sound changes before other types of texts. It is certain that many of these very numerous inscriptions exhibit a quite everyday and crude style of writing so that it seems doubtful that very much was going on in the pronunciation which they do not reveal fairly quickly. The view that evidence for sound changes could be pushed back much earlier in date if other types of text (such as papyri) were available is probably not tenable. A good example of the conservatism of public texts is the use of *o* vs. *ω* after ca. 100–150 A.D.: although certainly identical in sound by this time, *o* and *ω* are only rarely confused except in a few special lexical items. As might be expected, certain confusions involving inflectional endings, e.g. *-ται* for *-τε* in verbs, *τῶν* for *τῷν*, etc., remain rare except in examples of very crude writing.

Sound changes do not necessarily occur in a short period of time, but sometimes occur over an extended period, i.e. there may have been competing pronunciations within the population for what had been previously a single sound. Some pronunciations may have been substandard for a while, a fact which could explain the appearance of evidence for them much earlier in cruder private texts than in others, although there is no way to discern whether this is the correct explanation or if it is just spelling conservatism. Moreover, the appearance of a variant in one public text or group of texts may not indicate completion of a sound change if one individual is responsible for the variant(s). It is rarely possible to do more than speculate on this sort of thing, although grammatical phenomena of many kinds can sometimes be seen clustering in certain texts. When evidence for sound changes begins to occur, even if only rarely, in several contemporary public texts, e.g. *ει* ~ *ι* in the late third century B.C., *ηι* ~ *η* in the early second century B.C., etc., the new pronunciation must no longer be substandard or competing, but fairly general, because of the fairly conservative character of the writing of these texts.

Sometimes competing variants exist for a time and then disappear without trace. For example *-αεύς* is a frequent variant for *-αιεύς* in demotics like *Ἀλαιεύς*, etc. in the fourth and third centuries B.C., but disappears thereafter. Whether the spellings without iota indicate its deletion or its development to a glide between vowels, it is clear that in the later period it was the retention of iota which won out: not only is iota not dropped much after 200 B.C., but retention of *αι* can be seen from spellings of Roman times like *Ἀλαεύς*, with *E* for *αι*, which is now the same as *ε*.

Sound changes do not always affect all the cases in which a sound occurs, whether because they do not affect it in certain environments, e.g. *ει* does not develop to [i:] when before vowels as early as *ει* in other situations; or forces of analogy, e.g. *δικαία* does not develop in the same way as *Ἀθηναία*, probably because of the influence of *δίκαιος*; or reasons less easy to isolate. The same change may occur later in one lexical item than another: thus *Πτολεμαίς*, a word first attested at Athens in the early Hellenistic Period, shows the simplification of *-αίς* to *-αίς* long after it had been achieved in other words.

There can also be other causes for the confusion of the graphemes of sounds besides the actual identity of what had been two different sounds. Certain sounds are similar enough that their graphemes could have been confused, especially by uneducated and careless writers, such as those responsible for many of the dipinti, graffiti, and less formal sepulchral monuments. It may be difficult to decide whether the virtual absence of a spelling variant in all but the dipinti and graffiti is due to spelling conservatism or if the graphemes for two sounds in the dipinti etc. are being confused by the semi-literate just because the two sounds are sufficiently similar. The use of both *καπηλῆον* and *καπηλίον* for *καπηλεῖον* on a defixio of the early fourth century (cf. 8.03, p.170 *infra*) is probably this type of thing, for it is hard to explain the complete lack of any other evidence for confusion of *η* and *ι* or *ει* purely on the basis of spelling conservatism. Where the volume of examples is much greater, as in the case of the numerous ostraca with *Θεμισθοκλῆς* or *ελμί* on many vases, there is greater likelihood that a particular spelling has a phonetic basis: in these two cases it is significant that stone texts back up the spellings on the more rough-and-ready ostraca and dipinti: *ελμί* is normal on archaic stone texts and aspirate assimilation is attested in fifth-century stone inscriptions of all kinds. The hesitation between *ι* and *ει/ε* in *Κλινίας*, etc. may be a related phenomenon: *ει* may have had a closer sound after *κλ-*, causing a use of the grapheme *Ι*, although the universal use of *ΕΙ/Ε* later rules out any actual identity with *ι* here. A special type of confusion of graphemes of similar sounds is the failure to render a sound completely. This may be reasonably attributed to semi-literate writers, and usually takes the form of incomplete rendering of a diphthong, e.g. -ΥΣ for -εύς, -Υ for ον, *Ι* for *ει*, *Α* for *αι*, or partial spelling of a cluster, such as -ΣΡ- for -στρ- and the like. The dipinti and graffiti offer the most examples of this type of thing, but it occurs rarely in later texts with less formal writing.

In general it seems that a conservative attitude must be maintained in evaluating the evidence of inscriptions for the Attic dialect, for as has been seen in the preceding pages, there are many points which are subject to a certain amount of doubt and dispute. To seize upon certain spellings found only in very crude texts and involving omissions, e.g. *Ι* for *ΕΙ* in *Πιστορατος* (9.021, no.1, p.190 *infra*) as evidence for change of *ει* to *ῑ* [iː], in this case in the sixth century B.C., is a quite risky and unconvincing procedure. There are at least four other explanations which could account for the spelling: simple graphic omission, assimilation, confusion of two similar sounds ([eː] and [iː]), incomplete or inaccurate rendering of the diphthong (like -ΥΣ for -ΕΥΣ). The last two assume semi-literacy, evidenced in the omission of -τ- in the cluster -στρ-. The language of stone inscriptions is conservative, but even decrees of the fifth and fourth centuries, and especially the lengthy inventories of the fourth century, give enough clues of phonological phenomena through variant spellings that it is not likely that other sound changes can be assumed to have occurred without evincing the slightest trace in the epigraphical sources. There is some evidence that *ει* = *ῑ* by the second half of the fourth century B.C., although this change can only be assumed with absolute certainty to have been general by the later third century; there is also some indication, rather uncertain, that *ηι* is no longer a diphthong by ca. 350 B.C.;

and the pronunciation of ζ was certainly [z] or [zz], but no longer [zd], by the time of Alexander. But attempts to move any other changes characteristic of MG on the basis of epigraphical evidence to an earlier date are simply not cogent and convincing. For Attica most such changes can only reasonably be assigned to the later Hellenistic Period or Roman times. Some cannot be documented at all in Attic inscriptions.

In conclusion a few remarks about the use of orthographical variants as evidence for dating stone inscriptions are in order. For the most part grammatical phenomena provide good evidence for the date of an inscription when used in conjunction with other evidence, but to rely on them exclusively is probably in most cases not methodologically sound. This is true for several reasons. Many orthographical variants occur over a long period of time, and their usefulness for dating is limited, since they can naturally only provide broad outlines for a date. A few phenomena can occur at almost any period, although they may be very rare at all times. Other variants are hard to date because such a large proportion of the texts in which they occur are themselves texts which lack evidence for a precise date. But even spellings which can be assigned to a fairly limited period may not be trustworthy evidence for the date of a text. Usually there are a few precocious examples of a variant, quite a bit earlier than the period in which it is normal, and there are also normally some unusually late examples. Take for example the spelling -ηος for earlier -ειος (cf. 9.031, pp.202 ff. infra): this spelling is frequently used to date a text to the period ca. 50 B.C. to ca. 50 A.D., and this is the period in which it is most frequent. But there are certainly two examples in a decree of orgeones dated by the name of the archon Sonikos to the year 175/4 B.C., and a few other instances are probably as early as 100 B.C. There are also four examples in texts certainly later than 100 A.D.: one document is even later than the middle of the third century A.D. Where a text contained -ηος for -ειος, but other evidence pointed to a date in the late second century B.C., it would be most reasonable to date it then. A text with no other evidence for the date beyond -ηος might be described as containing a spelling variant *attested as early as 175/4 B.C. and as late as 250 A.D., but frequent in the period ca. 50 B.C. to ca. 50 A.D.* Probably no more than that is strictly justifiable. The very nature of changes in pronunciation is such that one would expect precocious signs of them in the writing of some individuals and a conservative retention of earlier pronunciations or of older orthography in others. Thus while changes in the phraseology of formulae can often provide a very precise indication for dating a text, the evidence of spelling variants is much less precise and must usually be used in conjunction with other evidence to establish the date of a text in a convincing way.

I. SCRIPTS, LAY-OUT OF TEXTS, PUNCTUATION, ETC.

1.00 Attic script

The epichoric alphabet in official use in Attica until 403/2 B.C., usually called the *Old Attic alphabet*, consisted of the following letters:

A	M
B	N
Λ	O
Δ	Π
E	Ϝ [in use only until about 550 B.C., cf. 1.012]
Ɀ	
H [= [h] only, for irregularities cf. 42.011]	P
	Σ
Θ	T
I	Υ
K	Φ
Ɀ	X

The chief distinguishing features of this script are:

Λ = γ, not λ (written Ɀ)

H = h, no Ω: hence E and O had to represent both long and short vowels and not only the inherited long vowels [eː] and [ɔː], but also those of secondary formation, the so-called spurious diphthongs, [eɪ] and [ɔɪ]. Thus EME (= ἐμέ), METEP (= μήτηρ), ENAI (= εἶναι); TO (= τό or τοῦ), TON (= τόν or τῶν), etc. For [eɪ] and [ɔɪ], the spellings EI and OY, normal later, are occasionally attested quite early, but are still exceptional even in the late fifth century, cf. 9.011–9.012, EI = [eɪ]; 13.01–13.02, OY = [ɔɪ].

No Ξ, Ψ, for which the digraphs ΧΣ, ΦΣ were used, cf. 1.011.

[A number of these letters undergo a considerable development in their shape in the course of the Archaic Period and fifth century, e.g. Ϝ is an earlier form of Σ, Θ of Θ, etc. Such changes lie outside the scope of the present study, as do the numerous later developments of Attic letter-forms. For the Archaic Period the most important facts are assembled in LSAG pp. 66–67. For the fifth century, cf. R. Meiggs, *JHS* 86 (1966) pp. 86–98. Cf. also Guarducci, *EG* 1 pp. 23, 131–134. The use of letter-forms as criteria for dating texts is a procedure subject to considerable risks, cf. the doubts of A. J. Graham for the Archaic Period, "Dating Archaic Greek

Inscriptions" in *Acta of the Fifth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy* (Cambridge, 1967 [1971]) pp. 9–17. H.B. Mattingly has questioned the criteria for dating fifth-century texts on pp. 27–33 of the same volume of articles of the fifth epigraphic congress. For the letter-forms of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods or even the fourth century, no really comprehensive treatment is available, but cf. Guarducci, *EG* 1, pp. 368–390. Much of the material in Larfeld's *Schrifttafel zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des attischen Alphabets* (end of his *Handbuch* 2.2, published 1902) is now obsolete. Also useful are the collections of photographs in *Imagines*² and Graindor, *Album*.]

1.011 ΦΣ, ΧΣ. The almost universal use of the aspirated stops in these digraphs is regarded by some scholars as evidence that the stop really was aspirated or even became a spirant in Attic (cf. Schwyzler, *GG* 1 p. 211; he cites the Armenian transcriptions p's, k's for ψ, ξ). Others (notably M. Lejeune, *Lit. infra*; cf. his views on the pronunciation of φθ, χθ, cf. 46.05, p. 571 *infra*) explain the spelling as indicating voiceless *lenis* (French *doux*) stops. Since φ, χ were normally lenis, and π and κ were fortis, ΦΣ and ΧΣ, although not accurate, were closer to a correct representation than ΠΣ and ΚΣ. The occasional extension of the aspiration in Χουφεταίων for Χουπεταίων might point towards the former view, but cf. p. 456 *infra*. The only evidence that stops were lenis before sigma consists of ΦΣ, ΧΣ spellings. On the basis of written evidence alone it is scarcely possible to decide between the two explanations. For the close association of the two consonants there is also good evidence in their frequent inversion in semi-literate contexts, i.e. σφ, σχ (cf. *infra*) and in the assimilation of the stop to the sibilant, i.e. Σ for ψ, ξ (rarely attested in Attica, except in ξύν→σύν, cf. 45.01, 45.011, 45.02). In some dialects (e.g. Naxian) use of hΣ attests to the spirantization of the stop before sigma, but such spellings are never found in Attica.

The substitution of the unaspirated stop, i.e. the spellings ΚΣ and ΠΣ, is extremely rare in Attic texts, and most of the examples are doubtful. A vase which has the signature Κσενοκλῆς twice (*ABV* pp. 184–5, cup) rests only on the questionable authority of an early copy, and since Χσενοκλῆς (once spelled Σχενοκλῆς) is well attested for this painter elsewhere (cf. *ABV* pp. 184–6; *Paralipomena* pp. 76–77), it is likely X was misread for K by the maker of the early reproduction. Likewise the vase with Χάροπς, cited by Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* p. 179 (from a drawing), seems to have disappeared; for Χάροπς on rf. vases, cf. *ARV*² p. 138, Charops painter no. 1; p. 167, Bowdoin-Eye painter no. 10 ([X]ά[ρο]πς). The reading Τόσσαρις has now been corrected to Τόσσαρις, cf. *HRF* 2 p. iii (corrigenda to *HRF* 1, p. 408); D. von Bothmer, *Amazons* p. 132, no. 7 (= *ARV*² p. 17, no. 19). The vase cited by Kretschmer (p. 179) for the spelling Αὐτοπσία is an Italian product, cf. A.D. Trendall, *The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily* (1967) p. 339, no. 797. On a vase of the Brygos painter, read not Ὅπσιμ- but Ὅρσίμεις, cf. *ARV*² p. 369, no. 1 (= *HRF* 1 p. 119, no. 8).

The only certain cases of K in the early period are in ΣΚ, when inversion has taken place, and deaspiration is perhaps not so surprising (cf. the tendency for -στ- in place of -σθ- in some dialects, attested rarely in Attic, 46.02). Cf. Καλλίσκενος on one of the more than 250 Kallixenos ostraca, *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p. 385, no. 17; σκονθόν

(= ξανθόν) on a vase by Psiax, cf. H.R. Immerwahr, *Acta of the Fifth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy* (Cambridge, 1967 [1971]) p.55, no.1 (= ARV² p.7, no.3).

Crudities of later times are: πσ for ψ in an inventory of objects dedicated by manumitted slaves, inscribed ca. 330–320, where]ΩΝΗΝΠΙΣΗΚΙΣΤΡΠΙΕ[probably =]ώνην πσηκιστρί έ[ν, cf. *Hesperia* 28 (1959) pp.208ff., p.222, line B91, cf. p.231; εκσετε, a false archaism in an oracular text carved in the Old Attic alphabet, probably in the reign of Hadrian, cf. II² 5007.10.

The inverted ΣΦ, ΣΧ are attested in dipinti, ostraca, and a few stone texts. Of the stone texts, two are documents of an official kind: records of the epistatai at Eleusis (no.6); list of the possessions of the Hermokopidai (no.7). Note that in the archaic dedication, I² 543 (= DAA p.50, no.48) (510–500?), the spelling Αισχίνες was first written and then corrected to Αισχίνες, the opposite of the correction in no.2.

Most of the dipinti are signatures of Epiktetos; of the vases in Beazley's catalog, eighteen have ξγρασφεν and sixteen ξγρασφεν, cf. ARV² pp.70–79, p.1705; the spelling Πισ[τ]όσχενος also occurs, ARV² p.77, no.86, on a vase with ξγρασφεν. Other dipinti: Τοσχοφλε, ABV p.104, Tyrrhenian group no.123 (= CVA, France 2, plates 18.2, 19–20); Σχενοκλές, Χσενοκλές on a vase of Xenokles, ABV p.186, no.11 (= HBF p.423, no.8); two vases of Psiax: σκονθόν (= ξανθόν) cf. supra; Σχανθός ABV p.293, no.10 (cf. AJA 54 [1950] pp.311–315); Σχανθός[ς],]σχιδεμον (probably for Ἀλεξιδημος in accusative) ABV p.266, Antimenes painter no.5 (cf. JHS 47 [1927] p.69). Cf. δσχος (= δξος) Agora 21, p.74, no. Hd 1 (= *Hesperia* 18 [1949] p.336, no.102) (425–400) graffito. ξγρασχε twice, *Paralipomena* p.69, KP--ΕΣ (name of painter unknown), bf. vase, is just a crude graphic mistake. For the ostraca, cf. no.5 infra.

Lit.: MS³ p.93, notes 832, 835; Schwyzler, GG 1, p.211; Lejeune, *Phonétique* p.69, p.72 (= *Traité*² p.45, p.62). For lenis and fortis stops, Heffner, *Phonetics* p.120.

Examples (stone texts and ostraca):

- 1) εϋ]σχάμενος I² 765.2 (= DAA p.163, no.147) (ca. 520–510?) ded. (L.);
- 2) Χσενοκλέες (corrected from Σχενοκλέες) DAA p.45, no.42 (= IG I suppl. no.373²¹²) (fin. s. VI a.?) ded.;
- 3) σκυλοδεσφ[ός] I² 645 (ca. 500?) ded., for the word cf. II² 1556.34;
- 4) σφυχ[έ] I² 920.6 (= GVI 1 p.660, no.2042) (ca. 500) sep. mon., συνμεισχ[(= συνμείχσ[ειν] ib. 3 (L.);
- 5) *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p.387, no.22 (483 aut 482) ostraca; of the more than 250 Kallixenos ostraca, six have Καλ(λ)ισχενος, cf. Καλλισκενος on *Hesperia* 19, p.385, no.17;
- 6) σχυναρχόντων I² 311.6 (422/1–419/8) inv., χσυναρχόντων ib. 13, 20;
- 7) Ἀσχινύχο *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p.279, no.7, line 46 (= I² 331.7) (ca. 414) inv.

1.012 Qoppa (ϑ). The earliest Attic example of qoppa is the graffito --ϑομο-- on a seventh-century sherd, cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 2 (1939) p.126, no. B56. ϑ was normal in Attic writing until about 570–550. It is regularly used before o-vowels, even when λ intervenes: e.g. Μύρμεϑος graffito on a SOS amphora,¹ LSAG p.77, no.10c (fin. s. VII a./init. s. VI a.); ϑόραχς, Λύϑος dipinti on a dinos of the Tyrrhenian group, ABV

¹ For the term SOS amphora, cf. R.M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery*² (London, 1972) p.76.

p. 104, no. 123 (= CVA, France 2, plates 18.2, 19–20) (ca. 575–550); Πατροῦλ[dipinto on an early bf. fr., ABV p. 26, KX painter no. 29 (= JHS 49 [1929] p. 258, no. 14); ΕΤΕΟΦΟΙ (= Ἐτέοφοι) ABV p. 135, Group E no. 44 (= CVA, England 4, plate 24.1 a–1 b) (ante 550); Πατροῦλος dipinto on a bf. kantharos, *Paralipomena* p. 72, Sokles (= Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* no. 1737) (ca. 550); etc. Cf. graffiti from the Agora collection:]εδιφος Agora 21, p. 17, no. D5 (fin. s. VII/init. s. VIa); Δοφο Agora 21, p. 19, no. D18 (ca. 550).

But by ca. 570 qoppa is already being replaced by kappa in the dipinti: e.g. Κοραφος graffito on a SOS amphora,¹ LSAG p. 77, no. 10h (= BSA 50 [1955] p. 67ff., no. 11) (600–550); ὄραχς alongside Κορονίς, Χαρικλό on the François vase, ABV p. 76, Kleitias no. 1 (= HBF p. 150, no. 2) (ca. 570); Λυκόπις on a contemporary vase, ABV p. 80, The Painter of Acropolis 601 no. 2 (JHS 49 [1929] p. 262, no. 31); one Sophilos vase (fl. 575–550) employs ϣ in Χαριῦλό, cf. ABV p. 39, no. 15 (= LSAG p. 77, no. 14a),² but on another Πατροκλῦς (probably for Πατροκλοῦς, with Y for [ο], cf. 13.04, p. 260 infra), cf. ABV p. 39, no. 16 (L.); Πυροκόμει and Καλιφόμε on the same vase, contemporary with Exekias, ABV p. 136, Group E no. 49 (= CVA, France 4, plates 19–20); Νιφισθένης, a single bf. vase, ABV p. 230, no. 1 (under cups, Berlin inv. no. 1801), but Νικοσθένης on numerous contemporary vases, cf. ABV pp. 216–235, *Paralipomena* p. 109; etc.

Most of the examples of qoppa on stone texts are in dedications dating ca. 600–550 with ὄρει or Γλαυφόπιδι: e.g. I² 466 (= LSAG p. 77, no. 13) (600–575?); I² 464 (= DAA p. 340, no. 318) (600–550?); I² 463 (= LSAG p. 77, no. 18) (566?); I² 468 (558? cf. DAA p. 358); I² 465 + I² 391 (= *Deltion* 20 [1965] *Chronika* p. 10, plate 3; SEG 24.59) (ca. 550). For I² 463 and I² 468 at least, there is good external evidence for the date beyond the lettering. The last cases of ϣ not on vases are probably Εὔδιφος on a bronze plaque inscribed for the tamiai, I² 393.3 (= LSAG p. 77, no. 21) (ca. 550?); and]φόπιδι on a bronze ded. from the Acropolis, I² 418 (none of these bronzes earlier than ca. 550, cf. LSAG p. 68, note 1). But K already in: κόρει I² 1014 (= IGAA p. 138, no. 46) (ca. 540?) sep. mon.; Κορτύνιος I² 488 (post 550), κόρει I² 663 (+ I² 548, cf. DAA p. 10, no. 6) (527–514), Κομονίδες I² 747 (= DAA p. 375, no. 336) (525–500?), all dedications.

Before Y, ϣ is poorly attested. On a bf. amphora (dated ca. 570) there occurs the strange Κῥυελνιος (for Κῥυλένιος), where the writer apparently could not decide which letter to use, cf. ABV p. 96, Tyrrhenian group no. 14 (= *Imagines*² plate 3, no. 6); the ϋ and EI of εἰμί point to an Attic writer, but ΔΒΕΥς looks foreign (cf. p. 546 infra). The ῥυκλοσγλεμυδο cited by Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* p. 100 (= O. Benndorf, *Griechische und sicilische Vasenbilder* [Berlin, 1868] plate 30, no. 6), has letters which look suspiciously non-Attic. Cf. σκυλειει, dipinto on a vase assigned to the painter of the François vase, ABV p. 77, Kleitias no. 4 (= Graef-Langlotz plate 24) (ca. 570). A sep. monument (ca. 540?) has Κύλον, cf. I² 1016 (= IGAA p. 136, no. 41; LSAG p. 77, no. 22). This avoidance of qoppa before Y provides good

² Χαριῦλό also on the new Sophilos dinos recently acquired by the British Museum (L.).

evidence that the Attic Y had already changed from [u] to [y] at this time. Qoppa does occur before Y in two graffiti from the Agora collection: *Agora* 21, p.18, no. D12 (found in a deposit of 600–575): Ὑδύμαχος; *Agora* 21, p.88, no. K2 (s. VIa.): Ὑν[ρας]. It is possible that these graffiti and Κῦελνιος belong to a transitional period in which the value of υ was changing from [u] to [y], if they are not the work of non-Athenians.

There are no Attic examples of ϣ before α.

Lit.: MS² p.3, note 14; LSAG pp.33–34, 67. For ϣ as a numeral, cf. 5.022 *infra*.

1.013 Digamma (ϝ). Although digamma was not normally used in Attic inscriptions, it does appear in two archaic texts on stone, both metrical, to indicate the glide between α and υ in the diphthong αυ:

--ἰν ἀϝντ[ί]αο ϣ-- following LSAG p.76, no.7, or ναϝντ[ί]αος following the text of I² 672, on a fr. of a ded. from the Acropolis, probably dated 625–600. This text was not accepted as Athenian by Schwyzler because the marble is Naxian (cf. DGE p.383, no.2), but as other dedications on Naxian marble are known to be Attic, his objection is probably not valid. But the very fragmentary nature of the text makes any assumption about it quite uncertain (cf. LSAG p.71).

ἀϝντ[ί]αο I² 1012 (= IGAA p.137, no.44) (ca. 550–540?) sep. mon.; certainly Attic (cf. LSAG pp.72–73); cf. C. D. Buck, CP 20 (1925) p.140, no.5 (L.).

A third example of ϝ on a stone monument must be rejected: the --ΑΥϝΟ-- originally read on a small fr. from Eleusis, cf. AE 1894, p.170, no.11, cannot stand; K. Clinton examined the stone and ruled out ϝ as impossible, although the letter in question remains uncertain; gamma would best fit the traces.

ϝ has its normal place in several abecedaria inscribed on sherds: *Agora* 21, p.7, nos. A1 (= Lang, *Graffiti* no.3) (fin. s. VIIIa./init. s. VIIa.); A2 (s. VIa.); A3 (init. s. Va.); possibly also on a sherd from Hymettus, cf. --ΑΒΓΔΕϝ-- *Hesperia*, suppl. 16 (1976) p.17, no.20, cf. fig.7 and plate 4 (s. VIIa.), where only a small part of the upright hasta is preserved, so that if a complete letter followed the epsilon it can not have been zeta, but might well have been digamma. Digamma is said to occur on a lead plaque found in the Acropolis excavations and not since republished: the text is an abecedarium of Ionic letters containing qoppa and sampi and hence is probably numerals, cf. *Bullettino dell'Institutio di Corrispondenza Archaeologica per l'anno 1867* (Rome, 1867) p.75; there is no indication of date (Pervanoglu assumed it was post-403 because of the Ionic letters). In *Agora* 21, nos. A2 and A3 the digamma has the form Ϟ, also found in I² 760, where it is apparently used as an alphabetic numeral, cf. 5.022, p.117 *infra*.

ϝ is exceedingly rare in dipinti. The ΕΙΟϝΕΟϝ on a bf. vase in London, ABV p.282, IV no.2 (Antimenes painter and his circle) (= CVA, England 8, plate 74.2, 75.2), is probably for ϝιόλεος, cf. a few non-Attic cases of E for ϝ due to carelessness cited by Kretschmer (cf. *Lit. infra*). His explanation that a non-Athenian vase painter mixed ϝιόλαος and Ἰόλεως is more convincing than Thumb's tracing the anomaly to a misguided attempt to archaize (cf. IF 9 [1898] p.334). As ι is short here, it is very unlikely that EI = ι. On a bf. vase in San Francisco occurs ΕΙϝΟϝΑΙ (L.), cf. ABV p.345, Lekythos no.2 under III (= CVA, USA 10, plates 11.2, 30.1), which if not a

nonsense inscription (H.R.W. Smith does not quite commit himself in CVA, text p.32) might be for ἐλώσαι (← ἐλάω, i.e. ἐλαύνω). Epigraphically, one might also read ΕΥϜΟΨΑΙ, but that yields no satisfactory sense.

Lit.: MS³ p.3, note 15; Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* pp.96–97; LSAG pp.25, 66. For digamma as a numeral, cf. 5.022 *infra*.

1.014 Sampi (Ϝ). The only use of the early Ionic letter Ϝ, of uncertain origin and value, and only later called sampi, so far claimed for an Attic text is on the amphora in Athens by the Nettos painter, ABV p.4, no.1 (ca. 615 B.C.). A.L. Boegehold (*AJA* 66 [1962] p.405, cf. plate 120), after a very careful scrutiny of the vase, has now suggested that the painter first wrote ΝΕΤΟΣ, then corrected it to ΝΕΤΟΣ. He went on to infer that the painter was probably non-Athenian. The traces underneath the tau certainly could be an original Ϝ, but they are not so clear as to make this interpretation absolutely certain. But since Περφεύς appears on another fragment attributed to this same painter, cf. ABV p.5, no.4 with *lit.*, it is difficult to assume he was non-Athenian, especially since the use of Attic -ρ(ρ)- (cf. 43.03) in this name has a good parallel in the Περφεύς on a fr. assigned to Kleitias, who was almost certainly Athenian, cf. ABV p.77, no.2 (= J.D. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-Figure* [Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951] plate 12.3).

Otherwise Ϝ is attested in Attic texts only as a way of differentiating the last of a series of twenty-five fourth-century B.C. pinakia, cf. *Hesperia* 29 (1960) pp.398–399, plate 87.24. The earliest use of Ϝ as a numeral on a stone text even outside Attica is apparently as late as the second century B.C., cf. SIG³ no.695.83, where the numerical value is disputed. For Ϝ = 900 in II² 2776 and on an amphora handle, cf. 5.022.

Lit.: F.W.G. Foat, *JHS* 25 (1905) pp.338 ff.; LSAG pp.38–9.

1.021 H = [h]. Even in texts in Attic script, H = [h] may occasionally be omitted, cf. 42.01.

On boundary stones there is a conventional retention of H = [h] in the word *hóros* even in conjunction with Ionic script: cf. II² 2555, II² 2569–II² 2571, II² 2593 (HPOΣ, i.e. ἡ-ό-ρος), II² 2603–II² 2604, II² 2606, II² 2609 (not later than s. IV a., cf. Kirchner's note), II² 2610, II² 2613–II² 2614, II² 2620 a–b, II² 2624, II² 2633; *Hesperia* 9 (1940) p.267, fig.4; *Hesperia* 21 (1952) p.379, no.37; *AE* 1968, *Chronika* p.21, and plate 9β (= *Archaeological Reports* 16 [1969–70] p.5, fig.5); *hóros* is rare in mortgage horoi, cf. II² 2712, II² 2728; *Hesperia*, suppl. 9 (1951) p.25, Addendum 1(b).

Less frequently there is retention of H = [h] in such texts in the word *hierón*, e.g. *hierón* Διὸς Ξενίο I² 886; *hierón* ... γῆς I² 866 (= *DGE* p.384, no.9.3) (the short text not in *purè* Ionic, ΑΗΣ = γῆς shows Attic gamma intended, cf. 2.021, no.3, p.43 *infra*); *hóros hierō* *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p.38, no.4; *hóros hierō nóμφης BCH* 82 (1958) p.366, fig.5. Rather unusual is: *δρος hierō Ἀπόλλωνος*, in II² 2601 (L.), where H = [h] is retained in *hierón*, but not *hóros*. Cf. similar retention of H = [h] only in *hierón* in a decree of 418/7 in mixed script, cf. 2.02, no.5, p.41 *infra*.

There is rarely any very precise indication of date for these boundary stones, but some are certainly as late as the fourth century; O for ου occurs in many of them, and this and considerations of lettering, etc., support the assumption that most of them are earlier than ca. 350 B.C.

An archaizing dedication of choregoi from the tribe of Oineis dated ca. 150 A.D. has Ἐρμῆς ἡλιποτομάδ[ης], cf. II² 3121. A similar archaism may occur in II² 2524: ἡό[ρος] (aet. Herodi Attici?). Cf. ΗΙΕΡΟΚΛΗΣ in II² 1987 a (in add.).⁸ (ca. 50 p.), names of epheboi inscribed on the tower of Andronicus.

The reading ΗΠΙΑΣΑΣ on the lead curse-tablet published by E. Ziebarth, GGN 1899, pp. 117–118, no. 18/19 is apparently correct, cf. A. Abt, *Bleitafeln aus Münchner Sammlungen* (= *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 14 [1911]) pp. 143 ff. This text belongs to a group of tablets, assembled by L. Robert, *Collection Froehner* 1 p. 15 and convincingly dated by him to the fourth century B.C. Indeed they are probably early fourth-century. But it is very unlikely that ΗΠΙΑΣΑΣ here represents ἡ-α-πάσας with a survival of H for [h], as originally suggested by Schwyzer (cf. MS³ p. 86, note 725) and approved by W. Rabehl, *De sermone defixionum atticarum* (Berlin, 1906) p. 21. These texts are clearly products of semi-literacy, cf. κατηλῆον alongside κατηλῖον on the one published by Robert (cf. 8.03), and probably H was incised accidentally for A here, cf. Schwyzer, *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum* 5 (1900) p. 248. In the case of Ἡκάτη, etc. there is certainly no H = [h] or [he], but just confusion of η and ε, frequent in these texts, cf. 8.01.

1.022 ρη, μη, λη. A spelling [Φρ]εάρηιο[(with -ρ- = -ρρ- cf. 43.011) occurs on an archaic ded. of ca. 500 B.C., cf. DAA p. 71, no. 68 (= I² 470.4) and on several of the Themistocles ostraca from the Agora collection (dated to the 480s B.C.), of which one is illustrated *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p. 369, fig. 25. In the ostraca -ρρ- is usually written simplex, but one has the full Φρεάρρηιος (L.). The ancient grammarians prescribe that initial rho and the second of two intervocalic rhos be aspirated, and comparable examples of ρη- occur occasionally in archaic Greek texts from elsewhere, cf. ρηοφαῖσι, IG IX.1, no. 868.3 (= DGE p. 64, no. 133.2) (Corcyra).

In Latin transcriptions hr occasionally occurs instead of rh, which suggests a puff of breath probably accompanied the rho throughout its sounding, i.e. ρη was actually some kind of voiceless [r], cf. Sturtevant (Lit. infra). The emphasis of the grammatical writings on the aspirate quality of rho in certain positions perhaps suggests that voiceless ρ was on the way out by the Roman Period, and in MG ρ is voiced in all positions.

The Δω[ς] ῥόρη[ει] proposed with some hesitation by A.E. Raubitschek for the ded., I² 464 (cf. DAA p. 341), is not likely to be correct; not enough of the last letter is preserved to rule out some other letter (e.g. pi), and there is no other evidence a simple intervocalic rho was aspirate in Attic at this time, even when digamma has been lost after it.

Examples of μη are fairly frequent; λη is rare. μη: μηγάλο I² 623 (fin. s. VI a.) ded. (L.); ἐν μηέσοι AM 62 (1937) p. 1, no. 1 (= SEG 10.345; LSAG p. 78, no. 35; revised text of I² 837) (ca. 520–514) ded.; Μ]ηγανκλῆς, kalos-name on a rf. vase, ARV² p. 1598, Megakles 1, no. 3; Μηγανκλῆς not infrequent on new unpublished ostraca of Megacles from the Ceramicus (dated 486; one is illustrated *Deltion* 23 [1968])

Chronika, plate 19); μῆτριον on an Agora sherd, *Agora* 21, p.59, no. Ha 1 (init. s. Va.). μῆ also likely on two more dedications: μῆγεγάλο DAA p.297, no.278 (= I² 513 + I² 704) (init. s. Va.?) (L.); Διός μῆε[γάλο] I² 710 (ca. 500). λῆ: All Attic examples dipinti on bf. vases: Λῆέον *Paralipomena* p.69, by Neandros; Λῆέον B.N. Stais, AE 1886, columns 83 ff., apparently not assigned by Beazley, but inscriptions are certainly Attic; Λῆάβετος O. Benndorf, *Griechische und sicilische Vasenbilder* (Berlin, 1868) plate 29, no.3, probably from the Acropolis (cf. *ib.* p.45) and inscriptions certainly Attic. The name is in the genitive as sometimes occurs on vases, cf. Φόχοδ by another figure; for the name, cf. Λάβης, father of an Athenian, in the cat., II² 1742.56 (370/69?).

The writing of h after q, μ, and λ is entirely foreign to the more regularized orthography of official documents. It is likely to be a clue to actual pronunciation. In the case of μέγας, μέσος, and μέτριος it is certain that the ancestral form began not with *sm- (to give hm/mh, probably = voiceless [m]) but with *m-. Also in the loan-word λέων nothing but initial [l] is found elsewhere (cf. Frisk, GEW 2 p.113); only in Λάβης (cf. ἡέληφα) is λῆ- justified etymologically. It is clear that initial voiced [m] and [l] (from *m-, *l-) and voiceless [m] and [l] (i.e. mh, lh, from *sm-, *sl-) have fallen together to form one set of initial m- and l- phonemes. These /m/ and /l/ seem to have been voiceless at Athens in the speech of some persons as late as the 480s B.C.; when the statistics of μῆ- versus μ- on the large numbers of Ceramicus ostraca become known, it will be possible to speculate whether the initial voiceless /m/ was fairly general. Initial μῆ- is known from other places in Greece in the Archaic Period and the fifth century, cf. IG V.1 no.1533 (= DGE p.69, no.152) (s. Va.) (Prote); IG VII no.3493 (= DGE p.69, no.151) (Megara); IG IX.1 no.869 (= DGE p.65, no.133.3) (Corcyra); etc.; so also λῆ, cf. λῆαβόν IG IV no.177 (Aegina). The grammarians make no mention of aspirate mu or lambda; presumably /m/ and /l/ were always voiced long before the Roman Period.

The scansion in Homer of short vowels as long before certain initial μ, λ, etc. and extension of -μμ-, -λλ-, etc. to cases where no original *sm-, etc. justifies it seems governed by metrical needs, cf. Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique* I² (1958) p.177. Thus it may indicate nothing about the continuing existence of aspirate μ, etc. in the period of the finalization of the epic: the bards were faced with certain formulae in which μ, λ, q counted as two consonants (because derived from hm ← *sm-), and they extended this licence to cases where it was not etymologically justified after every μ, λ, and q had the same sound. For ἐνι μμεγάρους on a metrical text of Roman date, cf. p.534 *infra*.

Lit.: MS³ p.84, note 715; Sturtevant pp.60–63; Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* pp.158–161.

2.00 Ionic alphabet

After the restoration of the democracy in 403/2, in which Eukleides was archon, the Athenians passed a decree which provided for the official adoption of the Ionic script. According to the historian Theopompos it was Archinos of Koile, an important member of the democratic faction, who persuaded the Athenians to take this step: τοὺς δὲ Ἀθηναίους ἐπεισε χρῆσθαι τοῖς τῶν Ἰώνων γράμμασιν Ἀρχίνος ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Εὐκλείδου ... περὶ δὲ τοῦ πείσαντος ἱστορεῖ Θεόπομπος (from the *Suda*, s.v. Σαμίων

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ὁ δῆμος, cf. Herzog, *Lit. infra* p.27). That Archinos also wrote something urging the adoption of the Ionic letters is known, and he apparently argued that Ψ and Ξ were comparable to the Z already in use at Athens (cf. Usener, *Lit. infra*). Other Greek cities were also adopting in the later fifth and in the fourth centuries B.C. a standardized version of the Eastern Ionic scripts (hence the designation *Milesian* alphabet sometimes employed by modern scholars). Thus this script is being established at Delphi in the last quarter of the fifth century B.C. (cf. *LSAG* p.103). The standard form of the Ionic alphabet establishes itself in the Cyclades in most places in the second half of the fifth century (cf. *LSAG* p.291, p.297, etc.). In Boeotia the adoption of the Ionic letters occurs in the fourth century (cf. *Lit. infra*).

In Athens the change in 403/2 was complete. No public documents can be found in the Old Attic alphabet after this date, and scarcely any trace of the older script can be found in any text. Indeed the Ionic alphabet had long been familiar at Athens before 403 B.C., as numerous instances of its use in public and private texts testify. The number of pre-403 Attic texts with Ionic letters is sufficiently great to require division into the following sections:

- 2.01 Consistent use of Ionic alphabet in texts earlier than 403/2
 - 2.011 Public texts
 - 2.012 Private texts
- 2.02 Sporadic use of Ionic letters in Attic texts earlier than 403/2 B.C.
- 2.03 Peculiarities in the use of the Ionic alphabet

For archaizing revival of the Old Attic alphabet in texts of the Roman Period, cf. Introduction, p.9.

Lit.: MS³ pp.4–5, notes 16–18; H. Usener, *Lectiones Graecae* XX, RM 25 (1870) pp.590–592; R. Herzog, *Die Umschrift der älteren griechischen Literatur in das ionische Alphabet* (Basel, 1912) (especially pp.27 ff.); RE s.v. Archinos and Kirchner, PA no.2526; Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* pp.103–108.

The principal ancient testimonia are collected in Usener and Herzog; for fragments of historians, cf. also Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* no.115F155 (Theopompus); no.70F106 (Ephorus); no.76F66 (Duris). Scholiast to Dionysius Thrax (= Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca* p.783) in *Gramm. gr.* 1.3, p.183 (Hilgard). For the spread of Ionic letters in Boeotia, cf. P. Roesch, RP 40 (1966) pp.78–87; S. Levin, *Teiresias*, suppl. 1 (1972) pp.51–60. Cf. Larfeld, *Handbuch* 2.2, pp.450–453.

2.01 Consistent use of Ionic alphabet in texts earlier than 403/2

2.011 Public texts

State decrees. The only pre-403 Attic state decree in Ionic script which does not deal with a foreign person or state is I² 25 (dated 424/3, cf. no.7 *infra*), in which the script abruptly changes from the Old Attic to the Ionic alphabet in line six. There is as yet no satisfactory explanation for this unique example.¹ It is likely that the hand changes

¹ The attractive explanation proposed by Meiggs-Lewis p.204 has now been withdrawn, as the erased letter in line 6 was certainly not Ϝ; it was probably alpha or delta.

in line six as the script changes, but even this is not certain: at least the sigma, the most distinctive letter, in lines 6–7 is less different from that in lines 1–5 than that of the last lines of the text. But perhaps the new hand made an effort to imitate the lettering of the first five and a half lines at first in order to minimize the effect of the change of hands. The chief difference noticeable in lines 6 ff. is a slight shift in the checker pattern of the stoichedon, and it would be tempting to assume this has some connection with the script change, but once again the stone belies the interpretation, because it is certain that the *number* of letters in the line does *not change* when the script does. Explanations thus far proposed are no more than speculation.

All other Athenian state decrees in Ionic script before 403/2 deal with foreign states or persons. Some have connected the use of Ionic script with the payment of the expenses for the erection of the inscription by the non-Athenian party, as was the usual practice. Thus in the earliest such decree, I² 16, an agreement concerning the people of Phaselis datable to the period 469–450 B.C. (cf. no. 1 *infra*), it is certain that the Phaselites were to pay for the expenses of carving the stone (cf. lines 26–27). This may also be inferred in other cases, i.e. nos. 2, 4, and 11 (of these, only no. 2 is earlier than 430 B.C.). The same may be true for the proxeny decrees, although all these are later than 430 B.C. except no. 3 *infra* (in virtually pure Ionic). But the large number of treaties and proxeny decrees in Attic script shows that it was by no means normal to use Ionic letters in such texts until around 412 B.C. and later. Thus the extensive I² 39 (446/5), paid for by the people of Chalcis (cf. line 60), is in virtually pure Attic script, containing only a single H = [ε] in line 77; and the proxeny decree, I² 56 (dated ca. 430, or roughly to the same date as no. 3 *infra*), in which it is also stated that Leonidas of Halicarnassus paid the expenses, is also in the purest Attic script. By ca. 412 B.C. and later, however, Attic decrees dealing with foreign states or persons are as often in Ionic script as in Attic. Thus nos. 9–14, 16–17 are in Ionic, but in Attic are: I² 110, honoring Phrynichus' assassins, of 410/9; I² 113, honoring Euagoras of Cyprus, of ca. 410; I² 116, about the Selymbrians, either of the year 409/8 (*Staatsverträge* 2 p. 148, no. 207) or 407 (Meiggs-Lewis p. 267, no. 87), with only a few incursions of the Ionic alphabet (cf. 2.02, no. 7, p. 41 *infra*); I² 105, honoring Archelaus of Macedon, dated 407/6 (cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 277, no. 91); and the fragments dealing with Carthage, probably of the year 407/6, cf. *HSCP*, suppl. 1 (1940) pp. 247 ff. (= Meiggs-Lewis p. 280, no. 92; *SEG* 10.136; I² 47 + new fr.). Instructive also is the use of the Old Attic alphabet in I² 70, a decree of 424/3 honoring a man from Orchomenos, while Ionic letters are used in a text of 412/1 honoring his son (cf. no. 9 *infra*).

It is difficult to see why some proxeny decrees and treaties should be in Ionic, while others are not. If the use of Ionic were due to employment of a stone-cutter from the foreign state in question, as suggested by E. Schweigert (*Hesperia* 6 [1937] p. 319), one would expect some incursions of non-Attic dialect forms. But such incursions do not occur; all these texts are in Attic, with no peculiarities which are not well attested in texts of the same period in Attic script, e.g. EI and OY alongside E and O for [ε] and [ο], σύν and ξύν, etc. Where Ionic letters occur only sporadically, as in 2.02, they

could be due to the stone-cutter, but as there are Athenian private texts in Ionic alphabet of the same period there is no reason to assume he was not Athenian in those cases either. The complete absence of foreign dialect features in these decrees in Ionic script supports the view that its employment is due to the person who prepared the copy, as D.M. Lewis saw, cf. *BSA* 49 (1954) p.23, note 9. It is interesting to see the use of Ionic script in texts concerning areas outside the Ionic dialect area (no.6, Achaea; no.9, Orchomenos), perhaps indicating that it was recognized as a sort of standard Koine alphabet. Comparable is the selection of Ionic script for the sepulchral monument of Pythion of Megara erected by three Athenian tribes in 446 B.C. (no.20 *infra*). It is difficult to decide whether or not the foreign person(s) who paid for the erection of certain of these texts could have arranged to have them carved in Ionic, or whether some other explanation, such as a natural tendency to select Ionic script as a standard alphabet in texts dealing with foreign concerns, or the independent preference of the Athenian secretary,² should be preferred. Certainly there is a striking avoidance of Ionic script in decrees which have no concern with foreign matters before 403 B.C., with the exception of I² 25 mentioned *supra* (no.7 *infra*).

It is possible that the Four Hundred instituted the Ionic alphabet in 411: at least the inventory of the treasurers of Athena is in Ionic that year, but those of the following years revert to Attic script (cf. *infra* and no.23). But the only decree which can be assigned to the period of this government (no.10) is a proxeny decree, and, as has been shown, the use of Ionic in this type of decree is not unusual in this period (cf. nos.8–11, 13–14, 16–17 *infra*).

The last extensive decrees not concerned with foreign matters which are in Attic script are: I² 109 (410/9); I² 114 (410/9, cf. *SEG* 24.15); I² 115 (409/8). The fragmentary nature of the following texts makes their subject matter uncertain: I² 119 (408/7), I² 121 (408/7), I² 123 (407/6),³ all entirely inscribed in Attic script. There simply are too few preserved texts to provide sufficient evidence to support the assertion of B.D. Meritt (*Hesperia* 13 [1944] p.215) that Ionic was universally employed in Attic decrees by 406 B.C. Of the few texts dated to 406 or later, there is only the heading of 406/5 (no.15 *infra*), which may have been a proxeny decree, and nos.16 and 17 of 405/4, both certainly proxeny decrees. Only slightly earlier (probably 407/6) are the Carthage fragments (cf. p.28 *supra*), which are in Attic script. The decree of 405/4 honoring the Samians, II² 1.5–40 (= I² 126) was carved (or, less likely, re-carved, if the earlier copy had been destroyed by the Thirty, cf. Kirchner's comments on II² 1) when Kephisophon was secretary, i.e. 403/2, and thus reflects the new orthography. Similarly II² 8, although the decree was passed in 424/3, is a copy made in the early fourth century; the original may not have used Ionic lettering. If U. Kahrstedt's arguments (cf. *GGN* 1932 pp.77 ff.) be accepted, then the fragment of text in the Old Attic alphabet published *Hellenika* 2 (1929) pp.5 ff. (= *Staatsverträge* 2 p.158) would be a decree of the special state set up at Eleusis and would be the last decree in Attic script, dating from the year 403 B.C.

² Cf. G. V. Lalonde, *AJA* 76 (1972) p.213.

³ The decree, I² 122, now dated to ca. 420–414, cf. *Hesperia* 45 (1976) p.293.

Other public texts. There are only five examples of complete texts in Ionic script earlier than 411. Two are inventories from demes outside the city. An inventory for the years ca. 450–440 which comes from Rhamnus (no.18) has the last four years entirely in Ionic script (lines 15–38). Comparable is a text of Ikaria (no.19) with a decree on one side (ca. 440?) in the Old Attic alphabet and accounts on the other, in which the later entries begin the use of Ionic script, at first imperfectly. The first entries date ca. 450, but the precise date of the quite fragmentary later entries cannot be ascertained. For this early use of Ionic letters in the rural demes, cf. the intermittent use of Ω in the early (ca. 460) law of the Sypalettioi (cf. 2.022, no.1, p.44 *infra*). Adherence to Attic script seems to have been much less strict outside Athens itself.

The Athenian copy of the accounts of the temples on Delos (of the Attic amphiktyons? cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.170) dated 434–432, is inscribed in Ionic script (no.21). The Delians paid for both their own and the Athenians' copies of the documents, and the standard form of the Ionic alphabet had probably been adopted on the island by this time (cf. Jeffery, *LSAG* p.297). The text contains nothing strange to the Attic dialect except that the name of the Delian month Ποσειδηϊών has been given to the Attic month Ποσειδεών (cf. p.369 *infra*).

The choice of Ionic script for the sep. mon. erected for Pythion of Megara by three Athenian tribes in 446 (no.20) has already been mentioned. A fr. of a cas. list of ca. 450 in Ionic, cf. *Hesperia* 29 (1960) p.65, no.114, has non-Attic names and is probably foreign. Two casualty lists of Lemnian cleruchs of 450–425 have the heading in Ionic, the text in Attic script, cf. 2.02, nos.3, 9, pp.41–42 *infra*.

A bronze shield taken from the Spartans at Pylos is inscribed (in *pointillé* technique): Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐκ [Πύ]λο, cf. *AE* 1937 Part 1, pp.140–143 (= *Hesperia* 6 [1937] pp.346–348; *SEG* 10.325, which has the text wrongly printed in Attic script) (ca. 424).

Several accounts of the last decade of the fifth century were carved in Ionic script. The Ionic letters are first used on accounts of the expenditures of the treasurers of Athena under the government of the Four Hundred in 411 (no.23), perhaps an intended innovation (cf. Ferguson in *Lit. infra*, Meiggs-Lewis p.251). If so, it was not followed by the boards of succeeding years: the accounts of 410/9 (*I²* 304A), 409/8 (*I²* 301), and 407/6 (*I²* 304B) are in Attic script again, although the last has a few Ionic features (cf. 2.02, no.8). These accounts probably do have Ionic lettering again for the years 406/5, 405/4, and 404/3 (cf. nos.27, 30, 33). A few more accounts with Ionic script may be tentatively dated 406–404 (nos.29, 31, 32).

In Ionic is also a ded. of the prytaneis of Erechtheis dated by the archon's name to 408/7 (no.26).

The very small fragments of a tribute assessment tentatively dated to 410/9 contain Η twice used = η (no.24). The fragments are really too small for certainty, but in view of the absence of Ionic script from earlier tribute documents we may suppose this final list—when tribute was apparently revived after four years—to have been in the Ionic alphabet.

The inventories of the treasurers of Athena for 410–406 just cited are the last extensive inventories in Attic script. With them should be compared the fr. of a law-code, *Hesperia* 4 (1935) pp. 13ff., no. 1, dated ca. 410–404, entirely in Attic script except for the one peculiar use of H for ħ (cf. 2.031).

It is doubtful if the use of EI for [e'] or OY for [o'] (later ou) has much correlation with the choice of Ionic script. EI and OY occur only occasionally in texts in Ionic script, but are not used consistently as the Ionic letters are. Many texts with EI and OY are in Old Attic. No. 11 infra, a very small fragment dating to 410/9, is exceptional in exhibiting a consistent use of EI and OY in conjunction with Ionic script (cf. 9.011, 13.01 infra).

Lit.: Cf. 2.00, p. 27 supra; W.S. Ferguson, *The Treasurers of Athena* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932) *Appendix I: The Ionic Script*.

Public Texts in Ionic Script earlier than 403/2:

In each of the following examples the symbols H, Ω, ó (i.e. words beginning with the rough breathing are spelled without initial H = [h]), Ξ, Ψ, Λ, Γ indicate which of the Ionic letters happen to occur in any given text. All these texts are entirely, or almost entirely, in Ionic script. Where texts contain E and/or EI for [e'], O and/or OY for [o'], this is also indicated.

State Decrees:

- 1) I² 16 (469–450, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 66, no. 31; ca. 450, cf. *Staatsverträge* 2 p. 57, no. 149; H.B. Mattingly's attempt to lower the date to 425/4 is not convincing, cf. SEG 22.1) Treaty with Phaelis. H, Ω, ó, Ξ, Ψ, E/EI, O, Γ, Λ.
- 2) I² 17 (446/5, cf. *Staatsverträge* 2 p. 70, no. 154; SEG 21.23) Treaty with Eretria. H, Ω, ó, O, Λ.
- 3) I² 55 (ca. 430, cf. SEG 14.7) Concerning Aristonoos of Larisa. H, Ω, ó, Ξ, Ψ, E, O, Γ, Λ; impurities: ΑΦ'ΕΞ in *ib.* 8; ΚΩΛΥΕΙ (subjunctive) *ib.* 11, cf. BSA 49 (1954) p. 29; cf. 23.00.
- 4) II² 55 + *Hesperia* 13 (1944) p. 211, no. 2 (428/7, cf. SEG 24.6) Concerns the people of Aphytis. H, Ω, ó, Ξ, Ψ, E, O, Γ, Λ.
- 5) *Hesperia* 14 (1945) p. 115, no. 10 (425/4) Honorary decree for a Chian. H, Ω, Ξ, [Ψ], EI (twice), O, Λ.
- 6) I² 93 (425–412, cf. SEG 13.11; 23.19) Proxeny of Lykon of Achaea. H, Ω, ó, Ξ, Ψ, E, O, Γ, Λ. For ΑΙΘΙΝΕΙ in *ib.* 9, cf. 23.00.
- 7) I² 25.6–11 (424/3, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 204, no. 71; Sokolowski, *Lois*² p. 23, no. 12) Decree concerning the priestess of Athena Nike. Text begun in Old Attic script; new hand, beginning at line 6 (?), presumably completed it in Ionic script. H, Ω, ó, O, Γ, Λ (L.).
- 8) *Hesperia* 5 (1936) p. 381, no. 5 (415/4) Proxeny decree. H, Ω, Ξ, Ψ, E, O, Γ, Λ.
- 9) I² 103 (412/1) Proxeny of Eurytion of Orchomenos. H, Ω, ó, Ξ, E/EI, O, Γ, Λ.
- 10) II² 12.1–28 (411, lines 29ff. added by a second hand in 399/8; cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 247, no. 80) Honors for Pythophanes of Carystus. H, Ω, ó, Ξ, Ψ, E, O, Γ, Λ.
- 11) I² 110 a (= II² 142; SEG 10.126) (410/9) Honors Halicarnassians. H, Ω, ó, EI, OY, Γ, Λ. The consistent use of EI (2 cases) and OY (3 cases) is unique in a fifth-century text in Ionic script (cf. 9.011, no. 29, p. 175 infra; 13.01, no. 17, p. 241 infra); but the text mentions the name of the archon of 410/9 in the opening. There is no evidence to support the re-carving of the text ca. 375 or later except for the use of EI, OY, and most scholars have accepted the lettering as satisfactory for 410/9. But some doubt must remain (L.).

- 12) I² 117 (407, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.270, no.88) Treaty with Clazomenians at Daphnous. H, Ω, δ, Ξ, Ψ, E/EI, O, Γ, Λ.
- 13) I² 118 (408/7) Honors Oiniades of Palaiskiathos. H, Ω, δ, Ξ, Ψ, E, O/OY, Γ, Λ.
- 14) I² 106 a (= I² 48) (fin. s. Va., cf. SEG 24.17; probably ante 405/4) Proxeny decree fragment. H, Ω, δ, Ξ, E, O, Γ, Λ.
- 15) I² 124 (406/5) Heading only, subject unknown. H, Ω, Γ, Λ.
- 16) I² 125 (405/4) Honors Polybos of Gortyn. H, Ω, δ, Ξ, Γ, Λ.
- 17) *Hesperia* 39 (1970) p.111 (= I² 174 + new fr.) (405/4) Honors Epikerdes of Cyrene. H, Ω, δ, Ξ, Ψ, E/EI, O, Γ, Λ.

Other Public Texts:

- 18) SEG 10.210 (= AE 1934-5 pp.128-132; Meiggs-Lewis p.144, no.53) (ca. 450-440) inv. from Rhannus; the text covers the years 450-445: the last four entries (lines 15-38) in Ionic script. H, Ω, δ, E, O, Γ, Λ.
- 19) I² 186/7 A (= AJA 5 [1889] pp.304ff.) inv. from Ikaria; entries I and II (ca. 450) are the earliest and in Attic script; in entry III H = [ε'] once, but O = [σ'], Λ (= Γ); entries IV-VI in Ionic script with H, Ω, Λ, Γ, O/OY (entry IV has O = [σ'] once). C. D. Buck (*AJA loc. cit.*) dated entries III-VI to about the same date and not much later than entries I and II; the reverse of the stone has a decree in Attic script (447-430).
- 20) I² 1085 (446, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.137, no.51) sep. mon. erected by three Athenian tribes for Pythion of Megara. H, Ω, δ, Γ, Λ, Ξ (cf. 45.01), E/EI, O. The text contains Doric forms and is metrical (L.).
- 21) I² 377 (434-432) Accounts of temples on Delos, probably of the Attic amphiktyons, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.169, no.62. H, Ω, δ, Ξ, Ψ, E, O, Γ, Λ.
- 22) I² 5220 (433, cf. SEG 22.65) publ. sep. mon. for Silenos of Rhegium. H, Ω, Ψ, O, Γ, Λ.
- 23) I² 298 (= Meiggs-Lewis p.250, no.81) (411/0) Expenditure of the treasurers of Athena. H, Ω, δ, Ψ, O/OY, Λ.
- 24) ATL 2, no. A 13 (= *Hesperia* 5 [1936] p.386) (410/9) Tribute list fragment. H = [ε'] twice, Λ (once).
- 25) IG IV no.39 (410) Inv. of temple of Athena at Aegina. H, Ω, Ξ, δ, Γ, Λ; presumably O = [σ'] in ἐγλουτήριον (from λοφετήρι-, cf. λοετρά in Homer, λουτρών; no other instance of [σ']).
- 26) I² 398 (408/7) Ded. of tribe of Erechtheis. H, Ω, Ξ, E, Γ, Λ.
- 27) I² 305 (= SEG 10.235) (406/5) Expenditure of the treasurers of Athena. H, Ω, δ, O/OY, Γ, Λ. The reading Ἀθηναία given in lines 17 and 19 in the published texts is incorrect, lapis: Ἀθη- both places; for ὀγδοεῖ, τρεῖς cf. 23.00, p.369 infra (L.).
- 28) I² 1951 (406, cf. SEG 22.53) cat. H, Ω, δ, Ξ, E/EI, O, Γ, Λ.
- 29) SEG 10.200 (= I² 1383) (406/5?) inv. (Hekatompodon). H, Ω, δ, Ξ, E/EI, O, Γ, Λ.
- 30) SEG 15.28 (= I² 1686-1687 + I² 303, cf. *Hesperia* 25 [1956] pp.109ff.; SEG 24.44) (405/4). Expenditure of the treasurers of Athena. H, Ω, δ, Ξ, E (EI once? cf. 9.011, no.44), O, Γ, Λ. For εἰ~η, cf. 23.00, p.369 infra.
- 31) SEG 10.298 (= I² 1655) (405/4, cf. AJA 36 [1932] p.160) Inv. about Erechtheum. H, Ω, E, O, Λ.
- 32) SEG 10.201 (= I² 1382) (405/4?) inv. (Hekatompodon). H, Ω, δ, O, Γ, Λ.
- 33) SEG 21.80 (= *Hesperia* 32 [1963] p.144, no.1) (404/3?) Expenditure of the treasurers of Athena. H, Ω, δ, Ψ, Λ, Γ, Ξ, E, O. For εἰ~η in the dat. sing., cf. 23.00, p.369 infra. For I² 2640, cf. p.51 infra.

2.012 Private texts

2.0121 Stone monuments, graffiti, ostraca. It is not surprising that a large number of sep. monuments and dedications specifically identifiable as belonging to foreign persons are inscribed in Ionic script. There is rarely any secure indication of date, and the majority can be dated no more accurately than the latter part of the fifth century. The sep. mon. of a Samian, however, and that of a Teian may well be as early as the end of the sixth century (nos. 1, 2), and a few other such monuments may plausibly be placed before 450 on the basis of letter-forms. But Attic script was also sometimes used for monuments of foreigners, cf. the sep. mon. of a Carian (part of the text in Carian letters), *Praktika* 1953 pp. 65 ff. (= *IGAA* p. 126, no. 18; *SEG* 13.36) (ca. 525?); or the sep. mon. of a man from Delos, *Kerameikos* 3 p. 41, no. 31 (= *SEG* 10.442; *IGAA* p. 119, no. 6) (ca. 540–530?); etc.

The increasing use of the Ionic script privately by individual Athenians in the course of the fifth century can also be observed. The earlier group of ostraca (of the 480s B.C.) agrees with most contemporary dipinti in avoiding Ionic script, except for the use of Ω for [ο·] (later ου) not characteristic of the standard Eastern Ionic alphabet (cf. 2.034). Two graffiti by the same hand on Attic stamnoi of ca. 470 may not be as early as the vases (no. 25). But some ostraca of the decade ca. 450–440 have H for η and Ionic lambda; in them the Ionic script is not always correctly used (cf. 2.031, 2.034), although the degree of chaos seen in the contemporary dipinti is never found in ostraca (cf. 2.0122), and in certain cases the Ionic script is consistently and correctly employed (cf. nos. 30, 31). It is also about this time that the first private stone texts of Athenians in Ionic script with secure indication of date occur (cf. nos. 26, 28, 29). With them should be compared the monument erected by three Athenian tribes for Python of Megara in 446 (cf. 2.011, no. 20) with text in Doric, but in Ionic script. A few other private monuments in Ionic script of no very certain date have three-bar sigma, which in public documents would normally make them earlier than 446 (cf. nos. 48, 49, 52); but no. 33 is almost certainly later (ca. 420).

Comparison with the dipinti suggests that the period of transition falls ca. 480–430 B.C., and that Ionic script was employed by most persons for private purposes by the last quarter of the century. The large number of private grave monuments in Ionic or mixed Ionic script (nos. 12–18, 32, 43–46, 59–73, cf. also 2.021, 2.022) with no very precise indication of date probably belong chiefly in the last forty years of the fifth century, although some may be earlier or later; in other cases it is impossible to determine if the texts are for persons of Athenian origin (cf. nos. 47–54, no. 57, nos. 59 ff.). Some of the stone texts of Athenians in Ionic can be precisely dated. Thus the dedication of a priestess at Eleusis (no. 26) probably dates ca. 455, and two other dedications may be reasonably assigned to the decade 450–440 (nos. 28, 29). The choregic monument (no. 36) is dated to 415/4 by the archon's name, and that of Pantacles (no. 40) probably falls some time in the period 419–403. After 450 it is increasingly difficult to find private texts in Attic script with fairly certain indications of date. There are the choregic dedications I² 769 (has four-bar sigma), I² 771 (ca.

433–420? cf. *SEG* 24.66); and a few private dedications, e.g. I² 529 (fin. s. Va., cf. *SEG* 13.29), I² 712 (450–425, cf. *DAA* p.184, no.165), I² 546 (450–425, cf. *DAA* p.153, no.137), I² 535 (425–420, cf. *DAA* p.208, no.176), I² 669 (425–400, cf. *DAA* p.209, no.177), and a few others with four-bar sigma, of which some are probably later than 445 B.C., e.g. I² 735; I² 807 + *SEG* 10.336; I² 811, I² 822, I² 823, I² 829. The grave monuments which can be plausibly placed later than 450 have at least an admixture of Ionic script. The choice of Ionic script by Kallias for his statue-base at Olympia, the Panhellenic sanctuary, provides an interesting contrast to the use of the Old Attic alphabet on the base set up on the Acropolis, I² 606, probably dating from about 450 B.C. (cf. *DAA* p.181, no.164; the victory at Olympia was in 472/1, but the letter-forms of the dedication from Athens do not look this early). Two defixiones dated on good grounds to ca. 420 show pure Attic script, with the exception of an omitted [h], cf. *Kerameikos* 3 pp.89–91, nos.1–2 (= *SEG* 10.394–395), and provide evidence for the continued use of Attic script for private purposes. A longer defixio entirely in Ionic script has been dated to ca. 450, cf. *Kerameikos* 3 p.91, no.3, but certain features in it (such as ει ~ ηι) cast some doubt on the certainty of this early date (cf. Introduction p.8).

It is clear from the combined testimony of ostraca, priv. stone texts, and dipinti (cf. 2.0122) that Ionic script was frequently employed for private purposes by Athenians from ca. 450 B.C. on. The bearing of this evidence on the vexed question of which script was used for copying books in fifth-century Athens is uncertain. The best evidence remains the actual representations of books on fifth-century vases (assembled by Immerwahr, cf. Lit. infra, especially *Book Rolls* pp.40–41). Of these only very few even contain an Ionic letter, cf. Immerwahr's no.3 (Ionic lambda only), no.10(?), no.18, of which none is earlier than 440–430 B.C.; on the other hand there are several good examples of Attic script on book rolls on vases, cf. Immerwahr's nos.1 (ca. 490–480), 2 (slightly before 480), 5 (ca. 470), 7 (ca. 460); *Antike Kunst* no.4bis (ca. 490). The use of ω = [o] (later ou) on the Douris cup is not evidence for Ionic script, but is found on contemporary ostraca and even stone texts (cf. 2.034). The use of ω = ou on this vase, as well as the delta of the form Δ, can be paralleled on other vases of Douris; this fact leads one to the conclusion that the writing on the book rolls does not differ greatly from the writing of the vase-painters themselves and may thus not be typical of what real books were like. There is certainly some truth in this, and it seems unlikely that any real book would have contained a spelling like AEINΔEN for δειδεν as the Douris cup does. But the frequent use of stoichedon on book rolls (cf. 3.022, p.61 infra) would only be explicable if the painter were making some attempt to copy an actual book, and the choice of Attic script could fall into the same category.

Lit.: J.D. Beazley, *AJA* 52 (1948) pp.336 ff.; H.R. Immerwahr, *Book Rolls*; *id.*, "More Book Rolls on Attic Vases" in *Antike Kunst* 16 (1973) pp.143–147, plates 31–33; G.P. Goold, "Homer and the Alphabet" in *TAPA* 91 (1960) pp.272–291; cf. 2.00, especially Herzog; Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften*, pp.103–106.

Examples:

Very short texts are given entire; for others, Ionic letters are indicated as in 2.011. Texts which are not in pure Ionic script will normally be found in 2.02 unless there is a sufficient body of text to make the intentionally Ionic character of the writing certain.

Texts of non-Athenians:

- 1) AM 78 (1963) pp. 123 ff. (= SEG 22.75) (ca. 520? dated 490–480 by LSAG p. 342, no. 16) sep. mon. of Aischros of Samos. Ω, Λ, O.
- 2) Π² 10444 (= LSAG p. 345, no. 61; IGAA p. 128, no. 21) (ca. 525) sep. mon. of a Teian. H, Ξ, εἰμ, O, Λ.
- 3) Π² 826 (= LSAG p. 370, no. 29) (475–450?) ded. of Python of Abdera. H, Ω, δ, Ξ, O, Γ, Λ.
- 4) Π² 524 (= DAA p. 321, no. 298) (470–450?) ded. of a Σμικυῖθη, of unknown origin, but probably foreign, cf. the Ionic form Ἀθηναίη. H, Ω, δ.
- 5) Π² 732, cf. DAA p. 40, no. 39 (470–450?) small fr. of a ded. to Ἀθηναίη (cf. no. 4). H.
- 6) Π² 1043 (= LSAG p. 369, no. 8) (475–450?) sep. mon. of Nautes of Torone. H, Ω, O.
- 7) Π² 1044 (= LSAG p. 369, no. 7) (475–450?) sep. mon. of Mikkos of Torone. Ω, OY, Λ.
- 8) Π² 1081 (= Π² 10389; LSAG p. 275, no. 10) (ca. 450?) sep. mon. of a Syracusan woman. Ξ, Γ.
- 9) Π² 1034 (= LSAG p. 371, no. 38) (ante 450?) sep. mon. of a Selymbrian. H, Ω, δ, Ξ, O, Γ, Λ.
- 9a) Π² 1084 (= Wilhelm, *Beiträge* pp. 35 ff., no. 22) (ca. 431?) sep. mon. of a Phrygian. H, Ω, δ, O, Λ, Γ.
- 10) Π² 1049 (= LSAG p. 372, no. 48) (ca. 450–425?) sep. mon. of Alexileos of Lampsacus. H, Ω, Ξ, Ψ, Λ, O.
- 11) Dedications of Archdamus of Thera in cave at Vari (ca. 450–400, cf. LSAG p. 323, no. 17): Π² 783 (Ω, δ, Λ, O?), Π² 787 (H), Π² 788 (H, δ, Ξ, Λ, Γ, but no Ω, O = [ɔ] in νυμφῶν; also has Doric form ἐξηγοῦσατο); Π² 784/5 and Π² 786 are in Archdamus' native Doric, with ho and E = [e].

For nos. 12–18 no certain indication of date (all have four-bar sigma and slanting nu):

- 12) Π² 1041 sep. mon. of Mnesarete of Myrine. H, Λ, O, Γ.
- 13) Π² 1046 sep. mon. of Euphrantides of Astypalea. H, Ω, Λ (έος in the gen. sing. Ἀστυπαλαιέος is an Ionic form).
- 14) Π² 1048 sep. mon. of Aischrion of Cnidus. Ω, Λ, O.
- 15) Π² 1050 sep. mon. of Philon of Salamis. Ω, Λ.
- 16) Π² 1054 sep. mon. of Apollonides of Chersonese. H, Ω, Λ, OY.
- 17) Π² 1074 sep. mon. of Hermoteles of Torone. H, Ω, δ, Λ, O.
- 18) Π² 1047 sep. mon. of Athenodotus of Phaselis. H, Λ, O.
- 19) BCH 71–72 (1947–48) p. 389 (= SEG 12.79) (410–400) sep. mon.: Ἡφαίστης Χίος.
- 20) GVI 1 p. 57, no. 218 (410–400 cf. LSAG p. 372, no. 49) sep. mon. of two men from Parion (cf. 6.0421 b, p. 135 infra). H, Ω, δ, Λ, E/EI, O, Γ.
- 21) Π² 10261 (= LSAG p. 371, no. 39) (fin. s. Va.?) sep. mon. of Xeno of Selymbria. H, Ω, Ξ, Λ.
- 22) Π² 1070.2 (fin. s. Va.?) sep. mon. of a family from Pale. H, Ω, δ, Λ.
- 23) Π² 1076 (= LSAG p. 371, no. 46) (s. Va.?) sep. mon. of Simos of Abydos. H, Λ, O.
- 24) Π² 1075 (s. Va.?) sep. mon. of Herodotos of Stagira. H, δ, O, Γ.

Texts of Athenians:

- 25) Two graffiti by the same hand: ARV² p. 297, Hephaesteion painter no. 1 (= *Imagines*² pl. 11, no. 23); ARV² p. 414. Dokimasia painter no. 34 (circle of the Brygos painter) (= AJA 31 [1927] p. 349, no. 10). The date is uncertain: the two vases date ca. 470, but the letters of

- the graffiti look later, even early fourth century (cf. *Imagines*² p.15; p.116 infra). The spelling μέζω (neuter plural) could be Ionic or Doric as well as Attic (cf. Schwyzler, GG 1, p.536).
 Ω, Ε, Λ = λ, Σ (ARV² p.297); Ω (ARV² p.414).
- 26) *Hesperia* 9 (1940) p.97, no.18 (= SEG 10.321) (ca. 455) ded. of Lysistrata, priestess at Eleusis; she was certainly from a family of Athenian citizens. The ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩ found in line 3 is probably not for Στεφάνου (gen.), but either dual acc. (in apposition to τὸδε ἔργαμα) or nom. sing. (cf. P. Maas, *Hesperia* 15 [1946] p.72). The dual is preferable, cf. K. Clinton, *Sacred Officials* p.69. H, Ω, Λ, Γ, Ε, Ο.
- 27) *Kerameikos* 3 p.91, no.3 (really ca. 450? cf. Introduction p.8) defixio. H, Ω, ό, Ψ, Λ, ΕΙ, ΟΥ.
- 28) I² 618 (= DAA p.156, no.140) (paulo post 450?) ded. of a demesman of Lamptrai. H, Λ, Ο.
- 29) II² 3123 (= DAA p.205, no.174) (450–440?) ded. of Pronapes. H, Ο.
- 30)–31) Ostraca of the 440s:
- 30) Ostraca of Thucydides, Kleippides, Eucharides (I² 911):
 Θοκυδίδης Μελισίο (ν = λ; Σ) AM 40 (1915) p.11, no.14
 Θοκυδίδη Μελισίο (Λ = λ; Σ) AM 40 p.11, nos.15–16
 Μελισίο (Λ = λ; Σ) AM 40 p.12, no.17
 Θοκυδίδες Μελισίο (ι = λ; ς) AM 40 pp.8–10, nos.7–8, 10–11
 Θοκυδίδε[ς] Μελισίω (ν = λ; Σ) AM 40 p.10, no.12 (cf. 2.034, no.12, p.49 infra)
 Θοκυδίδης (Σ) *Hesperia* 43 (1974) p.193, no.12
 Κλειπίδης (Λ = λ; Σ) AM 40 p.13, no.25
 Κλειπίδη (Λ = λ) AM 40 pp.13–14, nos.26–27
 Κλειπίδες (ν = λ; Σ) AM 40 pp.12–13, nos.19–20, 24
 Κλειπίδες Δεινίου (ν = λ; ς) AM 40 p.12, no.18
 Κλειπ[ίδ]η (ν = λ) AM 40 p.13, no.22
 Κλειπίδες (ν = λ; Σ) AM 40 p.12, no.21 (cf. 9.0211, p.192 infra)
 Κλημ[ίδ]ης (Λ = λ; Σ) AM 40 p.14, no.31 (cf. 23.00, p.369 infra)
 Εύχαρίδην, Εύχαρίδης (ς and Σ) AM 40 p.17, no.44; cf. no.46.
- 31) Ostrakon of Pericles (443?): Περικλῆς Ξανθίππο *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p.99, no.131. But on another: Περικλῆς Ξανθίππο *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p.3, fig.2.
 Εὐκράτης *Hesperia* 43 (1974) p.190, nos.4–5 (440s?). But on another: Εὐκράτης, cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 8 (1949) p.398, no.9.
 But on ostraca of Menon (ca. 450–443) Attic gamma, lambda, and Ο = [γ] are virtually universal, cf. *Kerameikos* 3, pp.63 ff.; Ionic gamma occurs only on two, cf. *Kerameikos* 3, p.65, nos.88–89; omega only on one, cf. 2.02, no.18 (p.42 infra)
- 32) I² 1065 (fin. s. Va.?) sep. mon. Ξ, ΕΙ (cf. 9.011, no.41, p.175 infra), Ο.
- 33) I² 772 (has three-bar sigma, but probably ca. 420 or later) choregic ded.: H, Ο, but ν = Λ (cf. *Hesperia* 42 [1973] p.173, no.1).
- 34) II² 7551 (ca. 430, cf. SEG 22.82) sep. mon. H, Λ, ΟΥ.
- 35) Ostraca of 417:
 Ὑπέρβολος Ἀντιφάνους *Hesperia* 8 (1939) p.246 (painted inscription)
 Ὑπέρβολος Ἀντιφάνους *Hesperia* 17 (1948) pp.186–187
 Ὑπέβολος, Ὑπέβ(ολος) *Hesperia* 43 (1974) p.190, no.6

Ἀλφειάδης Κλεινός *Hesperia* 21 (1952) pp. 1 ff.; *Hesperia* 43 (1974) p. 189, nos. 1–2; cf. Vanderpool, *Ostracism* p. 23 (cf. p. 173 infra)

Late fifth century: Φαίλαξ Ἐρασιστράτο Ἀχαρνεύς *Hesperia* 43 (1974) p. 192, no. 11

- 36) I² 770 a (415/4) ded. (choregic.). H, Ω, E, O, Γ, Λ.
- 37) *Hesperia* 21 (1952) pp. 114–115 (415), *Hesperia* 37 (1968) p. 120, no. 6, *Hesperia* 43 (1974) p. 192, nos. 8–9, four ostraca: Κλεοφών Κλειπτίδο (Λ).
- 38) I² 10650 (ca. 410) sep. mon. H, Ω, ό, Λ, E, O, Γ.
- 39) I² 1079 (ca. 410?) sep. mon., probably Athenian. H, Ω, ό, Ξ, O, Γ.
- 40) *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p. 266, no. 85 (fin. s. Va., post 419) choregic ded. H, Λ.
- 41) I² 1063 (ca. 450) sep. mon. H, Ω, Λ, OY, cf. p. 295 infra.
- 42) I² 828 (fin. s. Va., cf. SEG 15.51) ded. at Rhamnus. H, ό, O, Λ.
- 43) I² 1040 (s. Va.) sep. mon. H, Λ.
- 44) I² 6357 (s. Va.) sep. mon. Ἐφοκλῆς Κεφαλῆθεν (A for Λ in first word).
- 45) I² 1077 (s. Va.?) sep. mon. H, Ω, ό, Ξ, Λ, O.
- 46) I² 1083 (s. Va.?) sep. mon. H, Ω, Λ, O, Γ.

Texts of Persons of Unknown Origin:

- 47) I² 588 (= DAA p. 315, no. 294) (paulo post 480?) ded. H.
- 48) I² 1078 (non post 450?) sep. mon. (metrical). H, Ω, ό, Λ, Γ, κῆμαι (cf. 16.01, no. 6). Has one impurity: Ες for ἥς.
- 49) I² 1029 (ante 450? has ζ) sep. mon. H, Ω, but ν = λ, Λ = γ.
- 50) I² 1039 (ante 450?) sep. mon. Ἡρακλέδης (ϒ = λ).
- 51) I² 12147 (= SEG 23.45) (ca. 440–430 aut paulo post) sep. mon. H, Ω, ό, Ξ, E, O, Γ, Λ.
- 52) I² 904 (date? has ζ, but could be later?) sep. mon. ὄρος σήματος Μορύχο.
- 53) I² 11068 (ca. 430?) Athenian? sep. mon. H.
- 54) AM 79 (1964) p. 93 (= SEG 23.46) (ca. 430) sep. mon. Εὐφηρος.
- 55) BMMA n.s. 5 (1946–47) pp. 179–184 (= SEG 14.24) (ca. 430–420) marble lekythos (probably of an Athenian?). Καλλισθένης.
- 56) *Hesperia*, suppl. 10 (1956) p. 33, no. 130 (ca. 420) amphora handle. Χρεμητίδης.
- 57) I² 1037 (s. Va.) sep. mon. H, Ω, ό, Λ, OY. Has one impurity: Ἡροφίλε.
- 58) I² 796–800 (450–400?) inscribed sherds from Vari cave. H, ό, Ξ, Λ.
- 59)–73) Sep. monuments of persons of unknown origin, all dated ca. fin. s. Va.?:
- 59) I² 1052 H, O.
- 60) I² 1053 H.
- 61) I² 1056 H, O, Λ.
- 62) I² 1057 H, (κεῖται, not κῆται), Γ, Λ (L.).
- 63) I² 1058 H, Ω, Λ, Γ.
- 64) I² 1059 H, Γ.
- 65) I² 1060 H, Ω, ό, Λ, O.
- 66) I² 1061 Ω, Λ, E, O.
- 67) I² 1066 Ω.
- 68) I² 1067 Ω.
- 69) I² 1068 H, Γ.
- 70) I² 1071 H.
- 71) I² 1073 ό.
- 72) I² 1082 H, Λ, OY, Γ.

73) I² 1055 Λ, κῆται (cf. 16.01, no. 7) (L.).

I² 906 (= II² 2552) is probably later than 403/2.

Cf. also graffiti from the Agora collection with Ionic letters: Μίδων Agora 21, p. 35, no. F78 (475–450); Μιδίων Agora 21, p. 34, no. F72 (475–450); Σίμωνος, --ΜΩΝΟ-- Agora 21, p. 36, no. F86 (= *Hesperia* 23 [1954] p. 54) (ca. 450); ξαν[Agora 21, p. 37, no. F109 (450–400); ΠΑΡΑΜΥΝΩΤΟΣ Agora 21, p. 36, no. F91 (= *Hesperia* 18 [1949] p. 330, fig. 6) (425–400); Δραπέτης Agora 21, p. 36, no. F93 (425–400); ἰάλης, ἰάλη Agora 21, p. 21, no. D 41 (fin. s. Va.).

2.0122 Ionic script in dipinti. There are special problems of interpretation regarding the dipinti with Ionic script, because even though the texts can often be dated precisely on the basis of the style of the paintings on the vases, it is reasonable to suppose many of the dipinti were written by non-Athenians. But there is normally no evidence for discerning whether the painter is foreign or not, unless his name is a foreign ethnic. Certainly the mere presence of Ionic letters on vases is not sufficient evidence of a non-Athenian writer after ca. 490–480.

Vases earlier than ca. 490–470 B.C. In dipinti⁴ Ionic letters are very unusual. In the very earliest cases a foreign painter may be responsible, e.g. the Ionic lambda of Μενέλαος (retrograde), painted on a Proto-Attic fragment found on Aegina and probably Aeginetan lettering, cf. *LSAG* p. 110, p. 112 no. 2, and p. 70, note 1; the sigma is also not the usual three-bar sigma in use in Athens at this time (cf. *LSAG* plate 16). The use of eta as a vowel occurs on two bf. vases with similar texts: Χαίρην καὶ πρὶο μὴν ABV p. 57, C painter no. 112 (cf. *JHS* 52 [1932] p. 182; *Paralipomena* p. 23); Χαίρην καὶ πρὶο μὴν CVA, Denmark 3, plate 117.5, text p. 95. Here eta = [ē] in χαῖρεν({v}), as well as in μή({v}), i.e. μέ, not μήν, cf. χαῖρε καὶ πρὶο μέ on two vases in Attic script cited *JHS, loc. cit.* For ΗΠΑΚΛΕΞ, which is probably for ΗΕΠΑΚΛΕΞ with omission of the E, on a Tyrrhenian vase, cf. 2.032, p. 46 *infra*. So also in ΗΥΙΗΥΞ, on a bf. vase of Eucheiros, ABV p. 162, no. 2 (= *HBV* p. 86, no. 2), the eta is for [h] both times, cf. 38.021, p. 456 *infra*. An early example of the standard use of omega is ΕΚΤΡΩΡ, on a bf. vase in Boston dated ca. 520, *BMFA* 63 (1965) pp. 35 ff. (= *Paralipomena* p. 164, Leagros group no. 31 bis) (L.). The omission of the initial aspirate is certainly not sufficient evidence to assume the painter was not Athenian. ΠΑΤΡΟΚΛΩ occurs on this same vase. The spelling shows the use of omega for [oː] (later ou), a use found on a few other late sixth-century vases, including two by Douris, whose vases contain many dipinti. He does not normally use Ionic letters (except ΗΠΑ, probably for ΗΕΠΑ, cf. 2.032, p. 46 *infra*). This use of omega is quite unusual on later

⁴ *Graffiti* with Ionic letters are not rare on Attic vases earlier than 480. These are usually indications of ownership, dedications, etc. inscribed by the owners in their own local scripts, cf. e.g. a number of vases from Rhodes, *IG* XII.1, no. 719 (= CVA, Germany 15, plate 46.3–5; text p. 46); or inscriptions of traders, often abbreviations indicating type of vessel, price, names of seller or buyer, etc. The latter have been extensively treated by R. Hackl, “Merkantile Inschriften auf attischen Vasen,” in *Münchener archäologische Studien* 1909, pp. 5–106. In section 2.012 are treated only graffiti on material found in Attica.

vases (cf. 2.034, p.47 *infra*). The spelling ΚΑΛΩΣ ΜΕΛΙΕΥΣ (for καλὸς Μηλιεύς) on a late sixth-century vase of the Goluchow painter, cf. ARV² p.10, no.2 (= CVA, Poland 1, plate 17.1), might be conforming to the varying uses of Ionic vowels found in some of the Cyclades, as suggested by J.D. Beazley, cf. *AJA* 52 (1948) p.338 (cf. 2.033, p.47 *infra*).

Vases ca. 490–470 B.C. and later. After 490 B.C. and especially in the second quarter of the fifth century, the use of Ionic letters in dipinti becomes widespread. The letters Ξ, Ψ, Λ, and Γ are particularly well established by 450, and Η and Ω are also quite common at this time. A good early example of the vowels is a vase of the Kleophrades painter, ARV² p.192, no.106 (= Smith, *Catalogue* 3, p.97, no.E73) with ΔΙΟΜΗΔΗΣ, ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΣ, ΤΡΙΤΩΝ, ΗΡΑΚΛΕΟΣ, ΛΩΚΗ (= Γλαύκη), [Λ]ΑΛΕΝΗ, ΘΗΤΙΣ, ΑΡΗΟΣ. Many examples of similar inconsistencies in the use of the vowels may be found on vases of the period 460–420, and the various painters are widely divergent in their practices. Some of the inconsistency may show influence of varying practices in the use of Ω and Η found on some of the Aegean islands (e.g. on Paros Ω = ὄ and [ο·] (later ου), but Ο = ω; Naxos used Η for ē ← *ā, but Ε for ē ← *ē; on Ceos Η = ε, Ε = η), but as no particular system seems to be being followed, and many painters use Ω for both ὄ and ὅ alongside Ο for ὀ, etc., it is more likely that insufficient mastery of the Ionic script is the explanation for many of the inconsistencies. Thus the Villa Giulia painter (fl. 460–450) has ΑΕΤΩ, ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝ on the same pot, ARV² p.619, no.17 (= Richter-Hall plate 101), elsewhere ΗΡΜΕΣ, ΔΙΩΝΥΣΩΣ ARV² p.619, no.16 (= Smith, *Catalogue* 3, p.299, no. E492), ΜΩ-
 ςΑΙΟΣ (with rare Ω = ου, cf. 2.034), υ = λ, *Paralipomena* p.398, no.70 bis. The Achilles painter (fl.460–440) also has Ω = ὄ, also Λ, in ΚΑΛΩΣ, cf. ARV² p.988, no.15; p.991, no.61, but also ΚΑΛΟΣ a number of times, e.g. ARV² p.988, no.11, and ΕΓΕΛΕΩΣ with Ω = ω, alongside ΚΑΛΩΣ ARV² p.991, no.61. This painter also has Η for ē in ΜΗΛΑΝΟΠΟ (for the name Μελάνωπος, cf. Bechtel, *Personennamen* p.303), although ΜΕΛΑΝΟΠΟ also occurs, cf. ARV² pp.995–996; probably Η = ē in ΠΗΔΙΟΣ ARV² p.993, no.80, cf. Beazley's note, *JHS* 34 (1914) p.198, note 17; note also [Δ]ΙΟΜΕΔΗΣ ARV² p.992, no.64; ΜΕΛΗΤΟΣ ARV² p.988, no.11, ΑΞΙΟΠΕΙΘΗΣ, ΗΛΙΚΟΝ ARV² p.997, no.155, etc., and several examples of ΗΥΓΙΑΙΝΟΝ with Η = [h], ARV² pp.997–998. For Ω = ὄ, cf. 2.033; Η = ē, cf. 2.031. The contemporary Penthesilea painter uses both Λ and υ = λ, cf. ARV² p.890, nos.172–173 (cf. *HRF* 2 p.344, no.30) and ΚΑΛΟΣ alongside ΚΑΥΟΣ (bis) on a single vase of the same workshop, cf. *HRF* 2 p.349, no.52 (= ARV² p.893, no.27). While Λ = λ and Γ = γ are very common in this period even on vases which avoid the Ionic vowels, Polygnotos regularly has the signature ΠΟΙΥΝΑΝΟΤΟΣ ΕΛΡΑΨΕΝ, e.g. ARV² p.1027, nos.1–2, p.1030, nos.28 bis, 34, p.1032, no.53 (cf. *HRF* 2 pp.374–380), but ΚΑΛΟΣ, ΑΡΧΕΝΑΥΤΗΣ, ΝΙΚΟΔΗΜΟΣ, ΣΩΣΙΦΟΣ (Σώσιβος?) ARV² p.1028, no.9 (= CVA, England 4, plate 24.2); cf. ΚΑΛΟΣ on several vases of the Hector painter, e.g. ARV² p.1036, no.5 (= *HRF* 2 p.13, no.3), but ΚΑΥΟΣ alongside ΕΚΤΩΡ, ΕΚΑΒΕ (no Η = [h]) ARV² p.1036, no.1 (= *HRF*

2 p.14, no.6); KAIH on a vase of the Lewis painter, ARV² p.974, no.23, and on another of 430–420, ARV² p.1119, no.5 (= Smith, *Catalogue* 3, p.236, no. E354).

The next generation of painters offers a similar degree of confusion: Lykaon painter (fl. ca. 440–430): KAAΛIOΠE ARV² p.1044, no.1 (= HRF 2 p.164, no.6), AΞIO[Π]EΙΘHC, KAAOς ARV² p.1045, no.6 (= HRF 2 p.162, no.2), KAEΩN ARV² p.1045, no.8 (= Smith, *Catalogue* 3, p.302, no.E495), HOς (= "Eως) ARV² p.1045, no.5 (= HRF 2 p.164, no.8); Eretria painter (ca. 430–420): ΔΩPIΣ, ΠΠΟΛΥΤΗ, ΘΗΣΕΥΣ ARV² p.1248, no.9 (cf. v. Bothmer, *Amazons*, p.162, no.15), ΚΟΜΟΣ, ΕΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ ARV² p.1249, no.12 (= FR plate 120.1), ΓΑΛΕΝΕ, ΓΛΑΥΚΕ, ΚΥΜΟΔΩΚΕ (= Κυμοδόκη), ΔΟΣΩ (= Δωσώ) ARV² p.1250, no.32 (= Smith, *Catalogue* 3, p.366, no. E774); EPΩΣ, [Π]EΙΘO, AΦPOΔITE, KOPE, HBE, NAO, Λ = λ ARV² p.1250, no.34 (= Pfuhl, *Malerei* no.561); Kodros painter (ca. 430–420): ΘΕΣΕΥΣ, ΜΕΛΙΤΕ, Α[Θ]ΕΝΑΙΑ ARV² p.1268, no.1 (= CVA, Italy 5, plates 19–22); ΠΛΟΥΤΩΝ, ΑΡΙΑΔΝΕ, ΚΩΜΟΣ, ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ, ΑΜΦΙΤΡΙΤΗ, ΓΑ]ΝΥΜΕΔΕΣ, ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΕ ARV² p.1269, no.3 (= Smith, *Catalogue* 3, p.108, no. E82); ΓΕ, ΕΡΣΕ (= "Ερση), ΑΘΗΝΑΙΑ, ΗΕΩΣ, ΚΕΚΡΟΨ ARV² p.1268, no.2 (= CVA, Germany 22, plate 113.1–2); a vase in Berlin, inv. no. 3244, by Xenotimos (ca. 430–420): ΕΥΔΙΜΕΝΗ, ΨΑΜΑΘΕ, ΠΛΩΤΩ (with Ω = ου, rare on vases, cf. 2.034 infra), cf. ARV² p.1142 (= CVA, Germany 22, plate 116.3–5); Polion (ca. 420): ΗΡΜΗΣ (for the alleged use of Η = η, cf. 2.032), ΑΘΕΝΑΑ, ΛΕΤΩ, ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ, ΗΡΑΚΛΕΗΣ ARV² p.1171, no.2 (= Richter-Hall plates 153–154). Good examples of dipinti with only Attic letters occur in this period, e.g. a vase of the Nekyia painter of ca. 440, ARV² p.1086, no.1 (= Richter-Hall p.168, plates 135–137), but in the last two decades of the fifth century the use of Ionic script is increasingly common, and a higher standard in the orthography is usually observable. The dipinti on vases of the Meidias painter and his school (fl. 410–390; some of the vases are of course later than 403) offer many examples of Ionic script consistently and correctly employed, although even here some irregularities occur, e.g. ΗΥΓΙΕΙΑ ARV² p.1328, no.99 (= Richter-Hall plates 159, 161), but ΥΓΙΕΙΑ on ARV² p.1328, no.92 (= Smith, *Catalogue* 3, p.367, no. E775), also has ΗΔΥΛΟΓΟΣ, ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ; ΥΓΙΕΙΑ also on the related vase, ARV² p.1316iiiia (= Smith, *Catalogue* 3, p.346, no. E698). Cf. also vases of Aristophanes (fl. 410–400): e.g. ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ, ΗΕΡ[A, ΑΡΕΣ, ΓΕ, ΑΘΕΝΑΑ, ΕΦΙΑΛΤΕΣ, ΜΙΜΩΝ, ΠΟΡΦ[Υ]ΡΙΩΝ ARV² p.1318, no.1 (= CVA, Germany 22, plate 119), but ΗΡΑΚΛΕΣ, ΥΨΙΠΥΛΟΣ, ΘΗΣΕΥΣ, ΑΝΤΙΒΑΤΕΣ on ARV² p.1319, no.2 (= HRF 1, p.53, no.2).

These illustrative examples should show the great diversity in the use of Ionic script found in dipinti on Attic vases during most of the fifth century. In general the dipinti do not seem greatly at variance with the ostraca, in which Η = η, Ξ, Λ = λ are well attested in the group of ca. 450–440 date, but they differ in the comparative rarity of Ω = ου and do contain irregularities such as Ω = ὀ and even Η = ἧ, which are scarcely found at all in other types of text.

2.02 Sporadic use of Ionic letters in Attic texts earlier than 403 B. C.

Even in texts in Attic script, Ionic letters, especially H = η [ɛː], occur sporadically in the fifth century. The earliest examples are some public horoi probably of the early fifth century (cf. 2.021, nos. 1–3) with H = η [ɛː], but the phenomenon begins essentially ca. 460–450 B. C. In public texts H = η [ɛː] is not infrequent after 450, but other Ionic letters are rather rare; only a few inscriptions have more than one Ionic letter, e.g. both H and Ω, etc., and they are given nos. 1–8 *infra* (Ionic gamma and lambda normally occur only in texts with other Ionic letters). Of some interest are nos. 3 and 9, casualty lists of cleruchs from Lemnos in Attic script with only the headings in Ionic letters. The private texts on stone are more likely to have a smattering of different Ionic letters than just a single one (cf. nos. 10–18 *infra*), but a few have only H = [ɛː] (cf. 2.021, nos. 19–23) or less often others (cf. 2.022, nos. 4–5, 2.023, no. 7). For Ionic letters on dipinti, cf. 2.0122; on ostraca, curse-tablets, etc., cf. 2.0121, nos. 27, 30, 31, 35, 37, 56.

Lit.: MS³ pp. 4–5, note 17.

Examples: Texts earlier than 403 B. C. in mixed Attic and Ionic alphabets:

Public texts:

- 1) I² 400 (paulo post 457) ded. of the hippeis. H = [ɛː], H also = [h], no E for [ɛː], Ξ, but O = [ɔː], ʋ = λ. Only one of the three copies of the text is fifth-century (I² 400 Ia); the other two are Roman in date (cf. DAA pp. 146 ff.).
- 2) Βολῆς ὑπηρετόν (Λ = λ) I² 879 (ca. 450?) built into a retaining wall of the Theatre of Dionysus.
- 3) Λημνίων (Λ = λ) ἐγ (Γ = γ) Μυρ(ν)ης I² 947 (date unknown, perhaps 431?) cas. list of cleruchs inscribed in Attic script with only the heading in Ionic (cf. no. 9 *infra*).
- 4) φσηφ[ισμα I² 57.41 (423) decree concerning the people of Methone, χρηματῖσαι *ib.* 52 (other instances of H = [ɛː] given in IG I² text are errors), H = [h], but often omitted; Γ = γ once in *ib.* 51, *al.* Λ = γ (L.).
- 5) H = ῥ (bis) I² 94.9, 10 (418/7) decree concerning shrine of Neleus at Athens; τῆν *ib.* 22–23, but everywhere else E = [ɛː]; H is also used for [h], but only in the word ηιερόν, everywhere else H = [h] is omitted (cf. 1.021, p. 24 *supra*; 42.0111, p. 494 *infra*); Ψ occurs once in ἐχουλεψάτο *ib.* 22, but ΦΣ in *ib.* 18, 26, etc.; there is no Ω, in *ib.* 20 read εὐθυ- νέσθο; gamma and lambda have the Attic form (L.).
- 6) εὐεργέτης I² 146.2 (fin. s. V a.?) decree. Γ = γ, Λ and ʋ (line 4) = λ, τῷ βολῆι, χα.
- 7) I² 116 (409/8, aut ca. 407, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 267, no. 87) decree about the Selymbrians, usually E = [ɛː], but H = [ɛː] in lines 15, 17, 21, 26, H = [h] *passim*, although the aspirate is often omitted, Ω = [ɔː] only in τῶμ *ib.* 37, ὤ[μο]σαν *ib.* 24, ἰδιότα[ς] ἔἰδωται *ib.* 19, but O = [ɔː] *passim*, Λ = λ, Γ = γ, φσ, χα.
- 8) I² 304B.41–92 (407/6) expenditure of the treasurers of Athena. H = [ɛː] everywhere in lines 77 to end, in *ib.* 41–76 E only = [ɛː], H never for [h] in I² 304B. Lines 77–92 the last carved, although 66–92 are above 41–65 on the stone, cf. W. K. Pritchett, *The Choiseul Marble* pp. 7–10 (also corrects some readings of IG text). Both ʋ and Λ = λ, Λ and Γ = γ in lines 41–92. I² 304A (in Old Attic alphabet) dates 410/9.

Doubtful:

- 9) ΔΗΜΝΙΟΙ I² 948 (post 440?) heading of a cas. list in Attic script seen only by Pittakes, *ἡπιποθοοντίδος* *ib.* 1, *Εὐτύχης* *ib.* 4, *Μενέχμενος* *ib.* 6. Cf. no. 3 *supra*.

Private texts:

- 10) ἀνέθηκεν, *ἡνύς*, ΚΕΦΑΛΕΟΣ (-ΛΕΟΣ = -λέως? cf. 10.04, p. 212 *infra*), Λ = λ, Γ = γ I² 571 (= DAA p. 47, no. 46) (460–450?) *ded.* (L.).
 11) I² 924 (paulo post 450?) erotic text. Μυῖωνα, τῶν, no O = [ɔ·], Λ = λ, E = [ε·].
 12) I² 774.5–6 ἀνέθηκεν, also Λ = λ, Γ = γ (post 446) small fr. of a *ded.* But: [Κυνψ]έλεν, [Εφ?]έσοι.
 13) I² 770 (= SIG³ no. 1082) (*fin.* s. V a., non ante 415) choregic *ded.*, H and E for [ε·], Λ = λ, Γ = γ; Κλεισθένης (cf. 9.011, no. 42, p. 175 *infra*).
 14) I² 816 (425–400) *ded.* fr.]ς Ἐπιζήλο ἱππαρχέ[σας, Λ = λ.
 15) ἡόρος *ἡελίης* I² 864 (= *Hesperia* 8 [1939] p. 77, no. 24) (*fin.* s. V a.) probably a *priv. sep. mon.*, cf. *Hesperia* 35 (1966) p. 276, no. 3. Λ = λ.
 16) I² 905 (s. V a.) *priv. horos*. H for [ε·] throughout, Γ = γ, Λ = λ, but O = [ɔ·], *δρος* spelled without H = [h].
 17) Θράσον ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός I² 1032 (s. V a.) probably *sep. mon.* Γ = γ.

Doubtful:

- 18) Μένον ἐκκ προ---ω[v] *Kerameikos* 3 p. 71, no. 121 (ca. 450–443) *ostrakon*, but perhaps Ω = [ɔ·]. Normally only Attic letters on these ostraca, cf. 2.0121, no. 31, p. 36 *supra*.

2.021 Examples of H = [ε·] in texts in Attic script earlier than 403 B. C.

Sporadic use of H for η [ε·] is by no means rare in Attic texts after ca. 450 B. C. even in state decrees. The comparative frequency of H = η in comparison to the other Ionic letters (especially ω) may be due to its previous existence in the Attic alphabet with the value of [h]. Usually a text will have only a few cases of H = η, and in most places H has its normal value of [h] and E = [ε·]; occasionally there are special circumstances, such as in no. 13, where H = η in almost all places, and there is no H = [h]. In no. 15 the rare use of H = η accompanies a haphazard misuse of H = [h] (cf. 42.0111, p. 495 *infra*).

Some of the Hymettus sherds have H = [ε·], cf. ΣΗΜΙΟΙΔΙ (= *σημίλοι* Δί?) (retrograde) *Hesperia*, suppl. 16 (1976) p. 13, no. 2; probably also in no. 3 (cf. also plate 2, nos. 2–3);]ΔΕΙΑΗΕΑΚΛΗ[probably for]δεια *he* Ἀκλή[rather than]ΔΕΙΑ *he*·ακλή[cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 16, p. 15, no. 9 (all three sherds dated loosely to the seventh century B. C.). But in these three texts there are other features which are not Attic, e.g. Λ = λ in no. 9; Σ (not Ϝ) in nos. 2–3; note also the contraction Δί, not Attic, but found in some dialects (e.g. Elean). These are probably writing by non-Athenians. The explanation proposed by M. Langdon, *Hesperia*, suppl. 16, pp. 42–43, involving an early period of influence on the Attic script by Ionic script seems unlikely.

*Examples:**Public documents (cf. also 2.02, nos. 1–9):*

- 1) προ[τύλο], δημ[οσό] ἡό[ρος] *AJA* 36 (1932) pp. 254 ff., fig. 6 (= SEG 10.379 c) (*init.* s. V a.?) The other copies of this *horos* have *δεμοσό*, cf. *AJA*, *loc. cit.* nos. 4, 5, and I² 891.

- 2) Νέμησις I² 894 (= DGE p. 384, no. 9.2) (init. s. Va.?) horos. But τῆς, ἡδὲ, ἡε.
- 3) Διῆς Ἀθηναίσις I² 866 (= DGE p. 384, no. 9.3) (init. s. Va.?) horos. But ἡερόν, Ἀ·ΗΣ, i. e. lapis: ΑΗΣ for γῆς. Cf. 1.021, p. 24 *supra*.
- 4) Μη πεμαιν-- I² 18.7 (457? cf. *Staatsverträge* 2 p. 43, no. 141; 457–445, cf. SEG 21.7; 432? cf. SEG 23.4) decree (?) concerning the Aeginetans. But τῆς, τέμ, etc., χσύν; reject Ionic, gamma in *ib.* 8, cf. D. M. Lewis, *BSA* 49 (1954) pp. 21–25.
- 5) στρατηγός I² 39.77 (446/5) decree concerning the people of Chalcis. H = [ε'] only here in this extensive text, elsewhere E = [ε'], H = [h], [h] omitted rarely, e. g. *ib.* 12, 13, 46, 65, 75.
- 6) ἡρητον-- I² 34.2 (ante 445) apparently a decree fr. But εὐχορκῶ, συνθέκας, ξ.
- 7) Πύρρος ἐποίησεν Ἀθηναίος I² 395 (post 432) ded. of Athenians to Hygia. E for [ε'] 5 times, but Ὑγία without initial [h].
- 8) H for [ε'] in I² 231.6, 13, 20 (= ATL 2, no. 26) (429/8) tribute list, E for [ε'] (4 times), H = [h] (once), φσ.
- 9) Ἀντιφάνης I² 949.39 (423, cf. SEG 25.57) cas. list. Many examples of H = [h] and E = [ε'].
- 10) Δημοκλειδὸν Ὀρθοσας, ἡόρος ἡερό AM 49 (1924) p. 16 (= SEG 10.362) (ca. 420) λ = λ.
- 11) ἡς εἰκοστ[I² 297.6 (414/3) inv., this reading based on examination of the stone (L.); E = [ε'] *passim*, H = [h].
- 12) Αὐτομάτης I² 950.160 (412/1, cf. SEG 21.127) cas. list, E = [ε'] *passim*, H = [h].
- 13) H = [ε'] almost everywhere in I² 108 I (lines 1–38) (410/9) decree concerning the people of Neapolis. H never = [h], E for [ε'] only in Ἀθελαι- *ib.* 7, 30; στρατηγῶ *ib.* 38. But always O, ΧΣ, ΦΣ. In I² 108 II (lines 39–55) (also 410/9, but carved by a different hand) E = [ε'] everywhere, H = only [h]. In both decrees occur E/EI (cf. 9.011, nos. 26 a–b, p. 175 *infra*, and O/OY (cf. 13.01, nos. 16 a–b, p. 241 *infra*) (L.).
- 14) κ[α]ρ[χ]ήσιον I² 274.173 (409/8, cf. SEG 10.198) Hekatompedon accounts, E = [ε'], λ in *ib.* 178, but aspirate omitted in ὁ *ib.* 174.
- 15) δραχμήν, τῆς I² 374.91, ὀγδόη *ib.* 416, ἐχρησάμεθα on new fragment, *Hesperia* 9 (1940) p. 102, no. 19, line 86 (408–406) accounts of the Erechtheum (L.). Elsewhere in this lengthy text H = [h], often used where it should not be, e. g. ἡοικόν, ἡογδόη, etc. (cf. 42.0111, p. 495 *infra*); E = [ε'].
- 16) Τιμόδη[μος] I² 960.10 (s. Va., cf. SEG 21.136) cas. list, elsewhere E = [ε'], H = [h].

Uncertain:

- 17) ἡς *Hesperia* 29 (1960) p. 64, no. 113, line 9, ἰονίδες *ib.* 5 (ca. 450?) public text? cas. list?
- 18) *Hesperia* 12 (1943) p. 18, no. 3 (ca. 448?) tiny fr. (public?) with H = [ε'] once, no other H or E.

Notes and Corrections: In I² 372.134 read ἐκπεποιμένα (not ἐκπεποιημένα) (L.).

Private texts (cf. 2.02, nos. 10, 12–16):

- 19) I² 487 (= DAA p. 7, no. 3) (fin. s. VIa.?) cf. LSAG p. 295) ded. of Iphidike, of unknown origin. In Ἀρχερμος ἐποίησεν ὁ Χίος the verb had previously been inscribed ἐποίησεν; *al.* E = [ε'].
- 20) I² 661 (= DAA p. 225, no. 191) (ca. 500?) ded. of a person of unknown origin. δεκάτην, Ἀθηναίαι, but Χαιρεδέμο, O for [σ'], but OΩ perhaps = ου [ο'], cf. 2.034.

- 21) Graffiti from the Agora: φησίν, but ho, γράφσας *Hesperia* 5 (1936) p. 36, fig. 36 (= *Agora* 21, p. 13, no. C 18) (init. s. Va.?) (L.); ἔτλη, but ho, ν = λ *Agora* 21, p. 14, no. C 23 (475–450); ἦκ[ε, but ὅς (= ὡς), ν = λ *Agora* 21, p. 9, no. B 7 (475–450).
 22) Δημαρχεῖτε I² 1035 (s. Va.) sep. mon. (L.).
 23) Ἀρχιπτεῖς Νουμένιο I² 1033 (date? “litterae pulchrae formae antiquioris”) sep. mon.

2.022 Examples of ω for [ɔ:] in texts in Attic script earlier than 403 B.C.

The sporadic use of ω for [ɔ:] is very rare in fifth-century Attic texts, even in the final decade of the century. Of the public documents, a law of the demesmen of Sypalettos (no. 1) with both Ω and O for [ɔ:] and the unusual spelling κωινῶι shows the unfamiliarity of the writer with the proper use of ω in this early period (ca. 460); in a decree of the middle of the century ω has the value of both [ɔ:] and [o:] (cf. no. 2). The latter use of ω seems to have been the popular one in the late Archaic Period at Athens (cf. 2.034). The use of ω for [ɔ:] is also found on only a very few priv. texts (cf. nos. 4–5 *infra*, 2.02, nos. 11, 18).

Examples:

Public texts (cf. 2.02, nos. 3, 7):

- 1) λέχσεω[ς I² 189.6 (ca. 460) law of the Sypalettioi, τ]δι κωινῶι *ib.* 10, τῶν [ἀσ]τείον *ib.* 11–12, alongside τὸν χρ[ε]μά]τον *ib.* 2–3, δόσεος *ib.* 7, ἀλά[χ]||[σ]εος *ib.* 7–8 (L.).
- 2) Ἀπόλλων BSA 49 (1954) pp. 17ff., line 10 (= SEG 14.3; revised text of I² 80) (ca. 450? cf. SEG 22.4) decree; Ω = [ɔ:] in θεῶ *ib.* 8, [ν]εῶ *ib.* 20 (= SEG 14.3.20), cf. 2.034, no. 9, p. 49 *infra*.
- 3) Δω[ρ]-- I² 120.1 (408/7) letters at top (above θ[εοί]) of very small decree fr., has ΧΣ (L.).

Private texts (cf. 2.02, nos. 11, 18):

- 4) Λαχρσάδες Ἀρκεσίλω I² 1080 (s. Va.) sep. mon. Has ν, Θαλῶς.
- 5) ΧΣΥΠΙΕΤΑΙΩΝ I² 916 (date?) object (?) long since lost.

Notes and Corrections:

- a) In I² 76.8 (= IG I suppl. p. 59, no. 27b) read: Ὀλεῖζο (L.); in I² 52.4 (= IG I suppl. p. 13, no. 33a) lapis: TIMENOP (L.); I² 57.15 (= IG I no. 40 + IG I suppl. p. 14) lapis: ΠΠΟΣ-HEKETO (L.).
- b) The ἐῶσ[ι] printed in I² 4.16–17 is a printer's error: lapis: ἐδσ[ι] (L.). Likewise read Σοτίμο instead of Σωτίμο in the first line of I² 145 (424/3, cf. SEG 10.82); the stone leaves no doubt that the letter is O (L.).
- c) The reading Ὡαιεύς of I² 144.2 should probably be changed to Ἀ]λαιεύς, cf. *Hesperia* 8 (1939) p. 65, no. 22; ATL 2 no. D 23. Examination of the stone did not confirm Ἀ]λαιεύς, but the traces fit Α better than Ω (cf. 12.0111, p. 228 *infra*) (L.).

2.023 Examples of Ξ and Ψ in texts in Attic script earlier than 403 B.C.

Only a few public texts scattered throughout the second half of the fifth century provide examples of these two letters obtruding into Attic script. In a few cases the Attic digraph occurs in the same text with the Ionic letter (nos. 2, 3).

Public texts:

- 1) ἐψηφισμένα I² 14/15.11, ψέφισμα *ib.* 26, ἀναγράφαν[τ- *ib.* 29 (447/6? cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.121, no.47) decree concerning the people of Colophon. The text has no initial aspirates written, but is otherwise in Old Attic script (L.).
- 2) Χαριζένο I² 359.21 (447/6–445/4, cf. SEG 24.48) account concerning a statue of Athena, Χαρικλάος *ib.* 18.
- 3) Προξε[νίδ]ο Προξένο ATL 2, no. D 23.1 (= I² 144.1) (416/5?) proxeny decree of Proxenides of Cnidus, Προχσ[ενίδεν *ib.* 18 (L.) (cf. 2.022, Notes and Corrections c).
- 4) [κ]ρόκε θαψίνε *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p.240, no.1, line 212 (= I² 330.17) (ca. 414) one of the lists of property confiscated from the Hermokopidai.
- 5) συναπράξοντες I² 106.18, ξυνβουλεύσονται *ib.* 19 (409/8, cf. SEG 24.16) decree, praise of Polykles and others (L.).
- 6) Εὐμαχος I² 936.5, Ξανθίας *ib.* 6, ΕΑΝΘΙΣ (= Ξάνθις?) *ib.* 2 (s. V a., said to have 5) fr. of a cas. list known only from a copy of Pittakes.

Private text:

- 7) εὐξάμενος I² 529.2 (fin. s. V a., cf. SEG 13.29) ded. Cf. the graffito ξανθῆς, but Πρόταρχος, E = [ε], L, cf. *Agora* 21, p.21, no. D 39 (475–450).

2.03 Peculiarities in the use of Ionic script

2.031 H = [ě]

As has been seen, spellings like Μηλανοπος, Θητις, etc. are sometimes found in the fifth-century dipinti (cf. 2.0122, pp.39–40 *supra*). The ostraca as a rule do not offer spellings of this type: Μελήσιος and Μελέσιος occur, but not Μηλέσιος or Μηλήσιος. A single ostrakon of 444/3 with Κληπ[πιδ]ης, AM 40 (1915) p.14, no.31 (= I² 911.2) (cf. 2.0121, no.30, p.36 *supra*), may be an exception, unless it shows a hesitation between [ε^h] and [e^h] due to a tendency to pronounce Κλειπ- as a single syllable with a diphthong (cf. 23.00, p.369 *infra*). There is only a single possible instance of eta for [ě] on a pre-403 stone text: ΗΧΣΑΛΟΛΕ for ἑξαγωγή in line 9 of *Hesperia* 4 (1935) pp.13 ff., no.1, a fragment of a law-code dated ca. 410–404 B.C. The worn condition of the stone makes the reading difficult, but a re-examination of the monument confirmed eta as the most likely letter here (L.). The fragmentary condition of the text leaves no great amount of text for comparison, but in the preserved text there are no other Ionic letters. It is difficult to decide whether H has intentionally been carved for [ě], or ἥ χσαγογέ was intended, with a sporadic use of H = [ε] (as in 2.021 *supra*) and careless omission of the E of ἑξαγωγή. For ΜΥΡΡΙΝΗΚΛΗΘΗ = Μυρρίνη ἐκλήθη, cf. 2.04, no.3, p.51 *infra*.

Note that the confusion of the diphthongs ηι and ει is attested on the ostraca and dipinti and in a few pre-403 stone texts in Ionic script, cf. 23.00.

2.032 Syllabic H

It is very doubtful if H has the syllabic value [he] or [hě] in as many Attic dipinti as has been claimed, for example, by Kretschmer (cf. *Vaseninschriften* pp.97–98). In a case like ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ on a late fifth-century vase now attributed to an imitator of the

Kadmos painter, cf. ARV² p.1188 (= JHS 70 [1950] pp.35–37, fig.2), the text is in standard Ionic (cf. IOΛΕΩΝ), and there is no reason to assume H = [he·] rather than η [e·] with the aspirate not indicated. In certain other cases where the painter shows considerable confusion in using Ionic vowel letters, it is at least as possible that H is intended to represent [ē] (similar to cases like ΜΗΛΑΝΟΠΙΟΣ in 2.031) as that H = [he]. Thus HPMEΣ on a vase of the Villa Giulia painter, cf. ARV² p.619, no.16 (= Smith, *Catalogue* 3 p.299, no. E492) is poor evidence for H = [he] alongside ΔΙΩΝΥΣΩΣ, where Ω clearly represents both [ɔ·] and [ō], on the same vase; cf. ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝ, ΑΕΤΩ on another, ARV² p.619, no.17 (= Richter-Hall plate 101). Of the same order is ΗΑΙΚΩΝ on a white-ground lekythos now in Munich by the Achilles painter, cf. ARV² p.997, no.155, *Paralipomena* p.438 (L.). A vase of Polion also has HPMHΣ, but on the same pot ΑΕΤΩ, ΠΟΣΕΙΔΑΝ, ΠΩΛΙΩΝ, ΗΡΑΚΛΕΗΣ, ARV² p.1171, no.2 (= Richter-Hall, plates 153 and 154). The ΗΟΣ on the piece by the Lykaon painter, ARV² p.1045, no.5 (= HRF 2 p.164, no.8), could be of the same type, as other pieces of the same artist have ΚΑΛΛΙΟΠΕ, ΑΕΙΟ-ΠΕΙΘΗΣ, ΚΛΕΩΝ. H.R. Immerwahr (cf. *Sprunt Studies* pp.25–27) came to a similar conclusion against H = [hē] or [he·] about the spellings ΑΝΤΙΘΗΟΣ, ΑΘΗΝΕΘΗΝ on late fifth-century vases. The rf. plate in the British Museum cited as no.820 by Kretschmer, *loc.cit.* p.98 reads ΗΕΡΑΚΛΕΣ, ARV² p.316, no.8 (= Smith, *Catalogue* 3 p.70, no. E45).

The reading of the rf. vase of the Brygos painter (certainly not Athenian) is apparently not ΗΟΣ, but ΑQΣ = ἀδς, Doric form of the word, cf. J. Millingen, *Ancient Unedited Monuments, Painted Greek Vases* (London, 1822) plate 6 (= ARV² p.384, no.222). There is no doubt that the figure depicted is Dawn, and the text is thus probably a label. Otherwise one might be tempted to read: K]A[λ]QΣ.

There remain only the following possible cases of dipinti with H written for [he] or [he·]:

ΗΡΑΚΛΕΣ on a Tyrrhenian amphora (ca. 575–550), cf. ABV p.96, no.13 (= CVA, France 1, plate 5.6, 14).

ΗΡΑ on a vase of Douris, cf. ARV² p.438, no.133 (= HRF 1, p.285, no.84).

In these early examples where the painters normally spell these syllables HE, a careless omission may be the best explanation, i.e. Η·Ε·ΡΑ; cf. ΠΟΜΕΘΕΣ on the vase of Douris.

HPMEΣ, ΠΕΡΣΩΦΑΤΑ, ΔΕΜΕΤΕΡ, ΗΚΑΤΕ on a vase by the Persephone painter, ARV² p.1012, no.1 (= Richter-Hall, plate 124), where H would certainly seem to represent [he]. But this painter is close to the Achilles painter, who often uses H for [ē]; note also the non-Attic ΡΣ, and Ω for [ō].

ΗΑΕΝΗ, ΠΕΙΘΩ, ΜΕΝΕΛΕΩΣ on an oinochoe related to works of Polion and the Heimarmene painter, ARV² p.1173 (= HRF 1 p.347, no.7): probably confusion of the sort suggested for Polion supra.

The only example of the syllabic use of eta that has thus far been seen in an Attic stone text occurs in a horos of three lines, probably of the first half of the fourth century, cf. *BCH* 92 (1968) p. 735, fig. 4 (= *Deltion* 20 [1965] *Chronika* p. 54, plate 41β):

on face		
H O P O Σ		
I E P O H [[?]]		P on right lateral surface
A K Λ E O [[Σ]]		Σ

There is no indication of what letter lay underneath the erasure of line 2. Was the sigma of line 3 moved to the right surface to achieve some kind of symmetry? Perhaps corrections were put in with paint, i. e. E in the last space in line 2 on the face, a Y in line 3. G. Daux thought the text an unsuccessful attempt at archaizing (cf. *BCH*, *loc. cit.*). But Stauropoulos' suggestion that H = [he] here must remain doubtful (cf. *Deltion*, *loc. cit.*).

For HPMAlOΣ for Ἑμμαῖος, cf. 2.04, no. 6, p. 51 *infra*.

2.033 Ω = [ō]

A number of examples of Ω for [ō] have already been cited in 2.0122 as illustrations of the inconsistency common in the use of Ω in dipinti. Additional examples of about the same date from other painters are: vases of the Alkimachos painter with ΑΛΚΙ-ΜΑΧΩΣ ΚΑΛΩΣ, ΚΑΛΩΣ, but another with ΚΑΛΟΣ, cf. *ARV*² p. 530, nos. 20, 21; no. 19; a vase of the Persephone painter (ca. 440) has ΠΕΡΣΩΦΑΤΑ, *ARV*² p. 1012, no. 1 (= Richter-Hall, plates 124, 171.124); two vases of the Penelope painter have ΩΛΥΣΣΕΥΣ and ΟΛΙΣΣΕΥΣ, *ARV*² p. 1300, no. 1 (= *FR* plate 138.2), no. 2 (= *FR* plate 142; Textband 3, p. 127). But the vase of the Kraipale painter (cited Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* p. 106) has ΔΙΦΙΛΟΣ on both sides, not ΔΙΦΙΛΩΣ and ΔΙΦΙΛΟΣ, cf. *ARV*² p. 1214, no. 5.

Perhaps cf. ΝΙΚΩΣ (= Νικοσθένῃς or νικῶσα?), graffito on an Agora sherd of the second quarter of the fifth century (no. P10466) (= *Agora* 21, p. 35, no. F75).

There are no comparable examples of Ω = [ō] on the ostraca or fifth-century stone inscriptions. For Ἑμμαφρώδιτος, cf. 2.04, no. 7; for κωῖνοι (= κοινῶι), cf. 2.022, no. 1, p. 44 *supra*.

2.034 Ω = [o·]

This use, while comparatively rare, is well attested on the ostraca, and appears on at least three stone texts. It is normally used in texts otherwise in Attic script (exceptions: nos. 1, 9, 14), and in Attic texts it is not accompanied by Ω = [ō]. It is rare in dipinti: most of the examples are from the late sixth or early fifth centuries, i. e. at a time when Ionic letters are not normal there (nos. 13–14 are exceptional here). Of the four examples on stone texts, the only official document, the decree concerning the Praxiergidai (no. 9), has already been cited as having both Ω = [o·] and Ω = [ō] (cf. 2.022, no. 2, p. 44 *supra*); the other three are fifth-century dedications in Attic

script (nos. 5, 6, before 480; no. 10, ca. 460). The use of Ω for [o·] is well attested on both groups of ostraca, and in the later group occurs alongside Ionic $\Lambda = \lambda$ and is contemporary with others having $H = \eta$ [e·]. However, $\Omega = [o·]$ never occurs in a very large percentage of the total in either group of ostraca. The phenomenon virtually ceases by 440 B. C.

The Ionic letter Ω was used for [ō] and [o·] (later ou) in the alphabets of Paros, Thasos, and Amorgos, and it is possible that the Attic use of it seen here is derived from contact with these alphabets; but in the Attic examples there is no $\Omega = [\delta]$ in conjunction with $\Omega = [o·]$. It should be noted that this use of Ω is found in purely Attic contexts, i. e. ostraca, stone texts.

It is thus unlike the use of Ω for [ō] seen in dipinti (cf. 2.033). The evidence suggests that the Ionic letter Ω was adopted by some Athenians to distinguish [ō] and [o·] (later ou), normally without the adoption of other Ionic letters. The practice was not accepted for official use, and disappears soon after 450 B. C., probably as the standard use of Ω became more familiar.

Lit.: MS³ p. 4, note 17; A. Wilhelm, *JOAI* 2 (1899) pp. 228–229.

Examples:

- 1) ΠΑΤΡΟΚΛΩ (= Πατρόκλου?) *BMFA* 63 (1965) pp. 35 ff. (= *Paralipomena* p. 164, no. 31 bis) (ca. 520) dipinto on a bf. vase assigned to the Leagros group; also ΕΚΤΡΩΡ (cf. 2.0122, p. 38 supra). Here the name labels the tomb of Patroclus and is almost certainly genitive (L.).
- 2) ηε[ρ]μῶ *JHS* 76 (1956) p. 22 (= *SEG* 16.34) (fin. s. VIa.) dipinto on a rf. plaque assigned to Phintias.
- 3) Αλωντίδω : εἰμ Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* p. 1018, no. 4017 (fin. s. VIa.) dipinto on a late bf. kothon, cf. 9.0111, p. 176 infra.
- 4) εὔρων *ARV*² p. 431, no. 48 (= *CVA*, Germany 21, plate 77); Ἀσοποδόρῳ *ARV*² p. 447, no. 274 (ca. 490–480) dipinti on two vases assigned by Beazley to the third period of Douris; cf. *AJA* 52 (1948) pp. 337 ff. εὔρων = εὔρουν, i. e. the contracted form of εὔροον. Other interpretations are simply not convincing. It should be noted that the use of $\Omega = \text{ou}$ in εὔρων does not prove that the Ionic alphabet was used for books in Attica, since this use is not the standard Ionic one and is paralleled by Ἀσοποδόρῳ on another vase from the same workshop (which otherwise avoids Ionic letters; for HPA, i. e. Ηέρρα, cf. 2.032 supra) and by other texts from *Attic contexts* such as ostraca and priv. stone monuments. Cf. also Immerwahr, *Book Rolls* pp. 18–19, no. 1 with lit. (notes 2, 3).
- 5) Καλικόμωσ (acc. plural) *I*² 821 (ante 480) ded., cf. A. Wilhelm (Lit. supra) fig. 128. Has Attic lambda and three-bar sigma.
- 6) Λευκολοφίδω *I*² 559 (= *DAA* p. 112, no. 110) (ante 480) ded.; previously read as a dual (cf. A. Kirchhoff, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Alphabets* [Gütersloh, 1887] p. 96), but the genitive sing. is surely right; has Attic lambda and three-bar sigma (L.).
- 7) Ostraca of the 480s (Attic lambda and three-bar sigma employed): Ἀριστονόμω on 6, possibly 7, of the Kallixenos ostraca (483 aut 482); Ἀριστονόμο on more than 90, Ἀριστονόμου on one, Ἀριστονόμω on one, cf. *Hesperia* 19 (1950) pp. 384–385, no. 15.

Νεοκλέως on 6 of the Themistocles ostraca from the Agora excavations (482); Νεοκλέως on more than 60, Νεοκλέους on three, cf. *Hesperia* 19, p. 385, note 24; Νεοκλέως on 4 ostraca of group L from the Acropolis, cf. *Hesperia* 7 (1938) p. 240, fig. 69 (included in *Hesperia* 19 statistics just mentioned). Νεοκλέως on an ostrakon from the Ceramicus, cf. *BCH* 92 (1968) p. 731, fig. 7.

Κf. *ἡπιοκράτης* on an unpublished ostrakon of Megakles (486) in the Agora; Ἀλκμεονίδω on 5 ostraca of Hippokrates (482), Ἀλκμεονίδο on more than 40, Ἀλκμεονίδου on a few.

- 8) Μιλτιάδω on 5 ostraca of Kimon (Attic lambda) *Kerameikos* 3, pp. 58–59, nos. 45–49 (461); most have Μιλτιάδο.
- 9) Θεῶ *BSA* 49 (1954) pp. 17ff., line 8 (= *SEG* 14.3; revised text of I² 80) (ca. 450? cf. *SEG* 22.4 and note to no. 10 infra) decree. Another case of Ω = [ο'] probably in *ib.* 20 (= *SEG* 14.3.20), where ν|εῷ has been read by D. M. Lewis, cf. *BSA* 49, p. 18 with notes; this text also has ὄν, Ἀπόλλων (cf. 2.022, no. 2, p. 44 supra); has Attic lambda.
- 10) Λυ|σ|πω *DAA* p. 322, no. 299 (= new reading of I² 558) (ca. 460) ded. A. E. Raubitschek suggests also that this text and I² 80 (no. 9 supra) are by the same hand and of about the same date.
- 11) Μενεκλ|εῖδω *Kerameikos* 3 p. 64, no. 75 (450–443) ostrakon of Menon; Attic gamma and lambda on others of this group.
- 12) Μ|ε|εσ|ω *Kerameikos* 3, p. 84, no. 160 (Attic lambda); Θωκυδέ|δε[ς] Μελεσ|ω *AM* 40 (1915) p. 10, no. 12 (= I² 911.1) (Attic lambda) ostraca of 443.
- 13) Μωσαῖος *Paralipomena* p. 398, no. 70 bis (ca. 460–450) dipinti on a rf. vase by the Villa Giulia painter. Has Attic gamma and lambda.
- 14) Πλώτω (has Ionic lambda) *ARV*² p. 1142, Berlin inv. no. 3244, by Xenotimos (= *CVA*, Germany 22, plate 116.3–5) (ca. 430–420). Here Ω is for [ο'] ← original diphthong [ο"] (cf. 21.00a, no. 9, p. 350 infra).

Notes and Corrections: The peculiar XOPIOΩ (= χωρίου, with OΩ = [ο']?) on the ded., I² 661 (= *DAA* p. 225, no. 191) (ca. 500?), remains without parallel; also has H = [ε'] (but E = η once).

In *Hesperia* 9 (1940) p. 97, no. 18, the ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩ of line 3 is probably not genitive, cf. 2.0121, no. 26, p. 36 supra.

It is barely possible Ω is for [ο'] in the ostrakon of Menon cited 2.02, no. 18, p. 42 supra.

For later examples of Ω = [ο'], OY, cf. 12.03.

2.04 Vestiges of Attic script after 403 B. C.

Certain vestiges of Attic script in texts of 403/2 and later are extremely rare. But the perfect form of the Ionic script found in use after 403/2 is not surprising if Attic script was largely obsolete by the end of the fifth century and being maintained artificially by the state for use in official documents. This view is supported by the increasing use of Ionic script for private purposes after ca. 450 (cf. 2.0121, p. 33 supra) and by the last part of the fifth century for public documents (cf. 2.011, p. 28 supra); furthermore even state decrees in the Old Attic alphabet of the last years of the fifth century frequently contain incursions of Ionic letters, especially eta as a vowel (cf. 2.02, nos. 4–7, p. 41 supra; 2.021, nos. 4–6, 13, p. 43 supra).

The only confusions which may be safely assigned to newness of the Ionic script are H ~ E = [ε'] and O ~ Ω = [ο'], both especially rare in the period ca. 403–375 B. C.,

when they might be expected to occur because of the substitution of one script for the other. The confusion of EI and HI is probably phonetic (cf. 23.00, pp.368 ff.), as there is no accompanying confusion of OI and ΩI. The choice of EI and OY rather than E, O for [e] and [o] seems not to be correlated with the use of Ionic script either before or after 403/2 B.C. (cf. p.31 supra; 9.011, 13.01 infra).

No certain examples of E~H or of O~Ω in state decrees of the early fourth century can be found. A decree of three phratries found at Dekeleia and dated precisely to 396/5 B.C. has a single example of E for H in τῆς, but the text deviates from the standards of state decrees in the spelling κῆται (no.1). Five additional examples of E for H occur in dedications and sep. monuments; one of the dedications is that of a deme (no.5). These texts cannot be dated with precision; some may be slightly earlier than 403 B.C. and belong with the examples in 2.02; on the other hand, some of the priv. sep. monuments in impure Ionic in 2.02 may in fact be slightly later than 403 and belong in this section. The only example of Ω for O which might be due to unfamiliarity with the new script is on a private dedication which can be dated only rather imprecisely to the early fourth century (no.7). OAIEΣ occurs on a small fr. of a cat., *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p.174, no.39 (part of II² 1952, fr. c, to be disassociated from II² 1952a), where it has been interpreted as 'Ωαιῆς, cf. *AJP* 84 (1963) pp.174–175, and the text dated to the early fourth century; but it is probably an early example of 'Οαιεύς with -ΕΣ (= -εῖς) in the nom. pl. (as in II² 1749, dated by the name of the archon to 341/0), cf. 12.0111, p.227 infra.

Occasional confusion of H and E and of O and Ω are found in the later fourth century and in the Hellenistic Period; such examples are probably not due to any vestiges of the Old Attic alphabet, cf. 8.01, pp.159–160 infra and 12.01, pp.223 ff. A date of ca. 370 has been somewhat arbitrarily selected as the cut-off point for confusion of H and E and of O and Ω because of the newness of Ionic script; examples later than that date will be found in the sections of the Phonology cited, i.e. 8.01 and 12.011. A few of the imprecisely dated examples in this section may be later than ca. 370.

There is trace of a greater confusion in graffiti of the early fourth century. Cf. the defixio, *AM* 73 (1958) p.97, no.2 (= *SEG* 21.1093), dated ca. 400 on the basis of the stratigraphy, with ε twice in lines 7, 8 (but H = η 6 times *al.*) (cf. p.161 infra) and μετ' ἐκένων for ἐκένων in line 7 (cf. p.358 infra); Δηξίω and Δεξίω, graffiti on different sherds, of ca. 410–390 and of the early fourth century respectively, cf. *Agora* 21, p.38, no. F127; p.39, no. F136; δικαίως (adverb) on *Agora* 21, p.39, no. F132 (ca. 400–390), but δικαίως on two others, cf. *ibid.* nos. F131, F139; Ξεγοφδ(ντος) *Agora* 21, p.39, no. F145 (400–350). Cf. 'Ηρακλῆς, dipinto on a fourth-century vase, *ARV*² p.1472, Pasithea painter no.1 (= Richter-Hall, plates 162.166; 173.166).

There was an archaizing retention of Attic script on fourth-century Panathenaic amphorae; cf. AΘE, retained on coins long after 403/2 B.C.

For the conscious archaism in the use of H for [h] on horoi of the fourth century, cf. 1.021, p.24 supra; for revival of the Old Attic alphabet in Roman times, cf. Introduction p.9 supra.

Examples:

- 1) τ|εξ Π² 1237.69–70 (396/5) decree of three phratries found at Dekeleia; has κῆται (cf. 16.01, no. 12, p. 301 *infra*) and O for ου in τῶτο-, ὅκ (cf. 21.012, nos. 1, 2, p. 352 *infra*).
- 2) Ἄλω]πεκῆθεν ἐπόησεν *Hesperia* 17 (1948) p. 38, no. 24 (ca. 403?) artist's signature.
- 3) AE 1948–49 pp. 146 ff. (= SEG 12.80) (fin. s. Va. aut init. s. IVa.) in Ionic throughout (three elegiac distichs) except for πρώτε, Νίκες in line 6; ΜΥΡΡΙΝΕΗΚΑΗΘΗ in *ib.* 9 is probably for Μυρρίνη ἐκλήθη with confusion (if not simple graphic metathesis) of E and H, cf. BSA 50 (1955) p. 1; Μυρρινέη κλήθη (as in AE 1948–49), with omitted augment, is less likely. Sep. mon. of Myrrhine, priestess of Athena Nike, probably mentioned in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (cf. L. Robert, *REG* 66 [1953] p. 132, no. 49); this text could be slightly earlier than 403/2.
- 4) Π² 4546 + *Annuario* n.s. 11–13 (1949–51) pp. 120 ff. (ca. 400): Ἐμῆι, Ἐμῆς (no H = [h], cf. *Annuario* pp. 123–124), Κηφισόδοτος, but Δεμογένης, Βουτάδες *ded.* (priv.).
- 5) ὁ δῆμος τὸν ἱερέα Ἀριστοκράτην Φυσίωνος Φωληρέα Π² 3454 (needs correction) + *Hesperia* 2 (1933) p. 155, no. 4 (init. s. IVa.) *ded.* of a deme, dated on basis of lettering and prosopography (L.).
- 6) Ἡγμαῖος Π² 7967.1 (init. s. IVa.) sep. mon. of an Egyptian.
- 7) Ἐρμαφρω[δ]ῶι AM 62 (1937) p. 7, no. 5 (init. s. IVa.) *ded.* (priv.).
- 8) Κομῶ (= Κομῶ) Π² 12824.2 (ca. 400) sep. mon.; there is now no trace of this second line on the stone, but as it has been independently transcribed by Koehler (as ΚΩΜΩ cf. *IG* II, no. 4200) and Koumanoudes (who reports ΚΩΜΩ in *Epigraphai epitymbioi* [Athens, 1871] p. 385, no. 3384) it should probably be regarded as genuine; in line one note Κομοῦς, Κομολίς (L.).

Notes and Corrections: Ἀλεξό (for Ἀλεξώ) in Π² 4546.5 (ca. 400) must be corrected to ἀέξουεγ, cf. *Annuario* n.s. 11–13 (1949–51) pp. 122–123.

A.E. Raubitschek (*DAA* p. 89) would assign I² 561 to the fourth century; the reading (uncertain) of line 2 is ἈΧΑΡΝΕΟΞ (L.); perhaps belongs with examples in section 12.011, cf. p. 224 *infra*.

The suggestion of C.W. Clairmont, *Gravestone and Epigram, Greek Memorials from the Classic and Archaic Period* (Mainz, 1970) p. 139, that the Σμικυθῶ on the sep. mon. published *Deltion* 17 (1961–62) *Chronika* p. 26 (= *BCH* 86 [1962] p. 651) could be Σμικυθῶ and not Σμικυθῶν is of course absurd (cf. G. Daux, *BCH* 96 [1972] p. 558).

The widespread confusion of H and E in the defixiones is probably not due to difficulties with the new Ionic script, cf. 8.01, p. 161 *infra*.

It is difficult to decide where to place the public horos with an epigram entirely in Ionic script (H, Ω, ὁ, Γ, Λ) except for ΧΣ in μεταχού, because of the uncertainty about its date, cf. Π² 2640; if it is earlier than 403/2 B.C. it would belong with the examples in 2.011, pp. 31–32 *supra*. Similar difficulties apply to the fr. of a lex sacra, I² 844/845 B (= Sokolowski, *Lois*² p. 32, no. 16), with ΑΘΕΝΑΙΑΙ in line 11, which might be slightly earlier than 403 B.C.; it is probably not late enough to go with the examples in 8.01 (cf. p. 164 *infra*).

3.00 Arrangement of texts

3.01 Direction of writing: boustrophedon, retrograde

The theory positing a three-step progression in Greece from retrograde to boustrophedon and then to left-to-right writing has been successfully refuted by L. H. Jeffery on the basis of an analysis of all the earliest texts from all parts of Greece (cf. *LSAG* pp. 43 ff.). The first Attic inscriptions are usually only a single line. Of them many are retrograde like the earliest one, the graffito on the Dipylon oinochoe of ca. 725, I² 919 (= *LSAG* p. 76, no. 1). But other quite early texts read from left to right, e.g. a dipinto of ca. 675–650, *Hesperia*, suppl. 2 (1939) p. 151, no. C39 (= *LSAG* p. 76, no. 5d); and a graffito of ca. 650, *Hesperia*, suppl. 2, p. 124, no. B55 (= *LSAG* p. 76, no. 4). Furthermore, of the 22 graffiti on seventh-century sherds from Hymettus only nine are retrograde, although there is no appreciable difference in the style of the lettering on the different types, cf. *AJA* 38 (1934) pp. 10 ff. Four of these (*AJA* 38, nos. 1–3, 5) are among the earliest texts of more than a single line, and all are apparently retrograde, but a two-line boustrophedon graffito on a stone fragment, I² 484, is probably slightly earlier, perhaps of the eighth century, cf. *LSAG* p. 76, no. 2. One-line graffiti written left to right occur on SOS (cf. p. 21 *supra*, note 1) amphorae, cf. *LSAG* p. 77, nos. 10c–10f (ca. 625–550) (nos. 10a–b, g, h are retrograde) and sherds from the Agora, e.g. no. P 6578 (ca. 700?), no. P 13655 (700–650). The earliest dipinti show a similar variety, e.g. *LSAG* p. 76, no. 5: of one-line dipinti on Proto-Attic pottery dated ca. 675–625, nos. 5a–b are retrograde, 5c–e, left to right. The earliest texts carved on stone are I² 997 (ca. 625–600? cf. *IGAA* p. 129, no. 22; *LSAG* p. 76 no. 8), sep. monument of two lines retrograde, but the text was perhaps so arranged because of its relation to figures on the stone (cf. *LSAG* pp. 45, 71; p. 59 *infra*); and I² 672 (= *LSAG* p. 76, no. 7) (625–600?) ded., boustrophedon. Perhaps a little later are several one-line retrograde texts; I² 466, I² 467, I² 740, dedications; I² 1008, sep. mon.; and a few one-line left-to-right texts listed on pp. 56–7 *infra*. The earliest text of more than a single line written left to right is a graffito on a sherd of the seventh century B. C., *Hesperia*, suppl. 2 [1939] p. 126, no. B56.

Retrograde writing. Stone texts with retrograde writing are in fact quite rare until near the end of the sixth century, if the dates assigned to the various monuments, usually based only on letter-forms, may be trusted. Somewhat later than the examples already cited are: a one-line retrograde ded. below the Acropolis calf-bearer, dated ca. 570–560 on the basis of the sculpture, I² 469 (= *LSAG* p. 77, no. 17); a block, probably a grave monument, with $\Sigma\text{O}\Sigma\text{INEO}$ inscribed retrograde on two sides of it, I² 999 (= *IGAA* p. 116, no. 1) (ca. 575–550). The first Attic retrograde text of any length is actually the four-line grave monument of Pediarchos, *IGAA* p. 136, no. 42 (= *SEG* 3.56; cf. *GVI* 1 p. 499, no. 1671) (ca. 540), which must be read from bottom to top (cf. p. 60 *infra*). Jeffery (cf. *IGAA* p. 136) suggests the use of retrograde here was for technical reasons due to the location of the monument, as in the examples from the end of the century (cf. p. 53 *infra*). And yet in this period in which boustrophedon

writing was still used and letters facing left were familiar, it is not unreasonable to suppose that some, perhaps left-handed persons (cf. *LSAG* p.47), may have preferred to write a series of lines right to left instead of left to right. A one-line retrograde sep. mon., I² 994 (= *IGAA* p. 135, no. 38), is of about the same date and is perhaps by the same hand as the monument of Pediarchus. But texts carved boustrophedon, or even left to right, are certainly much more frequent in the period 560–540 (cf. p.54 *infra*).

But there is another sizable group of retrograde texts, often of two or three lines, which seems pretty certainly to date to the last quarter or even the last decade of the sixth century. Left-to-right writing was certainly normal in Attica by this time and scarcely any boustrophedon texts can be dated this late, and A. Wilhelm's suggestion (cf. *Beiträge* pp. 31, 306; *DAA* p. 444) that such stones were carved retrograde because they stood to the right of a path or road has been generally accepted. The most typical examples are columnar dedications with the letters carved from top to bottom between the flutes of the columns. In such cases, if the column was standing upright on the right side of a path, the eye of the approaching reader was actually served better by retrograde writing. Examples of this type (none found *in situ* and some less securely dated to this period than others) are: I² 510, I² 483; I² 548 + I² 663 (= *DAA* p. 10, no. 6); I² 499, I² 697, I² 737.345; *DAA* p. 253, no. 223. Of special interest is a text of this type which was begun retrograde (cf. pi, ny, and alpha) and finished with left-to-right writing (cf. tau), cf. I² 540 (illustrated *DAA* p. 34, no. 31) (ca. 500?). So also on another column fr. of three retrograde lines, pi and rho always face right, sigma faces both ways, epsilon and ny face left, cf. I² 804, a dedication.

Two horoi of the Agora have been found *in situ* beside roads, but their relation to Wilhelm's theory is indecisive. The retrograde text (*Hesperia* 37 [1968] p. 61) was placed to the west of the road with the lettering facing east, i. e. as one went away from the Agora it was on the right side of the road. But the left-to-right text (*Hesperia*, suppl. 4 [1940] p. 107; *Hesperia* 8 [1939] p. 205) also has letters facing east and is located on the west side of the thoroughfare which passes in front of it (another path goes behind it). The two texts are of roughly the same date (ca. 500) and style, although the hands are different (cf. p. 58 *infra*). A rock-cut horos contains both a retrograde text and a left-to-right text beneath it, but the style of the lettering indicates a different date for the two texts, cf. I² 863 (cf. form of the rho in *IG I* nos. 504 and 505; the sigmas of the retrograde text face from left to right). For other retrograde horoi (not found *in situ*) cf. the following paragraph.

Other late sixth-century texts, not on columns and not found *in situ*, for which considerations of symmetry and location are thought to be the reason for retrograde writing are: a horos, I² 902a (I² 907 of somewhat later date may be a private horos or a sep. mon., cf. *infra*); two marble basins, I² 759.371, I² 716 (the latter slightly later in date, cf. *infra*)¹; a block, probably a base for a statue, with a two-line retrograde text, *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p. 79, no. 24, plates 16, 25; two texts carved left to right, but with

¹ The suggestion of *DAA* pp. 402–403 that two early sixth-century fragments of marble basins, I² 739 (left to right) and I² 740 (retrograde), stood on opposite sides of a path is rather tenuous (cf. p. 57 *infra*).

the artist's signature carved retrograde on another surface of the stone: I² 972 (really as early as 540–530? cf. IGAA p.120) sep. mon. with retrograde signature awkwardly carved; I² 718 (= DAA p.75, no.70) (ca. 500?) ded.; and two monuments of uncertain character, I² 677 (= DAA p.234, no.201) (ca. 500?) a column capital; I² 693 (= DAA p.368, no.333) (fin. s. VIa.) *not* stoichedon, part of a stele of some sort(?). The last examples of this sort of thing are the marble basin just cited, I² 716, of ca. 480? (arguments of DAA p.401 not absolutely certain) and I² 907 (cf. *supra*), a private horos, perhaps even a sep. mon., with four-bar sigma, tailless rho and theta of the form Θ, which should indicate a date in the fifth century B.C., probably in the first half of it (for use of Σ before 450–440 in priv. documents, cf. I² 983, dated ca. 525 by Jeffery, IGAA p.127, no.19).

A few later examples of retrograde writing on bronze dedications, ostraca, etc. might be due to left-handed persons(?). Of the bronzes, only I² 447.4 is among the earliest of this group, which are probably no earlier than ca. 550 (cf. LSAG p.68, note 1); I² 434 is slightly later; I² 445, possibly of the last quarter of the sixth century. A few ostraca are retrograde, e.g. *Hesperia*, suppl. 4 (1940) p.38, fig.30 (480s); *Hesperia*, suppl. 8 (1949) p.395, no.2 (480s); *Archaeological Reports* 13 (1967) p.5, fig.4 (487/6) with two lines. But the graffito cited *Hesperia* 8 (1939) p.63, inscribed Πυτοφάτος retrograde, is now generally dated to the mid-sixth century B.C., cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 8 (1949) pp.405–406; LSAG p.76, no.9e. Cf. also the retrograde graffito Πυφες on an early fifth-century vase, BCH 92 (1968) p.763 and p.766, fig.7.

For the labels of figures on vases retrograde and left-to-right writing were apparently equally popular right from the start, cf. the bf. pot of the Nettos painter, ABV p.4, no.1 (= LSAG p.76, no.6a). There was a natural tendency to begin a name labelling a figure at the face and have the letters proceed outward. This and perhaps sometimes a desire for symmetry explain the enduring popularity of retrograde, which continues down into the fifth century, e.g. ARV² p.459, Makron no.4 (= CVA Germany 21, Text pp.33–34, no.F2291) (490–480); ARV² p.274, no.35 (= CVA Germany 20, Text pp.32–33, no.2407) (ca. 470); ARV² p.592, no.36 (= CVA France 15, Text p.24); Smith, *Catalogue* 3 p.354, no.E719 (= ARV² p.1560); etc.

An interesting late example of retrograde occurs on a lamp dated ca. 350 which has a list of six names incised retrograde, probably in some magical connection; the writing is not true retrograde, for, while the lines read right to left, the individual letters face towards the right, cf. *Hesperia* 27 (1958) p.159, plate 46b. This device is frequent on defixiones.

Boustrophedon writing. This was normal for writing on stone in most of Greece ca. 600–540. The most important examples from Attica are:

Dedications: I² 463 + 475 (ca. 566? cf. LSAG p.77, no.18); I² 392 (558? cf. DAA p.357, no.328); I² 468 (558? cf. DAA p.358); I² 802 (ante 550, cf. IGAA p.118) ded. on jumping weights from Eleusis (lost); I² 472 (ca. 550–540? cf. LSAG p.77, no.25); I² 835 (ante ca. 520?);

Sep. monuments: SEG 3.55 (= LSAG p.77, no.20) (ca. 560? cf. IGAA p.118); I² 976 (= IGAA p.133, no.34) (ca. 560–550?); I² 974 (= IGAA p.130, no.23) (ca. 550?).

There is also the 'ded. fr., LSAG p.77, no.26 (= I² 665 + new fr.), which might be boustrophedon; the single retrograde line could also be read left to right, but the letters produced (ϝ⊙IX) are difficult to explain. The text is dated ca. 550–540? by LSAG, but the lettering certainly looks later, cf. the photograph, DAA p.230, no.195, where a date of 525–500 is suggested. Probably not stoichedon? cf. p.60 *infra*.

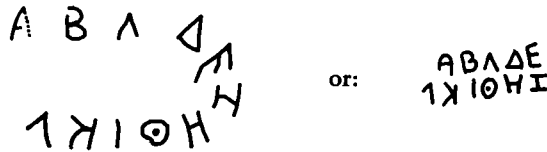
The number of Attic boustrophedon texts is fairly small; most of those just cited have been brought down by the experts to a date close to 550 B.C., a date to which several texts of more than one line inscribed left to right may also be assigned (cf. pp.56–57 *infra*), besides the four-line retrograde sep. mon. of Pediarclus cited in the previous section (cf. p.52 *supra*). Stone texts only really become numerous in Attica about 550, and by this time it is clear that left-to-right writing is just as common as boustrophedon, and may have been so even earlier. The lack of precise dates for many of these texts compounds the difficulties of deciding how general boustrophedon writing was in Attica at this time.

After 540 boustrophedon was certainly unusual. An exception may be seen in the occasional use of it to finish up a line at the right margin to avoid isolating a few letters at the beginning of a new line to the left. Thus in the sep. mon., I² 1012 (= IGAA p. 137, no. 44) (ca. 550–540?), the last two letters have been added retrograde at the right. Other examples from later in the sixth century of this practice of finishing up the last part of a text boustrophedon are: two sep. monuments, I² 990 (= IGAA p. 122, no. 17), and IGAA p. 147, no. 65 (= SEG 10.460) (both ca. 510–500?); and the horos I² 862 (s. VIa.). A sep. mon. of three lines published *Deltion* 20 (1965) *Chronika* p. 86, plate 51 (cf. *BCH* 92 [1968] p. 738) (ca. 530?) provides a comparable case: here the last word of the first line has been added retrograde at the right, actually in the second line. This sort of finishing up is probably also the best explanation of the boustrophedon on the narrow surface of SEG 10.326 (= IGAA p. 143, no. 55), a text with a list of names on the larger surface, probably some sort of sep. mon., cf. the photograph, *BSA* 39 (1942) plate 29 (cf. p. 58 *infra*). Here, however, the mixture of writing has been explained as further evidence for the avoidance of boustrophedon in name-lists, well attested outside Attica, cf. *BSA* 39 p. 93, note 3. But the only other Attic example of this avoidance must be abandoned: the tiny fragment of a cat. published *AM* 67 (1942) p. 13, no. 11 (= *LSAG* p. 78, no. 28) dates to a period when non-boustrophedon writing was already in use anyway. A ded. from Eleusis with the first line retrograde, lines 2–5 left to right, remains an unexplained peculiarity, cf. I² 817 (ca. 550?); perhaps it is related to the practice of indicating the first line of a text with false boustrophedon (cf. *LSAG* p. 50 and p. 60 *infra*), but that is usually employed only in vertically inscribed texts.

This same practice may be seen in graffiti, e.g.: *Hesperia*, suppl. 8 (1949) p. 401, no. 14b (false boustrophedon, cf. *infra*) (found in fill of fin. s. VIa./init. s. Va.) ostrakon; p. 406, no. P6067 (fig. 9) (found in fill of ca. 550) graffito on a sherd; I² 914.3 (= *Graef-Langlotz* 2, plate 92, no. 1321) graffito on a sherd (there is no evidence for the date of this text except the lettering, which supports a late sixth/early fifth-century dating much more convincingly than the late seventh/early sixth-century dating assigned to it by *LSAG* p. 76, no. 9b). But probably not boustrophedon at all is another graffito, *Hesperia*, suppl. 8 (1949) p. 398, no. 10a (= *LSAG* p. 76, no. 9c; *Agora* 21, p. 12, no. C8) (fin. s. VIa.), in which the second line should be read left to right as $\mu\omicron\iota \mu\omicron\sigma\gamma\beta$ ($\beta = \text{EI}$, cf. 5.0125, p. 108 *infra*), following M. Lang. There are also many examples of this sort of thing among the dipinti, although boustrophedon is normally rare in them (cf. *infra*). For a typical example, cf. *Hesperia* 9 (1940) p. 200, no. 135, a little-master

cup with three letters added boustrophedon at the right. The practice is still found in the fifth century, cf. ARV² p. 632, Methyse painter no. 3 (= Richter-Hall, plates 109–110, 171.109).

Jeffery has coined the term *false boustrophedon*, cf. LSAG pp. 49–50, for texts in which the lines turn a corner, i.e. two lines have the bottoms or tops of their letters abutting on each other so that one line is actually upside down:



Such a technique was occasionally used to mark off the beginning of a stone text, as in the ded., I² 463, probably of 566 B.C., cf. LSAG plate 3 and transcription on p. 400; DAA pp. 350ff. A second example from Attica is a two-line column ded., SEG 10.327 (cf. *Deltion* 11 [1927/28] p. 37, fig. 32), probably of the third quarter of the sixth century. False boustrophedon is also found on ostraca and among dipinti, cf. Vanderpool, *Ostracism* fig. 24.

The columnar dedication just cited (SEG 10.327) is probably one of the last Attic boustrophedon stone texts. In the law-code fragments, *Hesperia* 17 (1948) pp. 86ff. (= I² 838–9), dated by Jeffery ca. 500–480, cf. LSAG p. 78, no. 44, boustrophedon is used out of religious conservatism: the original axones and kyrbeis of Solon are said to have been boustrophedon (cf. Harpocration, s.v. ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος).

Although retrograde texts are numerous among the dipinti, examples of boustrophedon among the few texts which run to more than a single line are very rare. In addition to the exceptional three-line signature of Sotes and Paideros, *Hesperia* 9 (1940) p. 225, no. 217 (cf. ABV p. 348), there is probably a boustrophedon text on one of the four inscribed vases of Sophilos, ABV p. 42, no. 36 (= part of ABV p. 40, no. 21, cf. *Paralipomena* p. 18 [= CVA, Greece 1, plate 1.1]). Here the text is very fragmentary, but if it was not boustrophedon it is very difficult to explain the interpunct to the left of the theta in the uppermost line, cf. the photograph in *Jahrbuch* 13 (1898) plate 1.3. Elsewhere Sophilos (ca. 575–550, cf. LSAG p. 77, no. 14) has short one-line texts left to right or retrograde: cf. ABV p. 39, no. 15 (= HBF p. 336, no. 2; Pfuhl, *Malerei* no. 202); ABV p. 39, no. 16 (L.); in this last vase the possibility of a two-line retrograde text arises in: Σόφιλος : μ'ἔγραψεν | Πατροκλῆς : ἄλλα; but it must remain uncertain whether the writer regarded the lines as continuous text. A rf. vase by Onesimos dated to slightly before 480, cf. ARV² p. 326, no. 93 (cf. *AJA* 52 [1948] p. 338, no. 3), depicts a papyrus roll with three lines of text, the middle one retrograde; here boustrophedon is perhaps intended to show the antiquity of the roll, as suggested by Jeffery, cf. LSAG p. 76, note 1. But most dipinti running to two full lines are entirely left to right, e.g. the signature of Nearchos, ABV p. 82, no. 1 (= LSAG p. 77, no. 24) (ca. 550), or numerous examples on little-master cups, cf. *JHS* 52 (1932) pp. 187–188, 193, etc.

Left-to-right writing. The earliest Attic texts carved left to right on stone are a one-line grave monument, SEG 10.450 (dated to the beginning of the sixth century on the

basis of sculpture and lettering, cf. AAG² p.155, no.1; nothing is gained by lowering the date to ca. 575, as Jeffery does, cf. IGAA p.146, no.62; LSAG p.77, no.15); a fragment of a dedication of one line on a marble basin, I² 739 (init. s. VIa.? the explanation for the direction of writing given in DAA pp.402–403 is dubious); a ded., probably of one line, on a capital, I² 464 (= DAA p.340, no.318) (600–550?); a two-line ded., I² 577 (= DAA p.63, no.60) (570–560?); and a large number of texts dated roughly to the middle of the sixth century, e.g.: I² 393 (= LSAG p.77, no.21) (ca. 550?) bronze tablet recording dedications of tamiai; I² 724, I² 736 (= DAA p.65, nos.61–62) (ca. 550?) frr. of one-line dedications; AA 1939, column 12 (= DAA p.359, no.329) (ca. 550–540) ded.; LSAG p.78, no.33 (= SEG 22.87; *Hesperia* 8 [1939] p.258, no.9) (550–525) graffito ded. of three lines; I² 830b (= LSAG p.78, no.27) (ca. 550?) fragmentary ded. of two lines; sep. monuments: I² 1012 (= IGAA p.137, no.44) (ca. 550–540?) (for last two letters added retrograde at the right, cf. infra); I² 1016 (= IGAA p.136, no.41; LSAG p.77, no.22) (ca. 540?); I² 1026a (= IGAA p.140, no.50) (ca. 550); SEG 10.326 (= IGAA p.143, no.55) (ca. 550?); AM 78 (1963) p.110, no.2 (= SEG 22.68) (ca. 550); I² 1021 (= IGAA p.143, no.56) (ca. 550–540?); I² 996, a single line (= IGAA p.131, no.27) (ca. 550–540?); I² 971 (= IGAA p.132, no.33) (550–540, cf. AM 78 [1963] p.119); I² 989 (= IGAA p.119, no.5) (550–530); IGAA p.139, no.48 (= SEG 10.452a) (ca. 540?); I² 1014 (= IGAA p.138, no.46) (ca. 540?); I² 981 (= IGAA p.146, no.63) (ca. 540–535); IGAA p.143, no.57 (= SEG 10.461) (ca. 540?); I² 972 (= IGAA p.120, no.8) (ca. 540–530?); I² 1022 (= IGAA p.144, no.58) (ca. 540–530?); AM 78 (1963) p.145, no.12 (= SEG 22.73) (non post 530); I² 988 (= IGAA p.140, no.49) (540–525?).

Worthy of special note is I² 1012, a signature of Phaidimos, like the boustrophedon SEG 3.55 cited above. These have both been assigned to the same mason by Jeffery, along with I² 1014, left to right and nearly stoichedon (cf. pp.61, 69 infra) (cf. IGAA pp.118, 137, 139); if these attributions and the suggested dates 560–550–540 are accepted, the progression boustrophedon–left to right–left to right + stoichedon can be seen in one hand. The assignment of texts of this period to masons on the basis of lettering sometimes arouses scepticism, but here the association of Phaidimos with two examples gives the attributions more support. A third signature of Phaidimos, SEG 10.452a (= IGAA p.139, no.48), is by a different hand.

The last two letters of I² 1012 have been added retrograde at the right, to avoid isolating them at the beginning of the next line over at the left (cf. p.55 supra).

Lit.: MS³ p.7, notes 24–25; comprehensive treatment of archaic dedications in DAA, especially p.444; of archaic sep. monuments in IGAA; cf. also LSAG pp.43–50, pp.73, 75–76; Vanderpool, *Ostracism* pp.9–10 (figures 22–24).

3.02 Lay-out of texts

3.021 Vertical texts, order of lines, etc.

In the Archaic Period texts were very often inscribed vertically, usually from top to bottom. There is no question of true vertical writing (cf. remarks on $\kappa\iota\omicron\nu\eta\delta\acute{o}\nu$ writing *infra*), as the letters are turned on their sides. This practice was particularly suitable for dedications inscribed between the flutes of columns, and it was indeed normal unless the text was on the column capital (cf. numerous photographs, DAA pp. 9–60, *passim*). The same technique appears on a few early stelai: I² 463 (= LSAG plate 3, no. 18) (566?); AM 62 (1937) p. 1, no. 1 and plate 1 (= SEG 10.345; LSAG p. 78, no. 35; revised text of I² 837) (ca. 520–514); BCH 92 (1968) p. 733, fig. 9; etc. Two early decrees (both not far from 500 B.C.) are inscribed vertically in this way: the earliest state decree, I² 1 (= Meiggs-Lewis p. 25, no. 14; *Imagines*² plate 6, no. 13); the older of two texts inscribed on a stele from Marathon, probably deme regulations connected with the reform of Cleisthenes, *Hesperia* 11 (1942) pp. 329–332, p. 331, fig. 3. Later decrees are inscribed horizontally, including the reverse of the Marathon stele.

A somewhat unusual arrangement may be seen in the series of horoi to the Agora (ca. 500 B.C.), where the text runs across the top and continues down the side, obviously intentionally. Of the three stones showing this arrangement, two were found *in situ*, and one is retrograde (cf. p. 53 *supra*): cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 4 (1940) p. 107 (and note 91); *Hesperia* 37 (1968) p. 62, fig. 9. Somewhat similar is the ded., I² 607 (ca. 480?), where, however, had the line not been indented there was plenty of room for all the letters on the horizontal; perhaps the mason miscalculated (cf. drawing DAA p. 115). An even more peculiar arrangement may be seen on the rectangular slab, SEG 10.326 (a list of names, probably some sort of sep. mon.; contains some boustrophedon, cf. p. 55 *supra*), inscribed on two adjacent surfaces: if, as seems inescapable, the stone rested on either of the two undressed surfaces, all the writing had to be read vertically, but on one surface from top to bottom, on the other from bottom to top (cf. photographs, BSA 39 [1942] plate 29).

For a discussion of the various possible reconstructions of the small fr. I² 2, see S. Dow, *AJA* 65 (1961) pp. 349ff. (with illustrations). This is apparently the only Attic example of a pyramidal stone stele sometimes called $\kappa\upsilon\beta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ by scholars. For the term $\kappa\upsilon\beta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ and the difficulties connected with it, cf. LSAG pp. 53–55.

The fondness for vertically inscribed texts wanes quickly after the beginning of the fifth century. In later examples the form of the monument dictates its use, as in the fourth-century horoi of the Ceramicus, II² 2617–II² 2619, cf. *Imagines*² plate 28, no. 59, or the large stele with a cat. of names and the name of the scribe running vertically from the top to bottom, II² 2344 (init. s. IV a.), cf. AM 35 (1910) p. 114, fig. 3 for a photograph. For other examples of vertical writing, cf. II² 4609 (fin. s. IV a.) ded. (priv.), inscription on the parastades of a naiskos in which a deity is depicted; II² 4401 (350–300) ded. with four lines running from top to bottom on a columella with some names running from top to bottom; II² 2615 (s. IV a.) horos with the last

line added vertically; II² 6859 (fin. s. Va./init. s. IVa.) sep. mon. with text inscribed beside loutrophoros (cf. Conze, plate 285); etc.

True vertical writing, i.e. with the lines running vertically but without the letters being turned on their sides, the style of writing called *κλινηδόν* in the scholia to Dionysios Thrax (*Gramm. gr.* 1.3, pp.484.26, cf. 191.17), is very rare at Athens. There is an Eleusinian dedication of the Archaic Period, I² 810 (init. s. Va.); a text (perhaps a sign of some sort?) also from Eleusis, of the second century A.D., which has the single word *Ἱεροφάντης*, cf. II² 3718, AE 1950–51 p.8, fig.5; p.1, fig.1; a dedication (priv.) from the cave of Pan on Mt. Parnes, probably fourth or third century B.C., cf. II² 4834 (cf. AM 67 [1942] p.61, no.105), photograph: AE 1918, p.25, fig.16; the first nine alphabetic numerals were carved *κλινηδόν* in two columns on the left side of a dedication of the Flavian period, II² 3229. On the back of the naval inv., II² 1620, there is a conglomeration of names, some horizontal and some vertical, of which one is inscribed *κλινηδόν*, cf. II² 2449.2 (s. IIa.). *Κλινηδόν* writing is sometimes found on vases, usually Panathenaic amphorae, e.g. HBF p.140 (365–350).

The grammatical writings also talk of writing *πλινθηδόν* and *σπειρηδόν* (cf. *Gramm. gr.* 1.3 p.484; the *σπειρηδόν* of p.190.36 is probably the same as *σπειρηδόν*). The latter type is probably the sort of writing in spirals frequent on earlier vases, where dipinti wind around the figures; for a good example cf. the middle-Corinthian aryballus illustrated *Hesperia* 24 (1955) plate 63. This is merely a development of the tendency of vase-painters to fit in inscriptions where they can; a good Attic example is the François vase, ABV p.76, Kleitias no.1 (= HBF p.153). This sort of extended spiral writing is more characteristic of the Corinthian vases than of the Attic. Note also that Pausanias' description of the larnax of Cypselus of Corinth at Olympia refers to it as: *γέγραπται τὰ ἐπιγράμματα ἑλιγμοῖς* ... (5.17.6). It is occasionally found in the Archaic Period on stone texts, usually graffiti, cf. IG XII.3 no.540 (Thera). There do not seem to be any Attic examples, but if there were reliefs depicting the figures on the early sep. mon., I² 997 (ca. 625–600?), the peculiar two-line arrangement of the text might be due to the names being related to the figures as labels similar to the arrangement on the Dermys and Kittylos text from Boeotia, cf. IGAA p.129, no.22; LSAG pp.45, 71; p.76, no.8 (cf. p.52 supra); Dermys and Kittylos text, cf. LSAG p.92. The term *πλινθηδόν* was perhaps developed to describe writing which runs around the rim of a square or rectangular monument to produce an enclosed figure. The large marble block, an altar or sacred mensa, of the early fourth century, II² 2343, is a good Attic example of this practice. *πλινθηδόν* is probably a development of the inscribing of tops of plinths, frequent in the Archaic Period; the Kleobis and Biton text from Delphi is a famous example, FD 4 pp.5ff. (= LSAG p.168, no.4). An Attic example is I² 711 (cf. DAA p.335, no.314) (init. s. Va.), a fragment of a small marble plinth measuring 0.16 m. (restored length 0.23 m.) X 0.08 m. X 0.04 m. (L.). Very likely the same type of thing is the small fr. *Hesperia* 1 (1932) p.46, no. III (cf. fig.12, p.45) (= DAA p.334, no.312) (init. s. Va.) ded. Cf. also I² 820, an archaic ded. in which the writing winds around the representation of a phallus. Jeffery remarks that the practice of inscribing texts right on statues themselves, frequent in archaic Greece, is found in Attica only once, cf. I² 830 (cf. LSAG p.78, no.27 and p.74) (ca. 550), except for a few bronzes, e.g. I² 446, I² 434, I² 455.

Occasionally the second line of a text must be read before the first, i.e. the text reads from bottom to top. This peculiar practice can be found on some of the ostraca, cf. *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p.387, no.24 and Vanderpool, *Ostracism* figures 16, 17, 25;

Kerameikos 3 p.61; and vases, e.g. ΚΕΔΑΥΙΟ | ΝΟΣ (begins retrograde on lower line, last three letters in upper line reading from left to right), cf. *Hesperia* 9 (1941) p.201, fig.32, no.135 a (s. VIa.), dipinto on a sherd. This practice is avoided for the most part in texts on stone. The best Attic example is the four-line retrograde grave monument of Pediarchus, cf. *IGAA* p.136, no.42 (= *SEG* 3.56) (ca. 540?), which has to be read from bottom to top (photograph in *AM* 67 [1942] plate 2; cf. p.52 supra). Wilhelm (cf. *Lit. infra*) pointed out that the lower line of I² 487 (= *DAA* p.7, no.3) should be read first, as more important than the sculptor's signature above; the eye is led to that anyway, since the lower line begins much higher on the column, cf. *Imagines*² plate 6, no.14. Wilhelm also suggested reading the second line before the first in several other archaic texts, but most of his examples are dubious (I² 508, I² 601, I² 661, I² 672, I² 804, I² 997, I² 1027). W. Peek (*AM* 67 [1942] p.89) rejected all but I² 672 and I² 997 on the ground that the texts were just as satisfactory with the lines read in the normal way; Raubitschek accepted only I² 508 and I² 601 (cf. *DAA* p.408, no.381; p.268, no.233) and added I² 711 (= *DAA* p.335, no.314) and *Hesperia* 1 (1932) p.46, no. III (= *DAA* p.334, no.312) (init. s. Va.). But when not metrical it seems really impossible to decide which line of such texts was meant to be read first; Jeffery follows the order of lines on the stone in her interpretation of I² 672 (cf. *LSAG* p.76, no.7) and I² 997 (= *IGAA* p.129, no.22; *LSAG* p.76, no.8). The arrangement of lines printed by Hiller von Gaertringen in the *IG* text of I² 463 is unnecessary and against the tendency (also known outside of Athens) to indicate the first line of a vertically inscribed text with "false boustrophedon" (cf. *LSAG* p.50 and p.55 supra). Wilhelm's suggestion that the second line of the heading of the decree II² 63 (ante 378/7) should be read before the first may well be right.

Lit.: Guarducci, *EG* 1 pp.415–417; Wilhelm, *Beiträge* pp.1–12; Arvanitopoulos, *Epigraphike* (Athens, 1937) p.77, pp.86–100. The preceding section confines itself largely to a discussion of texts on stone; for more detailed treatment of the dipinti, cf. E. Zinn, *AA* 1950–51 pp.1–36.

3.022 Stoichedon

The stoichedon style of inscribing stone texts arises, very likely in Athens itself, in the sixth century, from the tendency to line up the verticals of letters in non-boustrophedon writing. While there are a few retrograde stoichedon texts (e.g. I² 499, partially stoichedon; I² 510, probably stoichedon; but *not* I² 693), boustrophedon and stoichedon writing are not normally associated, a fact which confirms this view of the origin of the style. Thus the archaistic boustrophedon law-code fragments, published *Hesperia* 17 (1948) pp.86 ff. (includes I² 838–9, whose stoichedon character had already been questioned) are not stoichedon (= *LSAG* p.78, no.44) (500–480). Nor are there any convincing examples of stoichedon boustrophedon texts from Attica: the ded., I² 472, claimed as stoichedon in *LSAG* p.73 (illustrated plate 3, no.25), is not stoichedon and was not recognized as such by Raubitschek, cf. *DAA* p.438; the ded. fr., I² 665 (really boustrophedon? cf. p.54 supra), certainly looks stoichedon and has been claimed as such, cf. *DAA* p.230, no.195; *LSAG* p.77, no.26; but such a claim is very dubious for such a tiny fragment: note how the small piece I² 465 had appeared stoichedon to some, but seen placed in position as part of I² 391

it clearly is not, cf. DAA p.356. If I² 665 is stoichedon it is one of the earliest Attic examples (it is dated ca. 550–540? by LSAG p.77, no.26). Another early example is the sep. mon. of Phrasikleia signed by Phaidimos, I² 1014 (= IGAA p.138, no.46; LSAG p.78, no.29, cf. plate 3) (ca. 540?), which is virtually stoichedon; most of the irregularity is to avoid dividing words (cf. p.69 *infra*). Earlier signatures of Phaidimos are not stoichedon, cf. p.57 *supra*. For discussion of the earliest stoichedon texts from Attica, see Austin (Lit. *infra*, pp.7ff.; a few additional examples assembled by DAA p.438) and the lists on pp.69–71 *infra*.

The practice of lining up the verticals as seen in the sep. mon. of ca. 540 mentioned previously, cf. I² 1014 (= IGAA p.138, no.46; for a drawing cf. LSAG plate 3, no.29), soon gave way to a system of assigning each letter a square in a checker-pattern, so that letters like tau, iota, etc. had their vertical in the middle of the square. The first Attic state decree, I² 1 (illustrated *Imagines*² plate 6, no.13) (fin. s. VIa., cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.27), has only the first six of its twelve lines stoichedon; the verticals are not always lined up in the same way, and the checker-pattern is not yet in use. The next extensive decree, I² 3/4 (cf. *Imagines*² plate 10, no.20) (485/4), already shows the fully developed stoichedon style normal in public documents thereafter. The aesthetically pleasing appearance immediately evident in I² 3/4 is generally accepted as the primary reason for the style's development and immense popularity, cf. Larfeld *Handbuch* (1914) p.138; Austin pp.4–5; Guarducci, *EG* 1 p.413. Stoichedon is normal in Athenian public documents of the fifth and fourth centuries; for statistics, see Austin pp.50–65.

There is some difference of opinion as to how strictly the definition of stoichedon should be applied. Austin's original definition as "that style in which the letters are in alinement vertically as well as horizontally" is the only satisfactory one in practice; attempts to confine "strict stoichedon" to texts in which a checker-grid has to be hypothesized (cf. Dow, Lit. *infra*) or even to those very few on which actual guide-lines can still be seen (cf. Pritchett, Lit. *infra*) do not seem useful. These types of texts have been shown by Osborne (Lit. *infra*, pp.249–250, 269) to be no less prone to occasional violations of the stoichedon order than others.

Stoichedon is also found in the dipinti and in ostraca and other graffiti. The earliest stoichedon dipinti are of the last quarter of the sixth century (cf. Immerwahr, *Book Rolls* p.43, no.1), but most are later than ca. 480–475 B.C. (for a large collection of examples, cf. Immerwahr, *op. cit.*, pp.43–46). Of particular interest is the use of stoichedon on representations of the writing on book rolls on fifth-century vases. It is more frequent than non-stoichedon, and this use presumably reflects an attempt to represent books realistically, as it would otherwise be very difficult to explain. Stoichedon or partial stoichedon is found much more rarely in incised inscriptions; for a list of ostraca, cf. Immerwahr, *op. cit.* p.44, note 1; the most interesting graffito is the list of kalos-names, with the heading θεοί, incised on the bottom of a pot in an incised checker-board grid, cf. *Hesperia* 5 (1936) p.350, no.6, dating to the second quarter of the fifth century. The stoichedon style must always have been associated with conscious calligraphy; hence its rarity on ostraca, graffiti in comparison to dipinti and especially stone monuments. The earliest examples of true stoichedon texts are carved on stone.²

² The signature of Thyphreithides mentioned LSAG p.74, note 8 is not stoichedon. The purely ornamental use of lettering seen in little-master cups is not necessarily related to the development of stoichedon (cf. Austin p.5, note).

Texts in the developed stoichedon style could not possibly have been executed without a preliminary sketch of guide-lines forming the checker-pattern. Such guide-lines are not attested on Attic texts of the Classical Period (presumably they were applied in some removable or impermanent medium), although examples from elsewhere are well known. However, a number of Attic dedications and sep. monuments of the Archaic Period, not all of them stoichedon, exhibit incised guide-lines, horizontal or vertical. For a list of examples, cf. *DAA* pp.438–439; add *Hesperia* 40 (1971) p.154, no.9, p.155, no.11, p.160, no.18 (all three s. Va.). Very rare is a checker-pattern as in I² 717 (cf. *AM* 62 [1937] p.101, *Hesperia* 40 p.156, note 17) (init. s. Va.) a text of only a single line; and the fr. (three lines are preserved) published *Hesperia* 40 pp.155–157 with plate 29 and fig. 1 on p.157 (fin. s. VIa./init. s. Va.). There is a checker-pattern incised on a small fr. of a decree published *Hesperia* 29 (1960) p.40, no.50 (ante 250). A few archaic texts exhibit the thickly inscribed lines which were intended to be seen, that is, they were decorative; for lists of examples, cf. *DAA loc. cit.* The Themistocles decree, Meiggs-Lewis p.48, no.23 (= *Hesperia* 31 [1962] p.311), was carved stoichedon, perhaps sometime in the third century B.C., and it has horizontal guide-lines (cf. Dow in *Lit. infra*). Horizontal guide-lines can also be seen on four decrees which are not stoichedon, all dated to the second quarter of the second century, and perhaps from the same workshop: II² 945; *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p.117, no.61; *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p.47, no.7; p.212, no.59 (cf. add.).

In the early period at least the presence of stoichedon does not necessarily exclude syllabic division at the ends of the lines, although this is often assumed, e.g. by *LSAG* p.73. Wilhelm (cf. *Lit. infra*) showed long ago that in most stoichedon private monuments of the Archaic Period adjustments are made to facilitate syllabic division, although the ending of a line with the end of a word is much preferred to division within the word; cf. Austin p.46, notes; cf. 3.0231, pp.69–71 *infra*. It is in the public documents of the fifth and fourth centuries that the strict stoichedon, with complete disregard of syllabic division at the ends of lines, is almost universal. Exceptions, especially among state decrees, are quite rare, cf. II² 1 (403/2), II² 80 (ca. 380–370, cf. *SEG* 24.78) illustrated Pečirka, *Enktesis* plate 4; inventories: I² 295 (433/2), I² 359 (447/6–445/4, cf. *SEG* 24.48) (= *BCH* 91 [1967] opposite p.56), I² 370–371 (421/0–416/5), II² 1391 (post 398/7), II² 1496 (334/3–331/0); a locatio of property of Athena, II² 2495 (334/3 aut paulo post). The fourth-century naval lists abandoned stoichedon early because of the desire to end their short lines with syllables. II² 1604–II² 1609 are still stoichedon and are not syllabified, although the stoichedon is often irregular. II² 1610 is non-stoichedon and non-syllabified. For the variations in the syllabified texts II² 1611–II² 1629, see 3.0232, pp.72–73 *infra*. The non-stoichedon II² 1631 and II² 1632 are not syllabified: the avoidance of stoichedon does not always mean the text will be syllabified.

Apart from the fairly frequent insertion of iota into the same stoichos as an adjacent letter, any kind of irregularity in the stoichedon is rare in public texts. Two lambdas are crowded into one stoichos in the tribute list, I² 191.1 (= *ATL* 2, no.1) (454/3) (Attic lambdas). In the decree, II² 448 (318/7), MH is crowded into one stoichos in line 56, ΩN in line 86; the text has a few

other irregularities. In the decree, I² 22 (cf. *ATL* 2, no. D 11) (450/49, cf. *SEG* 23.7), many of the irregularities in the stoichedon are apparently due to a last minute decision to insert H = [h]; in three cases (ἐναι in line 31, προσεμ- in *ib.* 40, ἐσφορᾶ[ς] on the new fr., cf. *ATL* 2, no. D 11.58) more than one stoichos has been assigned to E (= [e]) (L.), perhaps indicating that EI was originally planned; these changes were made before actual carving, as no erasures are involved (cf. Bradeen-McGregor pp.30–33; pp.173, 494 *infra*). Similar is the correction in line 4 of another decree, I² 87 (424/3), probably to allow the insertion of X in χουνθεῖ[α]; again no erasures are involved (cf. *Hesperia* 14 [1945] p.99). In a large fr. of a sacred law soon to be published in *Hesperia* by K. Clinton (367–348), lines 17–18 of Face A are not stoichedon (cf. lines 17–18 of *Hesperia* 26 [1957] p.52, no.9 and plate 7). In fourth-century decrees crowding and other irregularities in stoichedon are somewhat more frequent than has generally been thought, cf. Osborne (Lit. *infra*) pp.264–270 for lists of examples. Crowding of letters is frequent in later fourth-century mining inventories, cf. *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p.254, no.18, cf. p.257; p.263, no.20 (line 56).

The number of texts carved stoichedon greatly diminishes in the course of the third century, and the style almost disappears ca. 250–215 B.C. Moreover, irregularities, especially the leaving of blank spaces or crowding in order to obtain syllabification, become increasingly common in this same century. At about 250 B.C., stoichedon decrees are still not observing syllabification, e.g. *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p.43, no.9 (256/5); *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p.287, no.56 (= I² 791), with an irregularity in line 19 (247/6); I² 781 (250/49); I² 808 (239–229). Interesting non-stoichedon texts of this period are *Hesperia* 45 (1976) pp.296 ff., a decree of 204/3 which clearly aims at syllabification in every line by the use of a blank space or spaces at the ends of lines (alleged cases of infringement of syllabification in *Hesperia* 43 [1974] pp.246 ff. are all wrong); similar is the non-stoich. decree, I² 766 (246/5). The decree, *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p.66, no.23 (= I² 790) (235/4), has many irregularities in the stoichedon (cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 1) and yet is definitely not syllabified. But the decree of orgeones, I² 1289 (ca. 250), is both stoichedon and syllabified, a combination frequent in the last Attic examples of stoichedon:

Third century:

Hesperia, suppl. 1 (1937) p.70, no.27 (231–229?); *ib.* p.73, no.29 (228/7), syllabified; I² 837 (227/6), probably syllabified; I² 838 (226/5); *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p.227, no.26 (227/6, cf. *SEG* 21.532; 21.399), a decree of thiasotai(?) in very crude stoichedon; I² 857 (ante 224/3), very irregular stoichedon; I² 843 (ca. 229/8?), syllabified; I² 1303 (ca. 218/7), decree of troops at Eleusis; I² 792 (fin. s. III a.), definitely not syllabified; I² 858 (fin. s. III a.); I² 973 (204/3), probably syllabified, but the fragment is too small to allow certainty.

Second century:

I² 894 (188/7); *Hesperia*, suppl. 1, p.142, no.79 (164/3), syllabified;
I² 1001 (ca. 150? date dubious).

Most of these texts observe syllabification; a few are too fragmentary to be sure. The text I² 554 (= *IG* II no.413), previously dated 200–180, is now located at the end of the fourth century (307–304? cf. *SEG* 24.111). There is one Attic example of the

archaistic revival of the style in the Roman Period, cf. II² 1071 (init. aet. Rom.); the revival is also attested elsewhere.

Lit.: R.P. Austin, *The Stoichedon Style in Greek Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1938) is the basic work; for irregularities Austin must be supplemented by M.J. Osborne, "The Stoichedon Style in Theory and Practice", *ZPE* 10 (1973) pp. 249–270; for the style in the third century B.C., cf. S. Dow, *AJA* 66 (1962) pp. 359ff. Cf. also W.K. Pritchett, *Ancient Athenian Calendars on Stone* (= *University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology* 4.3 [1963]) pp. 382ff.; Larfeld, *Handbuch* (1914) pp. 137–140; *DAA* pp. 438–439; Guarducci, *EG* 1, pp. 413–414; R. Harder, *Jahrbuch* 58 (1943) pp. 93–102; Wilhelm, *Beiträge* pp. 17ff., p. 56.

3.023 Syllabic division

In order to formulate the rules of syllabic division a sufficient body of texts in which there is clear intention of ending the lines with ends of syllables (or words) is necessary. Such evidence only becomes available in the course of the third century B.C., when the fondness for strict stoichedon, which normally excluded the possibility of ending lines with ends of syllables, is waning (a few of the latest stoichedon decrees are syllabified, cf. 3.022, p. 63 *supra*). On the basis of the syllabified texts of the Hellenistic Period (chiefly decrees) and later, a set of rules of standard practice in the division of syllables can be drawn up. There are, however, occasional exceptions to all of them. In evaluating the exceptions, it must of course first be ascertained whether a text is syllabified; there are texts which do not syllabify, even after the abandonment of stoichedon, but practice in them can scarcely be regarded as infraction of the rules.

In general the practices of syllabified texts do not differ much from the rules laid down by Herodian 2.1 (= *Gramm. gr.* 3.2) pp. 393 ff.

1) Division normally takes place before a single consonant (also ξ, ψ):

πρὺ|τάν[εσιν] II² 958.12–13 (154/3); ἔδο|ξεν II² 950.3–4 (165/4), γενόμε|νον *ib.* 22–23; εὖσε*|[βελ]α *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p. 186, no. 116, lines 14–15 (ca. 20); ἔθυ|σαν II² 1028.23–24 (101/100 cf. *SEG* 24.188) all decrees; ἀναγρά|ψαι II² 1315.25–26 (211/0) decree (orgeones); etc.

Exceptions: e.g. [ἀκροσ]|όλει II² 847.54–55 (ca. 215/4) decree; γεν|όμενον *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p. 148, no. 84, line 64 (155/4) decree; φ[ιλ]|ου II² 3683.11–12 (init. s. III p.) ded.; σφρατ[ηγ]|[οῦν]τος II² 3680.3–4 (init. s. III p.) ded., [συτ]|ώνην *ib.* 11–12; φα[νερ]|άν II² 1078.36–37 (ca. 220 p.) decree; ἔξ| αὐτ| II² 1035.24 (10/9–3/2, cf. p. 124 *infra*, no. 59) decree; δεδωκότε|ων II² 1104.10–11 (aet. Severianorum, cf. *SEG* 24.150) imp. edict.

a) This practice also applies to prepositions compounded with verbs, nouns, etc., when such prepositions normally elide:

ἀνά: II² 839.69–70 (221/0) decree; II² 1338.28–29 (78/7) decree (synodos of technitai); II² 3005.4–5 (s. Ip.) ded.; II² 4527.3–4 (s. II/III p.) ded. (priv.); etc.

ἀπό: II² 847.27–28 (215/4), II² 888.6–7 (194/3?), II² 1008.39–40 (118/7) decrees; II² 1368.97–98 (ca. 162/3 p.) Iobacchi regulations; etc.

ἐπ: II² 787.b6–7 (236/5), II² 847.6–7 (215/4), II² 952.3–4 (161/0), II² 977.4–5 (131/0), II² 1078.27–28 (ca. 220 p.) decrees; II² 1315.23–24 (ca. 211/0) decree (orgeones); II² 2130.

91–92 (192/3 p.) eph. cat.; Π² 1343.24–25 (ca. 37/6) decree (soteriastai); Π² 1235.5–6 (ca. 248/7) decree (genos).

κατά: κα|θήκων Π² 890.12–13 (188/7) decree; κα|θάπερ Π² 1028.86–87 (ca. 101/100 cf. SEG 24.188) decree; κα|θήκονσι Π² 1039.25–26 (79/8 cf. SEG 22.110) decree; κα|θηδρεύσατο Π² 1338.27–28 (78/7) decree (synodos of technitai).

μετά: Π² 13216.c6–7 (ca. s. II p.) sep. mon.

παρά: Π² 1315.10–11 (211/0) decree (orgeones); Π² 844.37–38 (181/0, cf. TAPA 95 [1964] p. 239) decree; Π² 1104.2–3 (aet. Severianorum cf. SEG 24.150) imp. edict.

Exceptions: [κατ|]έπλευσεν Π² 2291 a.45–46 (190–200 p.) oration of ephebes; perhaps ἐφ|ήβων Π² 2262 (date ?) eph. cat. (very small fr.); [ἐπ|]ιγγραφήν Π² 1042.28–29 (ca. 41/0) decree, [ἐπ|]ι ib. 29–30; κατ|ά Π² 1322.4–5 (fin. s. III a./init. s. II a.) decree (amphierastai).

ἀν|[εστράφη] in Π² 1334.10–11 (fin. s. II a.) decree (orgeones), is not an exception since the text is not syllabified.

These same prepositions divide before the consonant when elided before a following noun:

ἐ|φ' ἐκάτερα Π² 1033.12–13 (94/3, cf. SEG 18.29); κα|τ' ἔτος Π² 1074.12–13 (ca. 120 p.); κα|[τ' ἰδαν Π² 1077.28–29 (209/10 p.) decrees; ὑ|π' αὐτῶν Π² 13137.5–6 (ca. 150 p.) sep. mon.

b) The prepositions ἐν and σύν before vowels sometimes divide before the -ν and sometimes after:

ἐν| Ἐλευσίνι Π² 1006.80–81 (122/1); ἐν|[ἀγ]οράι Π² 1028.56–57 (101/100 cf. SEG 24.188) decrees.

συν|ιώντες Π² 1326.13–14 (176/5) decree (dionysiastai); συν|έφηβον Π² 3733.14–15 (126/7 p.) ded.; συν|άρεξαντας Π² 2068.4–5 (155/6 p.) eph. cat.; συν|[εδρ]ου? Π² 2291 b.9–10 (fin. s. II p.) oration of ephebes; etc.

But: ἐ|ν ἄστει Π² 1008.35–36 (118/7) decree; ἡ ἐ|ν οἷς Π² 1121.29–30 (305/6 p.) imp. edict.

c) When followed by vowels, whether in composition or elsewhere, the prepositions ὑπέρ and εἰς divide after the final consonant, πρὸς, ἐξ before it:

ὑπέρ|[ων] Π² 979.15–16 (ca. 150) decree (some irregularities); εἰς | ἀμφοτέρω Π² 1315.9–10 (ca. 211/0) decree (orgeones); τῆς εἰς | {εἰς} ἑαυτοῦς ib. 22–23; εἰς | δλον Π² 1100.61–62 (ca. 124 p.) imp. edict; εἰς | ἐσθῆτα Π² 1304.34–35 (post 211/0) decree (troops); εἰς | ἑαυτοῦς Π² 958.19–20 (154/3) decree.

Exceptions: εἰ|[ς] ἑαυτοῦς Π² 1049.16–17 (57/6 cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 [1937] p. 170, no. 101), τὰ [εἰ|[ς]ιτητήρια Π² 1039.31–32 (79/8 cf. SEG 22.110) decrees.

πρὸ|σοδος: Π² 1322.19–20 (fin. s. III a./init. s. II a.) decree (amphierastai); Π² 950.6–7 (165/4), Π² 1043.16–17 (38/7) decrees; etc.

Exceptions: πρὸς | [ἀ]παντα Π² 1006.33–34 (122/1) decree.

ἐ|[ξ]ετα- Π² 1100.68–69 (ca. 124 p.) imp. edict; διε|[ξ]ήγαγεν Π² 834.2–3 (paulo post 229/8) decree.

For πρὸς, εἰς before consonants, ἐκ, cf. 5, 6 c infra.

d) Before a following vowel, the final consonants of οὐκ, ἐνθάδ' are carried to the second line, as is sometimes that of (δπ)ως, but not the final -ν of ἄν nor a final -ς or -ν of the definite article or pronouns:

σὺ|κ + vowel: Π² 834.3–4 (paulo post 229/8), Π² 949.10–11 (165/4), Π² 1028.81–82 (101/100 cf. SEG 24.188) decrees; Π² 2191.128–129 (ca. 200 p.) eph. cat.

ἐνθά | δ' ἔθαψαν Π² 11551.8–9 (fin. s. Π p.) sep. mon.

(δπ)ως| + vowel: δπως | ἄν Π² 1235.9–10 (ca. 248/7) decree (genos); ὡς | ἄν Π² 839.33–34 (221/0) decree; κα[θ]ώς | ἡ Π² 1328.42–43 (175/4) decree (orgeones); etc.

δπω|ς ἄν: Π² 659.8–9 (283/2) decree; *Hesperia* 10 (1941) pp. 363 ff., lines 11–12 (= Π² 1088.45–46) (132–138 p.) decree (Panhellenes).

ἄν| + vowel: Π² 839.40–41 (221/0), Π² 847.33–34 (215/4), Π² 1028.93–94 (101/100 cf. SEG 24.188) decrees.

Article and pronouns: δν| Π² 839.75–76 (221/0) decree; ἔκαστον| Π² 896.39–40 (186/5) decree; δσους | ὁ Π² 832.12–13 (229/8) decree; ὄν| Π² 847.35–36 (215/4) decree; αἷς| Π² 3697.6–7 (ante 250 p.) ded.; τὴν | V Π² 949.12–13 (165/4) decree; τῆς | V Π² 659.2–3 (283/2), Π² 908.13–14 (181–170) decrees; etc.

Movable ny is not carried over:

ἐβουθ[ύ]τησεν | ἀπάσας Π² 1227.5–6 (131/0) decree (cleruchs); παιοῖν | ὑμῶν Π² 1102.11–12 (131/2 p.) imp. letter?

2) Geminated consonants are normally divided (including γγ, κκ):

ἀμλ|λαν Π² 1028.20–21 (101/100 cf. SEG 24.188) decree, καλ|λιερήσας *ib.* 74–75; Θάλ|λου Π² 1039.10–11 (79/8 cf. SEG 22.110) decree; ἐπαγ|γέλλεται Π² 1329.17–18 (175/4) decree (orgeones); Ἰοβάκ|χο- Π² 1368.53–54, 146–147 (ca. 162/3 p.) Iobacchi regulations; [Ἄτ]|τι-κόν Π² 1073.2–3 (ca. 120 p., cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 [1937] p. 193, no. 121; *AJP* 70 [1949] pp. 299 ff.) decree; Φιλόπαπ|πον Π² 3112.4–5 (75/6–87/8 p.) ded.; Ἄτ|[τάλου] Π² 1043.68–69 (38/7) decree; etc.

Only a very few exceptions can be found: Ἐρέν|νιος Δέξιππ|[ο]ς Π² 2931 (250–265 p.) ded. carved on the walls of a cave.

Correct Π² 3742 (= IG III no. 742): Βαχ|[χύλλ]ου.

3) A combination of a stop and a liquid or a nasal (βλ, βρ, γμ, γν, γλ, γρ, δν, δρ, θλ, θμ, θν, θρ, κλ, κμ, κν, κρ, πλ, πρ, τρ, φλ, φρ, χλ, χμ, χν, χρ) is almost never divided; normally both consonants go on the second line:

e.g. δρα|χμῶν Π² 839.46–47 (221/0) decree; Ἀφι|δναῖος Π² 1343.7–8 (ca. 37/6) decree (soteriastai), δό|γμα *ib.* 38–39; Ἀφι|δναίου Π² 3151.7–8 (ca. 50) ded.; δ|πλους Π² 1042.c8–9 (ca. 41/0) decree; Ἀ|θμονέων Π² 5337.1–2 (non ante 150 p.) sep. mon.; ἀπο|γραψάμενος Π² 1100.42–43 (ca. 124 p.) imperial edict; ἀφι|δρύματος Π² 1046.13–14 (52/1) decree; δό|γματα Π² 1368.16–17 (ca. 162/3 p.) Iobacchi regulations, μέ|χρις *ib.* 101–102, ἀ|θλοθεσίας *ib.* 131–132; Δήμ|ητρι Π² 1367.6–7 (fin s. I p.?) sacred calendar, Ἡρα|κλεῖ *ib.* 26–27; καθι|δρουσαμένου Π² 1365.12–13 (s. I p.), πολυ|πραγμοσύνη Π² 1366.14–15 (s. I p.) regulations for the cult of Menes Tyrannos set up by Xanthus of Lycia; διο|κληθέντος Π² 1121.38–39 (305/6 p.) imp. edict; etc.

Exceptions are very rare: το[ῖς τεταγ]|[μ]ένους Π² 1292.24 (215/4, cf. Vidman p. 4, no. 2) decree (sarapiastai).

4) The cluster μν is not divided and division precedes it:

e.g. Π² 1039.29–30 (79/8 cf. SEG 22.110), Π² 909.19–20 (ca. 170) decrees; Π² 3637.2–3 (post 150 p.) ded.; Π² 4533.7–8, 27–28 (s. III p.) hymns (in various metres); Π² 1077.12–13

(209/10 p.) decree; Π² 3982.6–7 (post 150 p.), Π² 3687.25–26 (init. s. III p.) dedications; Π² 1302.9–10 (220/1) decree (troops); Π² 2023.55–56 (ca. 112 p.) eph. cat.; Π² 2361.3–4 (init. s. III p.) cat.; etc.

Other combinations of liquid or nasal + stop are normally divided:

λαμ|πάδος Π² 958.5–6 (154/3) decree; θύσαν|τες Π² 1028.5–6 (101/100 cf. SEG 24.188) decree, [πειθαρ]χοῦντες *ib.* 37–38; [Ἔρ]|μογένην Π² 1328.8–9 (183/2) decree (orgeones); ὄρ|γεῶσιν Π² 1329.7–8 (175/4) decree (orgeones); τυγ|χάνοντα Π² 1343.42–43 (ca. 37/6) decree (soteriastai); Εὐμολ|πιδῶν Π² 1235.3–4 (ca. 248/7) decree (genos); ἡρ|ξάτο Π² 1368.115–116 (ca. 162/3 p.) Iobacchi regulations; συμ|βάλλεσθαι Π² 1227.24–25 (131/0) decree (Salaminian cleruchs); ἐλέγ|ξαντι Π² 1100.53–54 (ca. 124 p.) imp. edict, συν|δίκους *ib.* 55–56, λαμ|βανέντω *ib.* 39–40; [δωδεκόμ]|φαλον Π² 1367.2–3 (fin. s. I p.?) sacred calendar, ὀρθόν|φαλον *ib.* 19–20; etc.

Similarly, division does not normally occur before final -v of the definite article when followed by a stop:

τῶν|πολιτῶν Π² 908.6–7 (181–170), [τὸν]|γγραμμάτεια Π² 847.51–52 (215/4), τὸν | Πειραιᾶ Π² 844.53–54 (181/0, cf. TAPA 95 [1964] p. 239) decrees; etc.

Exceptions: Πολέ|μαρχ|ος Π² 2914.1–3 (119/20 p.) ded.; where, however, considerations of spacing must have caused the exception, as the name had to be enclosed within a crown.

5) The clusters βδ, γδ, χθ, πτ, φθ, κτ are not divided:

Ἔρε|[χθεῖδος] Π² 1004.6–7, 14–15 (122/1), ὀ|γδόει Π² 888.2–3 (194/3?), ἐ|βδόμης Π² 1012.2–3 (112/1), ἐ|κτεῖ Π² 949.2–3 (165/4) decrees; προεισ|ῆ|κται Π² 1326.31–32 (176/5) decree (dionysiastai); ἀπε|χθής Π² 1121.23–24 (305/6 p.) imp. edict; [ἐπιτετρά]|φθαι Π² 1073.4–5 (ca. 120 p., cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 [1937] p. 193, no. 121; *AJP* 70 [1949] pp. 299 ff.) decree; λε|πτοῦ Π² 1368.98–99 (ca. 162/3 p.) Iobacchi regulations; εὐτά|κτως Π² 1309.b4–5 (fin. s. III a.) decree (troops); etc.

Ἐπικ|τῆς in Π² 2030.26–27 (118/9 p.) eph. cat., is not a true exception because that short text contains a number of infractions of the rules.

The final -κ of the preposition ἐκ is more often carried to the next line than not (cf. 43.021 on ἐκκτοῦ):

ἐ|κτ: Π² 844.8–9 (181/0, cf. TAPA 95 [1964] p. 239), Π² 839.17–18 (221/0) decrees; Π² 1091.6–7 (138–161 p.) decree (Panhellenes); etc.

Exceptions: ἐκ|τῶν Π² 1227.9–10 (131/0) decree (Salaminian cleruchs); ἐκ|δικίας νυκτός Π² 12701.9–10 (s. III p.) sep. mon.

6) Clusters of σ + consonant.

a) Clusters of σ + stop are sometimes divided and sometimes have division before them.

Separation of σ + stop:

Καλλισ|τιον Π² 839.67–68 (221/0) decree; κάλλισ|τον Π² 1028.17–18 (101/100 cf. SEG 24.188) decree, διδασ|κάλων *ib.* 31–32; ἀνεισ|[φόρους] Π² 1043.64–65 (38/7) decree;

συντελεῖ[σ][θ]αι Π² 847.23–24 (215/4) decree; μέγισ[τος] Π² 1102.5–6 (131/2 p.) imp. letter?; etc.

Division before σ + stop:

παρε|σκεύασεν Π² 1328.27–28 (175/4) decree (orgeones); [ἐλέ]|σθαι Π² 1330.52–53 (post 173) decree (synodos of technitai); ἐπι|σκευασθέντων Π² 1322.8–9 (fin. s. IIIa./init. s. IIa.) decree (amphieraistai); ξυνβόλλε|[σ]θαι Π² 659.18–19 (283/2) decree; πλ[ε]|στην Π² 1008.55–56 (118/7) decree; ἀπογραφέ|σθω Π² 1100.20–21 (ca. 124 p.) imp. edict, στερε|σθω *ib.* 43–44, ἐξε|στω *ib.* 62–63; etc.

Note both treatments in Π² 1368 (ca. 162/3 p.) Iobacchi regulations: ἀπογραφέ|σθωσαν 39–40, καθεσ|θείς 55–56, ἐπισ|τολήν 59–60, εἰργέσ|θω 104–105, καθισ|τάσθω 137–138.

b) The cluster σμ is generally divided, but examples of division before it and even after it are attested:

σ|μ: Π² 1311.6–7 (fin. s. IIIa.) decree (troops); Π² 1037.7–8 (init. s. Ia.), Π² 978.4–5 (189/8), Π² 1008.54–55 (118/7), Π² 1009.60–61 (116/5), Π² 1039.3–4 (79/8 cf. SEG 22.110) decrees; Π² 1346.16–17 (init. s. Ip.) decree (hierateousai); Π² 1368.65–66, 94–95, 137–138 (ca. 162/3 p.) Iobacchi regulations.

|σμ: *Hesperia* 45 (1976) p.283, no. 1, lines 5–6, 9–10 (ca. 220) decree; *Hesperia* 45 (1976) pp.296ff., lines 62–63 (204/3) decree; Π² 1329.28–29 (175/4) decree (orgeones); Π² 1252.14–15 (post 350) decree (orgeones).

σμ|: κόσμ|ον Π² 1102.12–13 (131/2 p.) imp. doc.

c) The prepositions εἰς and πρὸς and the definite article ending in -ς do not permit division before the final sigma:

εἰς + consonant: Π² 847.17–18 (215/4) decree; Π² 1304.7–8 (post 211/0) decree (troops); Π² 1327.28–29 (178/7) decree (orgeones); Π² 1009.12–13 (116/5) decree; etc.

πρὸς + consonant: πρὸς | τοὺς Π² 908.17–18 (181–170) decree; πρὸς | τήν Π² 1012.12–13 (112/1) decree; πρὸς | φερόμενον Π² 1039.33–34 (79/8 cf. SEG 22.110) decree; πρὸς | [πάντας] Π² 1043.32–33 (38/7) decree; πρὸς|[τάξαι] Π² 1078.9–10, 19–20 (ca. 220 p.), [πρὸς]|τάξαι Π² 1079.1–2 (ca. 220 p.) decrees; πρὸς | τήν Π² 4063.7–8 (ante ca. 135 p.) ded.; etc.

τῆς, τοὺς, τὰς + consonant: τῆς | δὲ Π² 1235.22–23 (ca. 248/7) decree (genos); τῆς | στήλης Π² 908.20–21 (181–170) decree; τοὺς | θεοὺς Π² 896.16–17 (186/5) decree; τοὺς | νενικη-κότας Π² 1227.10–11 (131/0) decree (Salaminian cleruchs); τῆς | διαδοχῆς Π² 1099.19–20 (ca. 124 p.) imp. edict; etc.

7) Clusters of three or more consonants divide after the first consonant:

ἐκ|κλησία Π² 847.38–39 (ca. 215/4), Π² 844.61–62 (181/0 cf. TAPA 95 [1964] p.239) decrees, Π² 1227.23–24 (131/0) decree (Salaminian cleruchs); Λαμ|πτρέα Π² 1322.22–23 (fin. s. IIIa./init. s. IIa.) decree (amphieraistai); Π² 3766.3–4 (238/9–243/4 p.) ded., Π² 2191.137–138 (ca. 200 p.), Π² 2239.2–3, 3–4 (238/9–243/4 p.) eph. catalogs; συν|πρόεδροι Π² 1046.6–7 (52/1) decree; ἀνέγ|κλητος Π² 1302.5–6 (220/19) decree (troops); etc.

Exceptions: σὺ|[γκλητος] Π² 911.5–6 (ca. 169/8) decree fr.; συ|ντρέφω Π² 12881.2–3 (s. II/III p.) sep. mon.; ἐκ|κλησίαν Π² 980.7–8 (ca. 150) decree.

When the first of the three consonants is sigma, failure to divide the cluster is more frequent:

ἀνεσ|τράφησαν II² 1028.25–26 (101/100 cf. SEG 24.188) decree; σος|τρεμματά|χην II² 3749.8–9 (169/70p.) ded.; Ἀσ|κληπιέ II² 4533.6–7 (s. IIIp.) hymns (in various metres); Χαιρεσ|τράτου II² 8984.6–7 (s. Ia.) sep. mon.; etc.

But: Καλλι|στράτου II² 850.12–13 (init. s. IIa.) decree; κε|στροφ(ύλαξ) II² 2221.73–74 (217/8p. aut paulo post) eph. cat.; Νεικο|στράτη II² 2361.12–13 (init. s. IIIp.) cat.; ἐπε|στρεφό-μην II² 13194.3–4 (ca. 150p.) sep. curse-text; Φιλο|στράτου II² 9922.1–2 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.; etc.

The examples cited in the preceding pages have been taken from texts dating ca. 300 B.C. – ca. 300 A.D. in which the laws of syllabification are generally observed. During this period there are also texts which avoid the rules altogether, or contain numerous infractions of them. Texts of this type may even include state decrees, cf. II² 772 (268/7), II² 914 (paulo ante 178/7), II² 1013 (if the copy may be trusted) (fin. s. IIa.), II² 1029 (96/5), etc. Cf. also II² 1247 (ca. 250) decree (mesogeioi); II² 1271 (299/8?) decree (thiasotai); II² 1324 (ca. 200?) decree (orgeones); etc.

Lit.: The comprehensive study of Lademann pp. 1–8 is definitive. Cf. also Wilhelm, *Beiträge* pp. 16ff.; S. Dow, *AJA* 66 (1962) pp. 364ff.; H. Stuart Jones, *CR* 15 (1901) pp. 396ff.

3.0231 Practices in the Archaic Period

There are also numerous texts of the Archaic Period and the fifth century which, whether stoichedon or not, strive to end each line with the end of a word or with the end of a syllable. Cases of syllabic division in these rarely follow with exactitude the rules in 3.023.

The private dedications and grave monuments of the Archaic Period prefer to end the line with the end of a word; texts with cases of observance of the rules of syllabic division are less common:

Texts of the sixth and early fifth centuries with lines ending with word-end:

Dedications: I² 393, I² 488, I² 507, I² 536, I² 543, I² 574, I² 650, I² 661, etc., *non-stoich.*; I² 493, *DAA* p. 59, no. 58 (= I² 497 + I² 645), I² 505, I² 506, I² 516b, I² 523, I² 547, I² 572, I² 589, I² 606, I² 625, I² 525, I² 527, I² 528, I² 531, I² 534, I² 587, I² 618, I² 658, I² 643, I² 766, *all stoich.*; I² 499, I² 532, I² 623, I² 580, *all partially stoich.*;

Sep. monuments: I² 980, I² 981, I² 987, I² 1001, I² 1002, I² 1009, I² 1012, I² 1016, I² 1024, I² 1027, *IGAA* p. 143, no. 57 (= SEG 10.461), *IGAA* p. 130, no. 26, *IGAA* p. 120, no. 8 (= I² 972), *non-stoich.*; I² 1014, *virtually stoich.* (cf. p. 57 supra).

The following texts show cases of syllabic division:

Dedications: *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p. 150, no. 2 (= *DAA* p. 46, no. 44) (500–480?) εὐχσά|μενος, κερα|μεύς; elsewhere word-end;

I² 583 (= *DAA* p. 75, no. 71) (ca. 500?) ἀνέ|[θ]εκεν;

I² 737.295 (= *DAA* p. 278, no. 242) (fin. s. VIa.) [ἀπαρ]|χέν τ[;]

I² 662 (= *DAA* p. 367, no. 332) (525–500?) ἔδο]|κα;

I² 509 (= *DAA* p. 38, no. 37) (init. s. Va.) ἰόν|[πορίο]νος, *stoich.*;

I² 571 (= *DAA* p. 47, no. 46) (460–450?) Κερ[α]|λέος, *stoich.*;

- I² 526 + I² 552 (= DAA p. 101, no. 94) (500–480?) ἀνεθέ|τεν, *partially stoich.*;
 I² 565 + I² 646 (= DAA p. 122, no. 118) (post 480)]|δο (end of a name in gen.?), *stoich.*;
 I² 530 (= DAA p. 126, no. 121) (ca. 475?) ἀνέθε|κε, φι|λοχσενίεϛ, elsewhere word-end, *partially stoich.*;
 I² 826 (= LSAG p. 370, no. 29) (475–450?) -στρά|το, ἐ|ξεποίησ', elsewhere word-end;
Sep. monuments: I² 984 (paulo post 550) ἐ|ν[ορέας], elsewhere word-end;
 I² 985 (= IGAA p. 121, no. 13) (ca. 525–500?) χσέ|νε, ἐ|θ[εκε];
 I² 986 (= IGAA p. 120, no. 9) (ca. 530?) Κλέ|βολος (cf. note in IG I²: an original Κ|ΒΕΒ was changed to Κ|ΒΕ and Β placed on the next line, probably to achieve syllabification), ἀποφθι-
 μέ|νοι, elsewhere word-end;
 I² 1022 (= IGAA p. 144, no. 58) (ca. 540–530?) Δαμα|[σ]ιστράτο, elsewhere word-end;
 I² 1025 (= IGAA p. 141, no. 53) (525–500?) σέ|μα, ἐ|πέθεκεν;
 IGAA p. 134, no. 36 (= SEG 10.463) (ca. 500) Κρε|τογ, Ἀφι|[δ]ναῖος;
 I² 920 (= GVI 1, p. 660, no. 2042) (ca. 500) κα|τά, ἐρα|[σ]θίς, δα|κρυόεντα, elsewhere word-end.

The most interesting of these examples are I² 1014, I² 530, I² 580, perhaps I² 499, in which the stoichedon arrangement has been slightly altered in order to achieve word-end or syllabification. The use of syllabification and word-end at the ends of lines was an aid to the eye upon the abandonment of boustrophedon writing, which does not usually observe syllabification or word-end (I² 974 is an exception).

Other such texts of this period which make no effort to end their lines with the end of a word or to syllabify are also fairly numerous and by no means all stoichedon; the most usual infringement is the retention of a consonant on the first line, e.g. ἀνέθ|εκεν instead of ἀνέ|θεκεν. Really confusing divisions such as separation of diphthongs, etc. are much less frequent.

Dedications, non-stoichedon:

- I² 502 (ca. 500?, cf. DAA p. 95, no. 88) ἐπ|οίεσεν, also Πυρε|τιάδεϛ;
 (?) I² 573 (ca. 500?) [εὐχσ]|όμενος ? (cf. DAA p. 165, no. 148);
 (?) DAA p. 70, no. 67 (= I² 692) (ca. 500?) ἐπ|ικό[ρο];
 I² 700 (= DAA p. 318, no. 296) (ca. 480–470?) μ' | ἀνέθεκ', Ἀφροδ|ίτει, ἀπα|ρχέν, τδ|ι, λέγ|οσι, etc., but also κα|τ' ἐκ|ένο;
 I² 500 (= DAA p. 196, no. 171) (init. s. V a.) πα|ῖς;

stoichedon:

- I² 553 (= DAA p. 320, no. 297) (475–450?) Ἀρισ|τομ|άχε, Χαρίκ|λεια, but Γλαυ|κίνο;
 (?) DAA p. 137, no. 128 (= I² 482) (ante 450) Ἀθηναῖα|ι ἀπα|ρχέν;
 I² 485 (= DAA p. 232, no. 197) (ca. 530? aut ca. 525–510, cf. LSAG p. 75 and note 1) [κερα-
 με]|ύς, h|οι;
 I² 568 (= DAA p. 304, no. 286) (ca. 490–480?) [(ἀν)έθ]|εκεν;
 I² 602 (= DAA p. 307, no. 289) (ca. 480–470?) ἀνέθεκ|[ε];
 I² 631 (= DAA p. 316, no. 295) (ca. 500) Οἶν|όβω|ς : κέρυχς : μ[νεμ]|οσύνες, -θεκεν, word-end *al.*;
 I² 701 (= DAA p. 174, no. 157) (ca. 480?) [ἀπα]|ρχέν;
 I² 706 (= DAA p. 261, no. 229) (ca. 480?) ποντομέδ|[ον, but ἀπαρχέν | [Νά|υ]λοχος.

If I² 400Ia broke the rule for syllabification (cf. DAA p. 147), it belongs in any case with public texts in strict stoichedon (cf. p. 62 *supra*); spatial considerations forced the division

Ἀθηναίαι in I² 578 (cf. DAA p. 29, no. 25). All of the following examples in which infringement of the rules of syllabification has been alleged are quite dubious: I² 524, I² 576, I² 675, I² 681, I² 703, I² 705.

Sep. monuments: non-stoichedon: I² 971 (= IGAA p. 132, no. 33) (550–540, cf. AM 78 [1963] p. 119) ὁδὸν : φρασίν, but στεθεῖ|καί;

IGAA p. 136, no. 42 (= SEG 3.56) (ca. 540) ΤΟΣ|ΕΜΑΤΟΝ, elsewhere word-end;

IGAA p. 139, no. 48 (= SEG 10.452 a) (ca. 540?) στέλε|ν : δ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖ, Φ|αίδιμος, but κα|δελαφεῖς, ἐποί|εσεν;

IGAA p. 127, no. 19 (= GVI 1, p. 25, no. 72; I² 983, corrected) (ca. 525?) σῆμ|α, note ἀγαθοῖ | {ι}, but Νε|λωνίδο, χα|ρίεν;

I² 977 (= IGAA p. 121, no. 11) (ca. 525?) κατέθ|εκεν;

I² 1021 (= IGAA p. 143, no. 56) (ca. 550–540?) ἡστο|στῆ|{ατ}|οΣῆμα;

I² 1026 a (= IGAA p. 140, no. 50) (ca. 550) ἐνγύ|ς ἡοδῶ, Φιλ|ρο|δ|έμοιο, κἀν|θεμ|{ι}ονος, but θα|{ν}άτοιο, πότμος |{κί}χεν| ἡελι|{κί}|αι;

I² 1003 (ante 450?) Λυσιστράτ|ο, Ἀχαρνε|ύς;

I² 1018 (post 450?) π|άντα, Λυσαν|ίαις, κείτ|αι, but Πόρι|ος, ἐνθά|δε;

I² 978 (= IGAA p. 130, no. 24) (ca. 525–500) ἀπ|ό, but -θε|κε;

I² 982 (= IGAA p. 147, no. 67) (ca. 500?) Μεν|εσαίχμο;

stoichedon: IGAA p. 141, no. 51 (= SEG 10.458; improved text of I² 1026 b) (ca. 500?) ἡορ|{αί}ος, μο|{ῖ}ραν, Χο|{ε}νονκλῆς;

IGAA p. 122, no. 14 (= GVI 1, p. 46, no. 161; SEG 21.199) (ca. 510–500) με|τ|{ε}ός, but Θ|ε|ρῦλίδο (only partially stoichedon).

The most common irregularity here is the division after a single consonant rather than before it (e.g. ἀνέθεκ|εν instead of ἀνέθε|κεν). This same phenomenon occurs occasionally in the very few public texts of the fifth century which are syllabified, I² 295.22, I² 359.4, I² 371.7 (cf. the next section), and is characteristic of the less strictly syllabified texts among the fourth-century naval catalogs (cf. 3.0232); this suggests that divisions like ἔθεκ|ε are not alone enough to prove that a private text of the period 550–450 is not syllabified (cf. Austin, p. 48). And yet the fact that there are far more texts which end the line with the end of a word shows that this was certainly preferred to syllabification in this period.

3.0232 Fifth and fourth centuries

The private texts of the period 450–300 are also generally syllabified (usually ending the line with a word-end), but these short texts do not offer enough examples to illustrate treatment of clusters, etc., adequately, and most public texts of the period are in strict stoichedon style, with the attendant disregard for syllabification. The few exceptions do not offer much: I² 295.14–15 has ἐ|{γ}ραμμάτευε, divides ντ *ib.* 16–17 and ρκ *ib.* 18–19; I² 359.11–12 divides στ; I² 371.19–20 has ἐσ|εκομίζοντο; II² 1 has only two infractions in 75 lines (προτέρο|ις 7–8, ποῆσα|{ι} 69–70), offers two treatments of σκ, παρασκ|{ε}υάζεσθαι *ib.* 22–23, παρα|{σ}κευάσαι *ib.* 34–35, one example of the division after εις, ἐσ|{π}ραξάντων *ib.* 30–31, and has most of its lines end with a word-end; II² 351 has no irregularities and divides ἐ|ν|{δ}εκάτ|ηι *ib.* 5–6, [εἰ]ς | {τόν} *ib.* 13–14, according to the rules.

The fourth-century naval catalogs provide the large body of text necessary to show whether the rules in practice in the third century and later are being followed at this time. The abandonment of stoichedon in favor of syllabification in these texts has been mentioned earlier (cf. p.62 *supra*). An examination of their syllabic division shows that they do not all follow the practices normal later with the same exactitude.

Not syllabified at all are II² 1631 and II² 1632—two of the longest and latest ones (both 323/2); a glance at either shows so many wrong divisions that it is clear that no effort is being made to end the lines with syllables. Similarly column C (lines 143–260) of II² 1612 (356/5) contains so many infractions of the normal rules that it is more reasonable to treat this section as unsyllabified rather than list each irregularity as an “exception” to the rules. These texts fall into a group of large late fourth-century inventories, which, although they are non-stoichedon, are nevertheless non-syllabified; cf. II² 1673, II² 1678a, most of II² 1534 (s. IIIa.); the non-stoichedon naval catalog II² 1610 is also not syllabified, and the mere failure to use stoichedon does not mean syllabification. Since these inscriptions are clearly making no attempt to syllabify, it is misguided to find in them and list *exceptions* to the general rules as Lademann does (pp. 1–8, occasionally with a note such as “in quo titulo nihil diligenter dividitur”); most of his “exceptions” come in fact from the unsyllabified II² 1631, II² 1632, II² 1673, and the extensive II² 1672 (stoichedon!).

The extensive II² 1611 (357/6) normally begins each line with a new word, but has several examples of division before a single consonant and two divisions, i.e. ἀν[ε]λ[κ]υσμένων *ib.* 4–5, [ἐκ]πλεγκύας *ib.* 282–283, contrary to the rules usual later; the same is true of II² 1613, II² 1614 (353/2 cf. SEG 24.160), with κρεμα[στῶν] (II² 1613.293–294), varying treatment of ρχ, τριήραρχ[ο]ι II² 1613.182–183; ρ[χ] II² 1613.207–208, 286–287, παραρ[ρ]ύματα II² 1613.221–222, and the infraction [σκε][υῶ]ν II² 1613.224–225. II² 1615–II² 1619 also offer no examples, as each line begins with a new word.

This leaves six extensive texts:

II² 1620 and II² 1621 (348/7? cf. SEG 24.160). Probably syllabified but not near the third-century practice. Two flagrant “wrong” divisions: Ἐλε[υσι]-- II² 1620.52–53, πλωι τ[ῶ]ι *ib.* 61–62; as many cases of division after as before a single consonant, cf. II² 1620.37–38, 38–39, 45–46, 50–51, 60–61, 65–66; II² 1621.111–112; the irregular [ἄρχ]οντ[ος] in II² 1621.84–85, but two examples of the normal division of ντ, II² 1620.44–45, 48–49, one of ἐκ | Κερ[αμ]έων *ib.* 47–48.

II² 1622 (ca. 342/1). Almost follows third-century practice. Division after instead of before single consonants is very rare, cf. *ib.* 288–289, 476–477, 726–727, cf. also ὑπόβλημα *ib.* 159–160, 335–336, ὑπόβλημα only once *ib.* 323–324; λπ, ρχ always divided as later, cf. *ib.* 409–410, 500–501, 515–516, 538–539, but treatment of ντ and στ varies: ἄρχον[τος] *ib.* 534–535, δν[τ]ε[ς] *ib.* 608–609, Εὐχαρ[ιστου] *ib.* 574–575, παρα[στατῶν] *ib.* 284–285, παρασ[τάτας] *ib.* 319–320.

II² 1623 (333/2). Similar to II² 1622. Division after single consonant only three times: Λυκ[οῦ]ρ[ος] *ib.* 281–282, εἰσ[αχθ]εῖς *ib.* 68–69, προσ[οφεί]λει *ib.* 106–107; one serious irregularity, ἔχο[υσιν] *ib.* 311–312. Clusters of stop + liquid are never divided, but as in II² 1622 division may be before or after the cluster: Ναυσι[κλ]ῆς *ib.* 329–330, Ξενοκ[λ]ῆς *ib.* 298–299, ἐξέπλ[ευ]

σαν *ib.* 276–277, ἐξέ|πλευσαν *ib.* 238–239, δια|γράμματος *ib.* 137–138, Λυσικρ|άτους *ib.* 274–275, etc. Divided are: geminated consonants *ib.* 152–153, 252–253; μβ *ib.* 32–33; ντ *ib.* 264–265; ρμ *ib.* 103–104, 246–247; and, contrary to later practice, χθ *ib.* 109–110. Undivided after division: κτ *ib.* 79–80; σχρ *ib.* 251–252; σκ *ib.* 206–207. Treatment of στ fluctuates: divided *ib.* 130–131, 279–280, division before it *ib.* 63–64, 94–95, 141–142. As later: συν|τρήραρχος *ib.* 80–81, 153–154, 299–300.

Π² 1627 (330/29). Not many examples, probably similar to Π² 1622, Π² 1623. Divided are ντ *ib.* 33–34, λτ *ib.* 331–332, θμ *ib.* 282–283, 311–312, σμ *ib.* 385–386; division before πτ *ib.* 308–309, στρ *ib.* 386–387. Note τετρ|ήρων *ib.* 24–25.

Π² 1628 (326/5). Regular rules in full force. Undivided after division are: βλ *ib.* 485–486, 583–584; γρ *ib.* 361–362; κλ *ib.* 123–124, 385–386; κρ *ib.* 13–14, 54–55; πλ *ib.* 445–446; πρ *ib.* 483–484; σκ *ib.* 52–53, 566–567; στ *ib.* 493–494; στρ *ib.* 423–424; divided: ταρ|ρούς *ib.* 154–155, 160–161; Ἀλ|κέτου *ib.* 472–473.

Π² 1629 (325/4). An enormous text; third-century rules in full force. Divided are: geminated consonants *ib.* 209–210, 226–227, 231–232, 502–503, 762–763, 1021–1022, 1150–1151; μρ *ib.* 492–493; ντ *ib.* 113–114, 115–116, 139–140, 154–155, 158–159, 221–222, 458–459, 579–580, 580–581, 1051–1052; ργ *ib.* 197–198, 787–788.

Division before: βλ *ib.* 454–455, 1104–1105, 1119–1120, 1141–1142; βρ *ib.* 674–675; γλ *ib.* 983–984; γμ *ib.* 1098–1099; γν *ib.* 240–241; γρ *ib.* 653–654, 1117–1118, 1128–1129; κλ *ib.* 953–954; κρ *ib.* 400–401, 405–406; κτ *ib.* 678–679, 965–966; πλ *ib.* 206–207, 548–549; πτ *ib.* 490–491, 581–582, 696–697; σθ *ib.* 486–487; σκ *ib.* 667–668; στ *ib.* 87–88, 243–244, 446–447, 464–465, 669–670, 718–719, 829–830; τρ *ib.* 353–354, 453–454, 765–766; φθ *ib.* 746–747; στρ *ib.* 619–620, 776–777, 944–945.

The only cluster still receiving varying treatment is σμ: ψήφι|σμα *ib.* 19–20, 40–41, 951–952, 1014–1015, 1020–1021; ψήφω|μα *ib.* 61–62, 108–109.

The following divisions also typical of later practice: ἐ|πάνανακτες *ib.* 239–240; δπω|[ς ἄν *ib.* 201–202; σὺ|[ν αἰ]ς *ib.* 799–800; συν|τρήραρχοι *ib.* 851–852; πρὸς | τήν *ib.* 680–681; προο|τέτακται *ib.* 257–258; εἰς |[ἐν]α *ib.* 207–208; εἰ|[ς τό *ib.* 229–230; πέμ|πτῃς *ib.* 594–595.

The only irregularities are: γεγρ|[αμμένοι *ib.* 1050–1051; τηρηράρ|[χ]οις *ib.* 180–181; Λακιάδ|ης *ib.* 18–19, 107–108; [ἐχ]|οντα *ib.* 1006–1007; τη|ρήρ|εις *ib.* 1088–1089; Ἀρχεν|{ν}είδου *ib.* 750–751.

There seems to be a clear chronological development in these naval texts. The earlier ones are less strict, particularly in their treatment of consonant clusters, but the rules normal in the third century are well established in the two texts of ca. 325. The treatments of -στρ- and -σμ- differ slightly from the practices of later texts (cf. pp. 68, 69 *supra*), but otherwise Π² 1629 adheres strictly to the rules in a very large number of examples.

4.00 Punctuation, lexical signs

4.01 Punctuation in pre-Roman texts

The term *interpunct* is widely accepted to denote the various types of punctuation of the Archaic Period used to separate words, phrases, sentences, etc. They are the ancestors of the *dicolon* (:), normal by the fourth century B.C., and probably the

σαν *ib.* 276–277, ἐξέ|πλευσαν *ib.* 238–239, δια|γράμματος *ib.* 137–138, Λυσικλ|άτους *ib.* 274–275, etc. Divided are: geminated consonants *ib.* 152–153, 252–253; μβ *ib.* 32–33; ντ *ib.* 264–265; ρμ *ib.* 103–104, 246–247; and, contrary to later practice, χθ *ib.* 109–110. Undivided after division: κτ *ib.* 79–80; σχρ *ib.* 251–252; σκ *ib.* 206–207. Treatment of στ fluctuates: divided *ib.* 130–131, 279–280, division before it *ib.* 63–64, 94–95, 141–142. As later: συν|τρήραρχος *ib.* 80–81, 153–154, 299–300.

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The term *interpunct* is widely accepted to denote the various types of punctuation of the Archaic Period used to separate words, phrases, sentences, etc. They are the ancestors of the *dicolon* (:), normal by the fourth century B.C., and probably the

stigma, or dot, of Hellenistic and Roman times. An interpunct of the form : occurs on a Ptolemaic papyrus of the early third century B.C. (cf. Turner, *GMAW* p. 10, note 2), although the dicolon and stigma are the types of interpuncts normally used in the papyri.

The earliest Attic text with an interpunct is a very fragmentary dipinto on a Proto-Attic vase, *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p. 242, no. 38, fig. 14 (= *LSAG* p. 76, no. 5c) of the latter part of the seventh century; it probably consisted of at least three dots. The earliest stone texts (all after 600 B.C.) with interpuncts are: the sep. mon. of -λινος *AAG*² p. 155, no. 1 (= *IGAA* p. 146, no. 62; *SEG* 10.450) dated to the early sixth century on the basis of the sculpture, with ;; the dedication of Rhonbos, I² 469 (= *LSAG* p. 77, no. 17), dated ca. 570–560, with | and ≡; the ded. of Chairion, I² 467 (= *LSAG* p. 77, no. 12; cf. *Imagines*² plate 2, no. 4), dated 600–575, with =, \, 7, and ,/. A large number of stone texts of the period ca. 560–540 have interpuncts, and they are common in contemporary dipinti.

Lit.: *MS*³ pp. 11–13, notes 46–59; Larfeld, *Handbuch* (1914) pp. 302 ff., *Handbuch* 2.2 pp. 564 ff. (with extensive lists of examples); R. Kaiser, *De inscriptionum graecarum interpunctione* (Leipzig, 1887); *DAA* pp. 441–443; *LSAG* p. 67; M. Guarducci, *EG* 1, pp. 390–397; U. K. Duncan, *BSA* 56 (1961) pp. 181–188 (on some technical aspects of incising dots).

4.011 Types of interpuncts in use

By far the most common forms are ; and :. The former is more common in archaic dedications, the latter in sep. monuments (cf. pp. 77, 78 *infra*). Both are very common in fifth-century public texts (many texts have both forms), but in the fourth-century texts : is dominant. Most of the other types of interpunct are variations on these normal forms, either expansions like :: or ::::, etc., or variations like !, 7, ≡, ∅, etc., where the form is influenced by the medium, or a decorative effect is desired.

Types of interpuncts attested in Attic inscriptions, illustrative examples (all texts dedications unless otherwise noted; dates given for texts later than 400 B. C. only):

- 1) | I² 736; I² 391 + I² 465 + I² 476 (= *DAA* p. 353, no. 327);
- 2) | I² 469; *AAG*² p. 155, no. 6, cf. fig. 198 (= *DAA* p. 348, no. 324);
- 3) \, / I² 467 (= *LSAG* p. 77, no. 12; cf. *Imagines*² plate 2, no. 4) cf. no. 8 *infra*;
- 4) 7 I² 463 + I² 475 (= *DAA* p. 350, no. 326);
- 5) ∅ I² 514; I² 985 (= *IGAA* p. 121, no. 13) (sep. mon.);
- 6) ∅ I² 447.4 (bronze) (cf. *JHS* 13 [1892–93] plate 6, no. 1); *AM* 78 (1963) p. 118, no. 4 (sep. mon.);
- 7) ∅ I² 3/4 (decree); I² 763 I (= Meiggs-Lewis p. 54, no. 261); also *Polemon* 3 (1947–48) p. 17, no. 14, plate A' (= *SEG* 12.4) (inv.) All these by the same hand(?);
- 8) =, 7 I² 467 (= *LSAG* p. 77, no. 12; *Imagines*² plate 2, no. 4) cf. no. 3 *supra*;
- 9) ≡ I² 801; I² 1026 a (cf. *IGAA* plate 39 b) (sep. mon.);

- 10) ⚭; ⚭ I² 469, I² 805; I² 408 (bronze); *IGAA* p.118, no.2 (= *SEG* 3.55; *LSAG* p.77, no.20) (sep. mon.); I² 802 (lead jumping holder, dedicated);
- 11) ✕ Graffito on a sherd of Sakonides, Graef-Langlotz 1, plate 94, no.2134a (= *ABV* p.347);
- 12) ✕ I² 478; I² 984 (sep. mon.);
- 13) ⋮ I² 4553 (init. s. IV a.), I² 4933 (s. II/I a.) dedications (priv.);
- 14) ⋮ I² 570;
- 15) ⋮ I² 412 (bronze);
- 16) ⋮ I² 45.26 (decree); I² 374.271 (inv.) (L.); *Hesperia* 18 (1949) p.223, plate 45 (decree?); *fourth century*: I² 358.7, I² 415.26, I² 333.c15 (decrees); I² 2345.24, 25 (cat.);
- 17) ⋮ I² 596; *Hesperia* 9 (1940) p.247, fig.51, no.296 (ostrakon of the elder Alcibiades);
- 18) ⋮ I² 156 (end of larger decree, cf. *Hesperia* 45 [1976] p.289; photograph, plate 68); I² 313.2, I² 374.116 (L.) (both inventories); *fourth century*: I² 44 and in the copy of it, *Hesperia* 7 (1938) p.626, no.1 (formerly I² 155, wrongly transcribed) (decrees); I² 2490.2 (loc.); I² 1428.2–6 (5 times), I² 1413.4, *Eleusiniaka* 1 (1932) p.189, I² 1415 *passim*, I² 1425.127, I² 1447 *passim*, I² 1542 *passim* (all inventories). In the inv., I² 1424 a, the punctuation indicated in the printed texts is not visible on the stone, which has only blank spaces there (L.);
- 19) ⋮ *Hesperia* 17 (1948) pp.86 ff., Block 2, Face A.a5, a16, b4, c12 (= I² 839.12) (= *LSAG* p.78, no.44) (sacred law); I² 114.44 (for the correct form of the interpunct cf. *SEG* 24.15) (decree); I² 1388.18 (398/7) (inv.);
- 20) ⋮ I² 1392.4 (398/7) (inv.);
- 21) ⋮ I² 76.53, 58 (decree); *Hesperia* 36 (1967) pp.72 ff., no.15 (= *SEG* 24.1; I² 7 + I² 841) (sacred regulations); I² 1392.6, 7 (398/7) (inv.);
- 22) ⋮ I² 3/4 (decree);
- 23) ⋮ I² 700;
- 24) □ On four inventories, I² 318; J.J.E. Hondius, *Novae inscriptiones Atticae*, p.91, no.13 (= *SEG* 3.35); a new fragment from Eleusis published *Hesperia* 12 (1943) pp.34–35, no.7 (probably part of I² 318); a fourth fragment, Agora I 3749, published *ib.* pp.36–37 (this fragment cannot belong to the same stele as I² 318; perhaps it was part of an Athenian copy?);
- 25) • I² 2783 (tachygraphy table, ca. 350 B.C.); I² 1890 (bronze pinakion); I² 4964 (horos) (these last two ca. 400–350);
- 26) □ I² 1569 (inv., ca. 330–320) (L.);
- 27) | On two bronze pinakia of 400–350: I² 1869, I² 1917;
cf. the vertical line used to separate the beginning from the end of graffiti carved in a circle, *Hesperia* 5 (1936) p.347 (475–450); *Hesperia* 22 (1953) plate 38, no.137 (ca. 450); a similar line occurs on the similar texts, *Agora* 21, p.9, no.B8 (475–450); p.36, no.F92 (425–400);

Doubtful:

- 28) □]SΘΘEKEN DAA p.109, no.107 (= I² 633 + I² 737.290); a better interpretation is: A]N̄·E·ΘEKEN.
- 29) ∴. ∴. Reported in IG II, no. 701, col. 2, line 78 (not repeated in II² 1443); this text is known only from an old copy, perhaps by Mustoxydis, cf. Kirchhoff in *Abhandlungen Berlin* 1867, 2 p. 1. The peculiar type seen here is dubious.
- 30) = Reported *passim* in IG II, no. 824, transcribed (:) in II² 1652; this text is known only from Fourmont's copy; he may not have meant anything exact by =, which was probably for : or blank spaces; apparently Fourmont's copy does indicate : (dicolon) in line 3, but = elsewhere.

The ≡ given IG I, no. 140 d and interpreted as an interpunct by MS³ p. 12, note 58 (nothing printed in the text of I² 255.330) should in fact be transcribed ■, and is an erasure: either the mason made two E's and erased one, or the stone chipped as he made the E, and he was forced to move it to the right, cf. AJA 37 (1933) pp. 55–56. In II² 1673.10 read not ∴, but ∴ (= AE 1883 p. 2).

Many texts use more than one type of interpunct, e.g.:

I² 467 (= LSAG p. 77, no. 12; cf. *Imagines*² plate 4, no. 2): /, \, ∴, =

I² 469: ≡

I² 463 + I² 475 (= DAA p. 350, no. 326): ∴ ∴

I² 3/4: ∴, ∴ ∴ ∴

I² 374: ∴, ∴ ∴, ∴ ∴
etc.

Most commonly occurring in the same text are ∴ and ∴, see examples *infra*.

A paragraphos appears in some fifth-century inventories, e.g. SEG 10.243 (= I² 338 + new fr., cf. *Hesperia* 5 [1936] p. 362, no. 4; *Hesperia* 7 [1938] p. 264, no. 2) (ca. 465–455); I² 352 (343/2); *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p. 287, no. 10 (cf. plate 84) (= I² 328) (ca. 414); I² 313, I² 314 (408–406); I² 372 (409/8) etc. The paragraphos also occurs rarely later, cf. II² 2311 (cf. *Imagines*² plate 27, no. 58 for a good photograph) (400–350) cat.; II² 1554–II² 1559 (= *Hesperia* 28 [1959] pp. 208 ff.) (ca. 330–320) inv. (L.); II² 1579 (init. s. IVa.) inv.; etc. The type fonts of IG I² and II² rarely allow an accurate indication of the width and location of this sign: e.g. in II² 1554–II² 1559 and II² 1579 (cf. *Hesperia* 15 [1946] p. 183) the mark is only as wide as one letter and is placed under the first letter or under it and slightly to the left. For the paragraphos in the Roman Period cf. 4.021, no. 5, p. 90 *infra*.

4.012 Frequency and practice in the use of interpuncts in private texts

Sepulchral monuments (most are conveniently assembled by Jeffery in IGAA):

∴ occurs in: AAG² p. 155, no. 1 (= IGAA p. 146, no. 62; SEG 10.450); I² 974 (= IGAA p. 130, no. 23); I² 978 (= IGAA p. 130, no. 24); I² 976 (= IGAA p. 133, no. 34); I² 1012 (= IGAA p. 137, no. 44); perhaps post-480: I² 1007 (has three-bar sigma).

∴ occurs in: *Kerameikos* 3 p. 41, no. 31 (= IGAA p. 119, no. 6; SEG 10.442); IGAA p. 139, no. 48 (= SEG 10.452a); IGAA p. 147, no. 65 (= SEG 10.460); IGAA p. 143, no. 57 (= SEG 10.461); I² 971 (= IGAA p. 132, no. 33); I² 972 (= IGAA p. 120, no. 8); I² 975 (= IGAA p. 147,

no. 64); I² 990 (= IGAA p. 122, no. 17); I² 1001 (= IGAA p. 132, no. 32); I² 1015 (= IGAA p. 139, no. 47); I² 1016 (= IGAA p. 136, no. 41; LSAG p. 77, no. 22). Other types occur in: I² 984 (= IGAA p. 118, no. 3): ⚭; I² 985 (= IGAA p. 121, no. 13): ⚭; I² 1026 a (= IGAA p. 140, no. 50): ⚭; AM 78 (1963) p. 118, no. 4: ⚭. It is certain that NO interpuncts occurred in: IGAA p. 127, no. 19 (= GVI 1, p. 25, no. 72; I² 983, corrected); IGAA p. 136, no. 42 (= SEG 3.56); *Hesperia* 5 (1936) p. 230 (= IGAA p. 134, no. 36; SEG 10.463); IGAA p. 134, no. 37 (= AE 1960, p. 139, no. 1; *Hesperia* 17 [1948] p. 141, no. 1, corrected); IGAA p. 130, no. 26; IGAA p. 136, no. 43 (one word on each line); I² 986 (= IGAA p. 120, no. 9); I² 993 (= IGAA p. 133, no. 35); I² 997 (= IGAA p. 129, no. 22; LSAG p. 76, no. 8); I² 1002 (= IGAA p. 131, no. 28); I² 1009 (= IGAA p. 142, no. 54); I² 1019 (= IGAA p. 147, no. 66); I² 1022 (= IGAA p. 144, no. 58); I² 1024 (= IGAA p. 141, no. 52); I² 1025 (= IGAA p. 141, no. 53); IGAA p. 141, no. 51 (= SEG 10.458; I² 1026 b, text improved); I² 10444 (= IGAA p. 128, no. 21); perhaps post-archaic: I² 1003.

This list of texts without interpuncts is very conservative: because an interpunct may sometimes appear only once in a text, only virtually complete texts have been included; cf. I² 807 + SEG 10.336, where a new fragment added an interpunct to a text without any before; for a similar new fragment of I² 65, see p. 82 *infra*. Seven or eight virtually complete texts which very probably had no interpuncts could be added to the foregoing list. The same situation applies to the dedications.

In this group of texts not only is ⚭ seen to be more than twice as frequent as ⚭, but the number of texts without any interpuncts is considerably greater than those which have them. Some of these texts without interpuncts are quite early, e.g. I² 997 (= IGAA p. 129, no. 22; LSAG p. 76, no. 8), and analysis of the groups of texts without interpuncts, with ⚭, and with ⚭ does not lead to the establishment of any chronological trends within the Archaic Period.

After 480 only a few sepulchral inscriptions have interpuncts, e.g. ⚭ in I² 1078 (non post 450?); I² 1083 (dated vaguely to the fifth century); I² 10650 (ca. 410); I² 1069 (ca. 400? cf. LSAG p. 138, no. 15); ⚭ in I² 1075 (dated vaguely to the fifth century); both ⚭ and ⚭ in I² 1063 (ca. 450).

Interpuncts occur only rarely in fourth-century sepulchral texts: usually ⚭, e.g. I² 5288, I² 5347; *Hesperia* 23 (1954) p. 262; I² 5442, I² 6111, I² 6857, I² 7394, I² 7538, I² 9037, I² 11579, I² 11798, I² 11845, etc.; less often ⚭, e.g. I² 6136, I² 6212. They are almost never found in the Hellenistic Period, but cf. I² 11561/2 (s. II a.), which has ⚭.

Dedications of private individuals dated ca. 600–450 (those from the Acropolis, apart from the bronze ones, are collected in DAA):

⚭ occurs in: I² 392, I² 463. + I² 475 (= DAA p. 350, no. 326), I² 464 (cf. DAA p. 340), I² 472, I² 469 (⚭), I² 470 + I² 477 + I² 481 (= DAA p. 71, no. 68); I² 491, I² 500, I² 501 a, I² 504, I² 512, I² 502, I² 503, I² 539 + 581 b, c (= DAA p. 310, no. 291), I² 555, I² 556, I² 559, I² 563, I² 569, I² 598, I² 601, I² 621, I² 637, I² 662, I² 671, I² 674, I² 695, I² 668 + I² 652 + I² 581 a (= DAA p. 239, no. 210), I² 723, I² 759.384, I² 759.386, I² 778, I² 804, I² 821, I² 835; *Hesperia* 5 (1936) p. 358, no. 2; *Delion* 11 (1927/8) pp. 22 ff. (= SEG 10.328 b); AM 59 (1934) p. 39, no. 2 (= SEG 10.329); I² 609 (= Meiggs-Lewis p. 33, no. 18); DAA p. 94, no. 87 (= I² 616), DAA p. 273, no. 237 (= I² 562), DAA p. 274, no. 238 (= I² 613), DAA p. 276, no. 240, DAA

p. 399, no. 370, DAA p. 378, no. 342 (= I² 751); *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p. 148, no. 1, fig. 37; *Hesperia* 2 (1933) p. 375, no. 4; AAG² p. 155, no. 6, cf. fig. 198 (= DAA p. 348, no. 324) (|).

Stoichedon or partially stoichedon: I² 557, I² 572, I² 606, I² 631, I² 506 + I² 737.301 (= DAA p. 98, no. 90); I² 526 + I² 552 (= DAA p. 101, no. 94); I² 528 + I² 635 (= DAA p. 139, no. 131), DAA p. 168, no. 150 (= I² 521 + I² 722).

∴ occurs in: I² 391 + I² 476 (= DAA p. 353, no. 327) (|), I² 490 (cf. DAA p. 69), I² 492, I² 536, I² 540 (cf. DAA p. 34), I² 582, I² 603, I² 656 (cf. DAA p. 238), I² 698, I² 709 + I² 515 (= DAA p. 251, no. 221), I² 718 (cf. DAA p. 75), I² 720 (cf. DAA p. 231), I² 736 (|), I² 742, I² 748, I² 749, I² 750, I² 754; DAA p. 384, no. 350 (= I² 752, in part + I² 758, in part); DAA p. 385, no. 351 (= I² 752, in part + I² 758, in part); DAA p. 15, no. 10 (= I² 507); DAA p. 100, no. 93 (= I² 659), DAA p. 32, no. 30 (= I² 660), DAA p. 178, no. 161 (= I² 533).

Stoichedon or partially stoichedon: I² 493 (cf. DAA p. 87), I² 530 (line 6 only, the final line with the artist's signature) (cf. DAA p. 126); I² 639, I² 565 + I² 646 (= DAA p. 122, no. 118), I² 706, I² 707 + I² 737.303 (= DAA p. 173, no. 156); I² 807 (+ SEG 10.336) (has four-bar sigma, but uncertain if later than ca. 450–445 B. C.).

Both ∴ and ∴ in: I² 495 (cf. DAA p. 26, no. 22); probably also in I² 516 (lines 5–7 stoich.), cf. DAA p. 255, no. 225.

Other types of interpunct in: I² 467, I² 469, I² 463 + I² 475 (= DAA p. 350, no. 326), I² 478, I² 514, I² 570, I² 596, I² 700, I² 801, I² 802, I² 805 (cf. pp. 74–75 supra).

NO interpuncts in: I² 473, I² 487, I² 496, I² 508, I² 543, I² 573, I² 578, I² 579, I² 583, I² 585, I² 589, I² 605, I² 607, I² 627, I² 629, I² 649, I² 650, I² 661, I² 667, I² 711, I² 756, I² 765, I² 817, AM 62 (1937) p. 1, no. 1 (= SEG 10.345; LSAG p. 78, no. 35; revised text of I² 837), I² 663 + I² 548 (= DAA p. 10, no. 6); AA 1939 col. 12 (= DAA p. 359, no. 329); *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p. 150, no. 2, DAA p. 29, no. 24; DAA p. 313, no. 292 (= I² 620);

Stoichedon or partially stoichedon: I² 509, I² 525, I² 527, I² 530 (lines 1–5), I² 531, I² 546, I² 547, I² 571, I² 580, I² 588, I² 589, I² 643, I² 651, I² 658, I² 764.

To this group some 20 others could be added which very probably had no interpuncts, but whose incomplete state of preservation makes certainty impossible, e.g. I² 494, I² 497, I² 625, I² 761, etc.

In these dedications the percentage of texts with interpuncts is considerably higher than it was in the sepulchral inscriptions; even counting the 20 texts whose lack of interpuncts cannot be considered certain, less than half the total are without interpuncts: the ratio is approximately 3 to 2. Another contrast with the grave inscriptions is the relative frequency of the use of two and three dots. In the dedications ∴ is considerably more frequent, although the use of ∴ is also not rare. A pronounced tendency to avoid interpuncts in stoichedon texts can also be observed, cf. the remarks on this phenomenon in public texts, p. 81 infra.

Interpuncts are not much used in later private dedications, although they are scarcely rare until the end of the fourth century. For the later fifth century, cf. I² 775, I² 823. A number of fourth-century priv. dedications contain instances of ∴, ∴ used more or less in the same manner as in texts of the fifth century and the Archaic Period, e.g. II² 4323, II² 4324, II² 4335, II² 4336, II² 4384, II² 4545, II² 4551, II² 4553 (|), II² 4574, II² 4579, II² 4595 (dated 328/7 by the archon's name), II² 4598, II² 4635, II² 4636,

etc. Examples later than 300 B.C. are rare: II² 4658 (L.), II² 4665, both loosely dated to the fourth or third century; II² 4675 (s) dated ca. 250; II² 4933 (§) dated to the second or first century.

When interpuncts occur in public dedications of the later fifth or the fourth century, they are usually used as in decrees, etc., e.g. with abbreviations or in lists of names, etc. Cf. § in I² 398 (408/7), abbreviations in a ded. of the prytaneis of a tribe. For s and § in lists of names in fourth-century public dedications, cf. e.g. II² 2824, II² 2932, II² 2940, II² 3092, II² 3122, II² 2934 (between virtually all words in the text, cf. the similar use in a list of names in the priv. ded., II² 4327), II² 3125 (between νίη and ισθμοῖ), etc.

Only a few of the bronze Acropolis dedications have interpuncts. Of the series I² 408–I² 462: § on I² 409, I² 413, I² 424b, I² 430, I² 433, I² 435, I² 436, I² 444, I² 445, I² 450, I² 460.4; s on I² 452, I² 462; § on I² 408; § on I² 447.4; § on I² 412.

Interpuncts are frequent in sixth-century Attic dipinti. Thus § occurs on three of the five inscribed vases of Sophilos, cf. ABV p.39, no.16 (L.); ABV p.42, no.36 (part of ABV p.40, no.21, cf. *Paralipomena* p.18 [= CVA, Greece 1, plate 1.1]); the new London dinos; on several vases of Kleitias, cf. ABV p.78, nos.12–15. s is found on the Burgon vase, cf. ABV p.89, Burgon group no.1 (= Smith, *Catalogue* 2, p.98, no. B130). Three vases of the school of Exekias have § between each word, cf. ABV pp.146–147, nos.2–4; cf. καλὸν : εἰμι ποτ[έ]ριον EV+POΣ : ἐποίεσέν με ABV p.162, no.1; § in a signature of Eucheiros on another vase, ABV p.162, no.2. Of the numerous examples dated ca. 550 only a selection can be given: ABV p.173, Sondros nos.1 and 7; ABV p.175, Taleides nos.16–18; ABV pp.184–186: 21 signatures of Xenokles with s before ἐποίεσεν, only two without the interpunct; at least one vase has Χσενονλῆς : ἐποίεσεν : twice, cf. ABV p.186, no.9. Interpuncts are still fairly frequent in early rf. dipinti, e.g. ARV² p.18, Manner of Euphronios no.1; ARV² pp.25–26, Phintias potter nos.2–3, 1–3; ARV² pp.98–99, Group of the paidikos alabastra nos.1, 3–6; etc.; but are somewhat rare later, e.g. ARV² p.149, Manner of the Epeleios painter no.16; ARV² p.161, Hischylos potter no.1; ARV² pp.173–174, Ambrosios painter nos.1, 24; ARV² p.264, Syriskos group no.57; ARV² p.430, p.445, Douris nos.35, 256; ARV² p.479, Makron no.336; ARV² p.482, Hieron potter no.37 (graffito); ARV² p.499, Deepdene painter no.17; etc.

Interpuncts also occur occasionally in graffiti, usually s or §, e.g. s on *Hesperia*, suppl. 8 (1949) p.401, fig.6, no.14b; ostraca: I² 908 (§ bis), § on three of I² 911; but §§ occurs on an ostrakon of the elder Alcibiades (cf. no.17, p.75 supra); § on a sherd of Sakonides (cf. no.11, p.75 supra). Later s and § are found on some of the bronze dikasts' pinakia, cf. II² 1835–II² 1923 (400–350). Cf. ἴκτου § 'Εκμουῖ *Agora* 21, p.55, no. G17 (s. III/IIa.) graffito.

Another stone monument of a non-public character from the Archaic Period with interpuncts is I² 921 (§ twice), erotic text. s once on the similar type of text of somewhat later date, I² 924 (paulo post 450?).

In regard to the use of interpuncts in these non-public texts there are certain tendencies that can be observed, but also much that is irrational:

1) Many texts use an interpunct after virtually every word, except that they normally are avoided at the end of a physical line:

I² 467, I² 493, I² 502, I² 559, I² 601, I² 671, I² 921; IGAA p.147, no.65 (= SEG 10.460); AAG² p.155, no.1 (= IGAA p.146, no.62; SEG 10.450); cf. ABV p.39, Sophilos no.16.

As might be expected, an article is not separated from its noun in these texts:

Kerameikos 3, p. 41, no. 31 (= *IGAA* p. 119, no. 6; *SEG* 10.442); I² 469; I² 552; I² 572; I² 668 (cf. *DAA* p. 239, no. 210), I² 754, I² 598. Exceptions to this rule are found in public texts (cf. p. 82 *infra*).

The word καί normally has interpuncts only before it, e.g. I² 530 (cf. *DAA* p. 126), I² 552, I² 659; exceptions are doubtful: I² 660, I² 742 (cf. *DAA* p. 376, no. 339).

2) In other texts the interpuncts mark off groups of words, phrases, cf. I² 463, I² 504, I² 555, I² 971, I² 975, I² 990, I² 1012; or large divisions in the thought, e.g. I² 821, I² 826.

3) There is also a pronounced tendency to set off just the first word of a text with an interpunct and make no further use of them, e.g. I² 662, I² 924, I² 972 (cf. *IGAA* p. 120, no. 8), I² 985 (= *IGAA* p. 121, no. 13), I² 1001.

4) In many cases the interpuncts serve to mark off the metre, often appearing at the end of each stichos:

I² 500, I² 700, I² 707 + I² 737.303 (= *DAA* p. 173, no. 156), I² 7631 (= *Meiggs-Lewis* p. 54, no. 261), I² 976, I² 978, I² 982, I² 984, I² 1078; cf. *SEG* 10.336 (= I² 807) where a single interpunct probably separates the hexameter from the pentameter.

Other arrangements also occur:

I² 394 II: interpuncts after alternating lines (hexameter in elegiac metre), cf. sketch *DAA* p. 193. Same arrangement in later copy, *DAA* p. 201, no. 173.

I² 10650: interpunct after first hexameter only.

I² 609 (= *Meiggs-Lewis* p. 33, no. 18; *Imagines*² plate 8, no. 18): interpunct omitted after ἔχουσιν because it is at the end of the physical line.

5) In general, interpuncts are avoided at the end of a physical line on a stone; exceptions are dubious: I² 621 (= *DAA* p. 56, no. 55); I² 753 (= *DAA* p. 394, no. 364), both circular texts; I² 595 + new fr. (= *DAA* p. 74, no. 69), where the association of the two fragments is uncertain. Note also Νικυλος| ἀνέθε|κεν on the bronze ded., I² 433 (ca. 550, cf. *LSAG* p. 68, note 1). This avoidance at the end of a text is also seen in dipinti, where, however, exceptions are rather more common, e.g. *ABV* p. 186, Xenokles painter no. 9; *ARV*² p. 264, Syriskos group no. 57; *ARV*² p. 149, Manner of the Epeleios painter no. 16; *ARV*² pp. 98–99, 101, Group of the paidikos alabastra, nos. 1, 3–6, 30; etc.

6) In a number of texts no real rationality seems to lie behind the placing of the interpuncts, cf. I² 495, I² 503, I² 706; *IGAA* p. 143, no. 57 (= *SEG* 10.461); etc. Likewise the various vase-painters are quite inconsistent in using them, sometimes placing τ or ς between their name and ἐποίησεν in their signatures and sometimes not (e.g. Sophilos, Kleitias, Exekias, Eucheiros, Xenokles, etc.), and it seems likely that the effect may have sometimes been decorative. It is also hard to explain the use of interpuncts in the signature of I² 530 when they do not occur in the text, especially since the signature is in the same stoichedon pattern as the rest of the text—unless they were for decoration. A similar phenomenon occurs in I² 490 (cf. the photograph *DAA* p. 68); perhaps also in I² 539 + I² 581b, c (= *DAA* p. 310, no. 291); I² 1014 as read by Jeffery, cf. *IGAA* p. 138, no. 46.

4.013 Frequency and use of interpuncts in public documents

a) *Fifth century: general use:*

The greatly restricted use of interpuncts in Athenian public texts of the fifth century is probably due to the strong preference for the stoichedon style. In the earliest decree (dated 485/4) showing that style fully developed, cf. I² 3/4 (= *Imagines*² plate 10, no. 20), the mason is normally unwilling to assign a stoichos (i.e. unit in the checker-pattern) to the interpunct ⚬ and merely fits it in; occasionally, at larger divisions in the text, the interpunct is expanded to ⚬⚬⚬ and fills a stoichos. An identical practice (with ⚬ and ⚬⚬⚬) is seen in a fr. of sacred regulations of about the same date (478–470) published *Hesperia* 36 (1967) p. 72, no. 15 (= *SEG* 24.1; I² 7 + I² 841 + new fr.). In another fragment, perhaps a decree, published *Hesperia* 18 (1949) p. 223, plate 45 (ca. 500?), an interpunct :: occupies a stoichos in several places. In the earliest state decree, partially stoichedon (cf. p. 61 *supra*), I² 1 (fin. s. VIa., cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 25, no. 14), at least one interpunct occurred in the stoichedon section of the text (line 3), where it caused the arrangement of the letters to open out slightly, a phenomenon found in some of the early private texts, e.g. I² 557, I² 631, I² 639.

But whether the interpunct is merely inserted and the letters parted slightly, or it is expanded to fill a stoichos, the result is not really satisfactory aesthetically, and the rapid disappearance of interpuncts from public stoichedon (and hence all public) texts is not surprising. Significantly, on the stele from Marathon, published *Hesperia* 11 (1942) pp. 331 ff., the earlier, non-stoichedon, vertically inscribed text makes frequent use of interpuncts, but the later, horizontally inscribed, stoichedon text has not a single one.

In I² 5 (non-stoich.) ⚬ occurs twenty times in five fragmentary lines, but in I² 6 (stoich.) there are almost no interpuncts. B.D. Meritt (cf. *Hesperia* 14 [1945] p. 79) thought he could read ⚬ in I² 6.7 and : in I² 6.32, 36, but the stone is in exceedingly bad condition; he saw no interpuncts in I² 6.89, 111, and his ἀνέλοτο ⚬ in I² 6.103 (cf. *Hesperia* 15 [1946] p. 253) has been corrected by K. Clinton to ἀνέλοτο Ε (cf. *Sacred Officials* p. 11). The frequent use of : in I² 188 (= Sokolowski, *Lois*² p. 18, no. 10) (stoich.), an early law of the deme of Skambonidai (ante 460), has an archaistic look to it.

Later decrees with frequent interpuncts are quite exceptional, but cf. I² 42, I² 44, I² 50, I² 108 II, I² 114 (?). Not infrequently, however, interpuncts do appear for some special purpose in texts which make no systematic use of them, e.g.:

I² 52.1, to set off the opening word θεοῖ from the text (the usual practice was to put θεοῖ on a separate line);

I² 186/7B.2, after [ἐδοχσε]ν Ἰτακιδεῦσι, to separate it from body of text of following deme decree;

I² 110.5, 14, 38, before ὁ δεῖνα εἶπε to mark off major sections of a decree;

I² 56.9, to set off ἐδοχσεν τῇ βολῇ and a following decree text;

I² 190, primarily to set off numerals (sacred law);

I² 156 (+ *Hesperia* 7 [1938] p. 269, no. 4), to mark off the end of a text or a major section of it;

I² 143, to separate names in a list (this perhaps also the reason for interpuncts in I² 50?);

Hesperia 2 (1933) p.494, no.12, to separate three words in a heading (cf. the similar use in I² 193, *ATL* 2, no.7 trib. lists; I² 929, cas. list); this use probably purely decorative, cf. this page *infra*.

Hesperia 40 (1971) pp.280ff., no.7 (403/2 aut paulo post) decree fr. with a single interpunct (:) in the middle of a word (!) cf. the following page.

The lengthy I² 76 is without punctuation until lines 53, 58, where ⋮ fills a stoichos, and in line 58 τ ⋮ οὐτων occurs (cf. *infra*); here it is tempting to see some sort of ornamental space-filling to compensate for some miscalculation made in laying out the text, especially as there are apparently erasures underneath the interpuncts (cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.219). Perhaps the single :: in I² 45.26 is to be similarly explained, although it does come at a division in the thought. In I² 114.44, H.T. Wade-Gery showed that the correct reading was ⋮, not τ[δ], but τδ is needed here, and some sort of confusion is at work, cf. *SEG* 24.15. This text is so fragmentary that it is impossible to know whether the few other interpuncts (:) it contains are peculiar or there was systematic use made of them. A rather small new fragment of the extensive I² 65 (cf. *AJP* 88 [1967] pp.29ff.) has ⋮ three times for no special reason—the large part of the text previously known had not a single interpunct, cf. the photographs, *ATL* 1 pp.123–126.

The inventories, accounts, etc. are one type of fifth-century public text in which interpuncts are often extensively used, usually to set off numerals: e.g. I² 282, I² 304A, I² 313, I² 314, I² 369, I² 373, I² 374; from outside the city: I² 186/7A, *SEG* 10.210 (= *AE* 1934–35, pp.128–132; Meiggs-Lewis p.144, no.53). Likewise in sacred calendars, etc.: e.g. *Hesperia* 17 (1948) pp.86ff. (= I² 838–I² 839; *LSAG* p.78, no.44), I² 840, I² 842. In some texts of this type, however, interpuncts are only sparingly employed, e.g. I² 324; or are avoided completely, cf. I² 372 (409/8), *latus adversum*; the whole group of Attic Stelai, *Hesperia* 22 (1953) pp.240ff. (including I² 325 through I² 334), dated ca. 414 B.C. In the tribute lists they are consistently used only in the first list, I² 191, and are used thereafter only when absolutely necessary to avoid confusion, e.g. I² 198, I² 210. Interpuncts may also be used to separate names in a list, e.g. I² 355, I² 358, or after abbreviations, cf. I² 398, a dedication of the end of the fifth century. These uses, along with the setting off of numerals, continue to be common later.

Interpuncts are otherwise rare in fifth-century public texts. They are occasionally used in headings, as in I² 929 (cas. list); I² 193 (= *ATL* 2, no.3), *ATL* 2, no.7 (tribute lists); I² 313 (inv.), where they may well be ornamental. The use after every word in the public dedication, I² 400aI and in the heading of I² 929 (cas. list) is strongly influenced by the way interpuncts are used in private dedications. They are otherwise rare in casualty lists (except I² 943). Interpuncts almost never occur in *horoi*: only in I² 863, I² 865, I² 866, I² 870.

Peculiar use of interpuncts:

The separation of the article from its noun by ⋮ in two headings (I² 193, I² 929, cf. this page *supra*) is a peculiarity, perhaps explained by the purely decorative use there. Other oddities, in addition to τ ⋮ οὐτων in I² 76.58 (decree) just cited (cf. *supra*), are: the misplaced interpunct in *SEG* 10.210 (= *AE* 1934–35, pp.128–

132; Meiggs-Lewis p.144, no.53) (an inventory from Rhamnus) with κεφαλαῖον: (the text uses interpuncts frequently throughout). Even stranger is the ε[ύ]εργεσι:ας on a decree (of 403/2 or shortly thereafter) which apparently had no other interpuncts, although it is perhaps too fragmentary for certainty, cf. *Hesperia* 40 (1971) pp.280ff., no.7, line 7. In the Ευν|ε:ταί: of the poletai inv., *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p.14, no.1, lines 25–26 (367/6), it is likely that Ευνε: was originally intended (cf. *ib.* line 24) and accidentally extended to Ευνε:ταί: (cf. Ευνετᾶ: in *ib.* line 21); the crowding of the interpunct into the stoichos indicates nothing, as interpuncts are normally so crowded in this text. The reading τοῖτου (known only from Stuart and Revett; the stone is lost) for I² 280.92 has been rejected as due to the copyist and not on the stone (cf. Kirchhoff's note to IG I no. 170).

Types of interpuncts in use; blank spaces:

The most common types of interpuncts occurring in fifth-century public texts are the common : and ::, sometimes expanded to ::, ::::, ::::, etc. (see examples pp.74–76 supra). Before about 450 :: is somewhat more common than :; thereafter they are about equally frequent. Many texts have both, e.g. I² 1, I² 44, I² 50, I² 108 II, I² 110, I² 188, I² 191, I² 210, I² 352, I² 355, I² 398, etc. :: occurs several times on a small fragment of a bronze stele with a public text of unidentifiable type, cf. *Hesperia* 32 (1963) pp. 138ff. (ca. 450).

Some fifth-century decrees, and many other public texts, make widespread use of blank spaces to compensate for the lack of written punctuation, e.g. I² 39.20, 64; I² 95; I² 115.19; I² 1; etc. This practice is also normal in decrees of the fourth century and later, cf. e.g. I² 19, I² 29, I² 97, I² 124, etc.

b) Use of interpuncts in public texts of the fourth century and later:

In fourth-century public texts interpuncts continue to be used, but only for certain special purposes: to set off numerals, in lists of names, to indicate abbreviations, rarely in headings.

In decrees interpuncts are rare and in those of the first quarter of the century absent altogether. Thereafter the most frequent use of them is to set off numerals from the body of the text; the interpunct (usually :) is placed before and after the numeral, and in stoichedon texts they often fill stoichoi. E.g. : in I² 120; *Hesperia* 7 (1938) pp. 1 ff., no.1 (genos); I² 1176 (tribe); I² 204, I² 223, I² 236, I² 238, I² 336.a 14, I² 338, I² 354, I² 360, I² 385, I² 395; I² 1183 (deme); I² 1256 (orgeones); I² 1261 (thiasotai), I² 1263 (thiasotai); I² 407, I² 410, I² 417; I² 1200 (deme), I² 1206 (deme); I² 553, I² 567, etc. :: is less frequent, e.g. I² 148, I² 313, I² 479, I² 518, etc.; both : and :: in I² 1252 (orgeones); :|:: ends a line in I² 415. Examples also occur where the interpuncts separate names, demotics, etc. in lists: e.g. : in I² 41, I² 102, I² 186, I² 204, I² 466, I² 488, I² 1222 (cleruchs); : and :: in I² 175, I² 1252 (orgeones); indicate abbreviations: cf. : in I² 336.a 6; :: in I² 1152.7 (tribe); or occur only in the heading, perhaps for decorative effect: cf. : in I² 349; :: in I² 43, I² 67; :: in I² 44 and a copy of it, cf. p. 75 supra.

Even when numerals occur, however, interpuncts are very often avoided; this was the normal practice until about 360, cf. II² 124, II² 226, II² 235, II² 264. Occasionally blank spaces replace them in setting off numerals, cf. e.g. II² 116.41, II² 124.13, II² 140.37, II² 507.26; II² 1182.24 (deme), II² 1194.16 (deme). The latter practice becomes the norm in the early part of the third century, when interpuncts largely disappear from decrees. The last examples: II² 648 (ca. 295); II² 1165 (300–250) (tribe); II² 1218 (ca. 250) (deme); II² 1247 (ca. 250) (mesogeioi), with ;; II² 1278 (ca. 277) (thiasotai) with ::; for the use of blank spaces, cf. II² 729.3, II² 791.20 (L.), II² 956, II² 957, etc.; II² 896.42 ff. (in a name list). The late II² 809.6 (ca. 230?) with -ων^{uv}: Π: δρρχμ[άς is an exception. Later Attic decrees of the Hellenistic Period make no use of interpuncts; πινάκων^{uv} in II² 995.8 (ca. 150) is exceptional.

A very few fourth-century decrees use interpuncts in exceptional ways. Thus :: in II² 333.c15 (335/4) may well introduce a new section; the function of]s (or is it s?) in *ib.* c12 (before καὶ τοῦ) is uncertain. In II² 358.7 (327/6) :: (after ἔδοξεν] τῷ δήμῳ) separates the heading from the decree text; in II² 423.6 (post 336/5) the text of a quoted decree is preceded by s. But the use of s in II² 1253.8 (post 350) (orgeones) to mark off sections is without parallel (the interpuncts at the beginning of the text are in a name list, cf. II² 1252).

The use of interpuncts in the numerous inventories, accounts, records, etc. of the fourth century does not differ from their use in decrees. They are naturally a great deal more frequent because of the numerous numerals, abbreviations, etc. which such documents contain; they are also very frequent in this type of text right from the beginning of the century. The dominant form is s, but :: still occurs, e.g. in II² 1429, II² 1468, II² 1409; both s and :: in II² 1408, II² 1656, II² 1572, II² 1610, as well as other forms, ::, :::, s:, etc. (see examples p.75 *supra*). In the numerous stoichedon texts of this type the interpunct may occupy a stoichos as in II² 1443, II² 1457, II² 1515, II² 1524, etc. or it may be crowded together with the numeral or abbreviation, II² 1392.17, 18, II² 1403, II² 1467.22, II² 1469, II² 1582, etc. Some of these texts avoid interpuncts and replace them with blank spaces, cf. II² 1358 (: rare), II² 1407, II² 1414. Interpuncts disappear also from inventories, etc. (rare in any case after 300) after the early third century: II² 1682 (285/4), II² 1534.1–140 (291/0, cf. SEG 16.118) still have s, the latter often; but II² 1534.141–345 (247/6) replaces interpuncts with blank spaces everywhere.

Other public documents of the fourth century or the Hellenistic Period may contain interpuncts used under the same conditions, e.g. catalogs: II² 1702 (name list), II² 2319–II² 2323 (abbreviations), II² 2343–II² 2345 (name lists), II² 2356 (numerals), II² 2367 (name list), II² 2375 (name list), II² 2383 (name list); locationes: II² 2493 (unusual, s once in line 10 after a strong stop), II² 2498–II² 2500 (numerals); horoi: II² 2658, II² 2673, II² 2680, II² 2688, II² 2702 (numerals); dedications: II² 2822, II² 2824, II² 2934, II² 2940, II² 3092 (names in a ded.).

4.02 Punctuation in the Roman Period

4.021 Punctuation for word division, to separate phrases, sentences, etc.

In texts of all types of the second and third centuries after Christ a number of different types of punctuation are employed, primarily to separate words, abbreviations, sections of text, or for decorative effect. Most of the common forms appear occasionally in the first century A.D. (see *infra*), but it is the second century and particularly the time of Hadrian in which the use of punctuation becomes widespread. Note that the forms ; and ;̇ , dominant in texts of the Classical Period, are exceedingly rare in these texts, but the single point above the line, virtually unknown in the earlier period (cf. p. 75 *supra*), is one of the most common forms in imperial texts. A number of signs may also serve to indicate abbreviations or actually serve as abbreviations (cf. — , ! , > , > , v *infra*).

Not all the various signs are used in the same way, but before detailing the individual symbols a few general remarks on punctuation in these texts may be made. By far the commonest use of most of the signs is to set off abbreviated names, most often those of Roman origin such as KA, II, AVP, AIA, etc., or abbreviated numerals, τὸ Δ , etc. The punctuation may appear both before and after the abbreviation: ·M> , ·KA , e.g. II² 2068.214, II² 2058.4, 6, 7, 8; II² 2113, II² 2193.12, II² 3931.2, etc.; or it appears only after: AVP>, II>, e.g. II² 1073, II² 2237, II² 2059, II² 4082, etc.; rarely only before: ·ΦH , e.g. II² 2052, etc. There may or may not be an additional mark to indicate abbreviation, cf. with mark II² 2058.6, II² 2193.12, II² 2068.7, 119, II² 4067.8, 11 (L.), II² 4082; without mark II² 1073, II² 2059, II² 2058, except line 6, II² 2239.1–9, 184, II² 2237, II² 3584. Punctuation may also often be used to separate names or parts of names, e.g. II² 1969, II² 2001, II² 2037, II² 2221.63 ff., II² 3670, II² 7435, etc. It is often used to separate sections of a text, e.g. II² 1076, II² 1105 A, II² 2056, II² 12318; and is sometimes confined to the heading or the prescript, e.g. II² 1368, II² 2113, II² 2193 (only dots are those in lines 12 and 22, cf. p. 88 *infra*). Some texts show a mark of punctuation after almost every word, e.g. II² 4938, II² 6441, II² 3301, II² 7441, II² 9412, etc.; in such cases it may sometimes appear on both sides of καί , cf. II² 3301, II² 4938, or even separate an article from its noun as in II² 3301.7: ·τὸυ etc. In some cases the punctuation is manifestly only for decorative effect, cf. the frequent use of Q in headings; cf. · , -- , etc. at the end of every line in II² 4488 (cf. no. 3 *infra*); or may serve to fill up space where a letter could not be carved without breaking rules of syllabification, II² 4063, II² 3591, etc. Often even when it separates sections and words punctuation appears to have ornamental value as well (e.g. when a Q is placed in a blank space separating sections of a text where the blank space would have been alone sufficient, cf. II² 3301, II² 3710). Sometimes the punctuation is intended to mark off the metre, e.g. II² 3743, II² 10385, II² 11477, II² 3753, II² 4514, II² 11587 a, etc. Several different types of punctuation may sometimes appear in the same text, often with overlapping function (cf. < , ^ , · , ' in II² 2052; < , · in II² 2059; < , ' , · in II² 1969; Q , < in II² 3743; < , · , -- in II² 4488; Q , · in II² 2361; ^ , ' in II² 2037; · , · in

Π² 2133; ·, ›, › in Π² 3620; etc.) where the visual effect is again probably the reason; punctuation may also be combined with blank spaces, cf. Π² 2221.63–76; Π² 3299; and some extensive texts avoid it altogether, cf. Π² 2223; Π² 2235.13 ff., where no punctuation follows the forms AYP, etc.; Π² 1368, very extensive, with only blank spaces for punctuation except for two leaves (not recorded by IG Π²) in the heading (ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ), cf. Graindor, *Album* plate 57, no. 73.

There is no appreciable difference in the method of employment of the marks of punctuation among the various genres of texts in Roman times.

Illustrative examples of punctuation in the Roman Period:

The following lists are selective only. The inaccuracy in IG Π² and other published texts of inscriptions in recording punctuation is considerable; the following examples have therefore been taken as much as possible from texts where verification on the stone or a clear photograph was possible.

- 1) ·, › Sigma and antisigma. Typical appearance: cf. Graindor, *Album* plate 53, no. 68 (= Π² 2068.3); plate 64, no. 81 (= Π² 2113.4); plate 66, no. 83 (= Π² 2124.8, punctuation not recorded).

Rare in first century after Christ: cf. Π² 1969.18 (45/6 p.) eph. cat., not a full semi-circle, used in conjunction with dots and no. 12 infra (cf. AJP 6 [1885] p. 1); Π² 3927 (ca. 50 p.) ded.; Π² 3280 (66–68 p.) ded., not a full semi-circle and located beneath horizontal hasta of following tau (L.); Π² 3538 (aet. Neronis) ded. (L.); Π² 2001 (s. Ip.) eph. cat., has unusually large size and varying forms (often extending below the line); used with dots and no. 15 infra (IG Π² completely unreliable) (L.); Π² 3931 (s. Ip.) ded. (L.).

Typical use. Often to set off abbreviations of Roman names (frequently themselves accompanied by mark(s) of abbreviation above the letters): ΓΑ·, ΤΙ· Π² 3538.1, 10 (aet. Neronis) ded. (L.); ›Γ· Π² 3927.4 (ca. 50 p.) ded.; ΚΑ·, ΟΥΑ·, ΦΑ· Π² 2068.7, 119, 214 (115/6 p.) eph. cat. (L.); ΦΑ·, ›Γ·, ΙΟΥΑΙ· Π² 2058.3, 8, 6 (146/7 p. aut paulo post) eph. cat., in *ib.* 6 also used after a numeral preceded by an unusual mark, the whole followed by a dot (on the line), cf. no. 13 infra (L.); ›ΤΙΒ· ΚΑ· ΒΡΑΔΟΥΑ Π² 2113.4 (183/4–191/2 p.) eph. cat.; AYP·, ΚΑ·, etc. Π² 2237, *passim* (has unusual large size in this text and frequently extends below the line) (230–235 p.) eph. cat. (L.); etc. Used with other abbreviations, e.g. a compendium for θυγάτηρ, Π² 3628.3 (post 150 p.) ded. (L.); AXAP·, ›ΑΓΩ·, ΙΤΑΙ· Π² 2058.2, 3, 4 (146/7 p. aut paulo post) eph. cat. (L.); ΒΟΗΔΡΟ·, ΠΥΑΝΩΨΙ·, etc. Π² 2068.187 ff. (155/6 p.) eph. cat. (L.); etc. To separate names or other words, to separate sections of texts, at ends of lines: Π² 2001 (s. Ip.) eph. cat. (L.); Π² 3931 (s. Ip.) ded. (L.); Π² 3596 (ca. 134 p.) ded. (L.); Π² 3296 (› and ·) (132 p.) ded. (L.); after each word in sep. monuments: Π² 6441 (ca. 150 p.); Π² 7580 (s. II/III p.), Π² 12915 (s. II/III p.), etc. Used to separate phrases in conjunction with following blank spaces in Π² 3299.3, 7, 8, 10 (132 p.) ded. (L.).

Antisigma in conjunction with abbreviatory sign \supset (= patronymic same as son's name, cf. 5.0123, p.105 *infra*). The sign for the patronymic is more often full letter-size, and when the two signs occur in the same text this difference in size is usually observed, cf. Π^2 2068 (155/6 p.) eph. cat., illustrated Graindor, *Album* plate 53, in which the only exceptions are lines 193 and 107, in which the punctuation sign is letter-size, i.e. identical with the abbreviation for the patronymic (L.). The difference in size between the two signs can also be seen in Π^2 2085 (= Graindor, *Album* plate 54, no.69) (161/2 p.), Π^2 2087 (163/4 p.), Π^2 2124.7, 8 (= Graindor, *Album* plate 66, no.83; antisigma not recorded in *IG* Π^2) (inter 190–200 p.) all eph. catalogs. In Π^2 2056 (ca. 145/6 p.) eph. cat., the punctuation mark is small in line 4, the abbreviation for the patronymic is letter-size in line 6, while the text is too fragmentary to allow certainty about the remainder of the signs (L.); so also the text is too incomplete in Π^2 2058 (146/7 p. aut paulo post) eph. cat. (L.) to make it possible to decide if the larger sized \supset in line 7, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ \supset ΜΑ³ Κ³, is the sign of the patronymic or not. A single large-sized mark is used indiscriminately as sign for the patronymic and as mark of punctuation in the eph. cat., Π^2 2237 (230–235 p.) (L.).

2) \langle , \rangle

Both known as dipole. In inscriptions on stone used merely as variants of sigma and antisigma, easier to execute with chisel because of absence of curved lines. Typical appearance: *Imagines*² plate 49, no.135 (= Π^2 4063.2, 8); *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p.194 (= Π^2 1073); *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p.181, fig.71 and *Hesperia* 40 (1971) plate 36, no.53 (= Π^2 1076 + new fr.).

Earliest examples: Π^2 4938.2 (3 times) (init. s. Ip.) ded. (priv.) (L.); Π^2 1976.1 (bis) (40–54 p.) eph. cat. (L.); no \langle in Π^2 2001 (L.) or \rangle in Π^2 5394 (L.).

Use. Both \langle and \rangle are very common and frequently combined. They are used in the same way as the sigma and antisigma: With abbreviations of names: e.g. Κ³Λ³, Φ³Λ³, Κ³Λ³ Π^2 1073.9–16, 26 (9 times) (cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 [1937] p.193, no.121; *AJP* 70 [1949] pp.299ff.) (ca. 120 p.) decree; \langle Τ³ \rangle Π^2 1976.1 (40–54 p.) eph. cat. (L.); ΑΥ³ΣΩ³κράτης (\langle has no.8 *infra* above it), ΓΑΡΓΗΤ³, ΤΙΒ³ ΜΕΣΤΡ³ ΚΥΕΣΤΩΡ Π^2 2243.127, 15, 50 (post 243/4 p.) eph. cat. (L.); \langle Μ³ ΑΥ³ (bis), Φ³Λ³Α³Β³, ΑΥ³, \rangle ΤΙΒ³, \rangle ΑΥ³ Π^2 2239.1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 9 (238/9–243/4 p.) eph. cat. (L., corrections in 6, 9); Ἀ³Ι³Λ³ ΣΟΣ³[- Π^2 4082 (ca. 200 p.) ded. (L.); etc. To separate names, words, etc.: e.g. ὁ \rangle Κλαυδιανός \rangle (largely ornamental, a leaf used similarly in lines 1, 3 of the three-line text) Π^2 4938.2 (init. s. Ip.) ded. (priv.) (L.); Π^2 2065.20 (150/1 p.) eph. cat. (L.); Π^2 2243.16 (post 243/4 p.) eph. cat. (L.); Π^2 3612.5, 8 (ca. 150 p.) ded. (L.); in both lines of Π^2 7573 (s. Ip.) sep. mon. (L.); Π^2 11492 (s. Ip.) sep. mon. (L.); etc. Between sections of a decree text, Π^2 1076 (197–217 p.), cf. *Hesperia* 40 (1971) plate 36, no.53 and *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p.181, fig.71. In the ded., Π^2 3743 (post 158/9 p.) (stone lost), \langle alternates with leaves at ends of three lines (corresponding to ends of three two-line stichoi of verse), cf. lines 4, 6, 8; in line 10 between words in prose section of text. At end of prescript, Π^2 1774.9 (167/8 p.) pryt. cat. (L., but stone too worn for confirmation of reading). In left margin between two lines, Π^2 2094.51–52 (ca. 166/7 p.) eph. cat. (L.). Added at end of line to fill up space, Π^2 4063.2, 8 (cf. *Imagines*² plate 49, no.135) (ante ca. 135 p.) ded. (L.); Π^2 3591.2 (ca. 150 p.) ded. (L.); in such cases a letter could not be used in the space without infringing on the rules of syllabification.

3) .

In rare instances › (usually letter-size) may represent the abbreviatory sign for a patronymic the same as the son's name, usually ⤿ (cf. 5.0123, p. 106 infra).

A simple point or dot, usually in mid-line (μέση σιγμή), rarely higher (τελεία σιγμή), or lower in the line (ὑποσιγμή? cf. Turner, *GMAW* pp. 10–11); position in the line does not show any relation to function in Attic inscriptions. Typical appearance: *Imagines*² plate 50, no. 139 (= II² 1108.14); *Imagines*² plate 49, no. 136 (= II² 2055.2(bis), 11, 17); *Imagines*² plate 48, no. 131 (= II² 3733.3); Graindor, *Album* plate 62, no. 78 (= II² 2119), plate 71, no. 90 (= II² 2199.35, 50, 56, 63, 65). Sometimes difficult to distinguish from no. 12 infra or no. 2 supra.

Very frequent, especially in second and third centuries A.D.; frequently combined with other marks of punctuation.

Rare before 100 A.D.: II² 4185.1 (ca. 50 p.) (L.); II² 3535 (ca. 57 p.) (L.) dedications; II² 1969 (used also are no. 12 infra and one case of no. 1 supra) (45/6 p.) eph. cat. The dot recorded for the ded., II² 3280 (66–68 p.), cannot be confirmed because this part of the stone now broken away (L.). II² 1970.13, 17 (45/6 p.) eph. cat., no dot in line 7.

Used similarly to nos. 1, 2 supra. With abbreviations: e.g. ΜΕΜ̄, ΑΙᾹ, ΚᾹ, ΙΟΥᾹ, ΑΝΤΩ̄ II² 2049.71, 79, 87, 122, 144 (142/3 p.) eph. cat. (L.); II² 2059.8–18 (ca. 147/8 p.) eph. cat., but › in 20, 25, in 19 uncertain which mark it is (L.); there is a similar mixture of dots with › in II² 2052 (punctuation not accurately recorded by IG II²) (145/6 p.) eph. cat. (L.); ΑΙᾹ II² 2082.47 (post 150 p.) eph. cat. (L.); ΑΥΡ̄, ΚᾹ, ΣΤᾹ II² 2083.47, 56, 108 (post 150 p.) eph. cat. (L.); Μ̄ II² 2193.12 (198/9–205/6 p., cf. Graindor, *Album* p. 55) eph. cat. (L.); ΑΥΡ̄ (wrongly recorded as › by IG II², › does occur elsewhere, cf. no. 2 supra) II² 2243.14 (post 243/4 p.) eph. cat. (L.); τὸ Ἀ̄ II² 3535 (ca. 57 p.) ded. (L.); etc. Between names, words, etc.: II² 1969 (45/6 p.) eph. cat. (cf. no. 12 infra); II² 1970.13, 17, 61 (45/6 p.) eph. cat.; II² 2024.1–11 (112/3 p.) eph. cat.; II² 2037.9–21 (125/6 p.) eph. cat.; II² 2221.63–76 (217/8 p. aut paulo post) eph. cat. (L.); II² 2055.2, 11, 17 (recorded in IG II² only in line 2) (145/6 p.) eph. cat.; II² 2059.39–52 (wrongly recorded as a dipole in IG II²) (ca. 147/8 p.) eph. cat. (L.); II² 9412 (s. II p.) sep. mon. (L.); II² 11492 (s. II p.) sep. mon. (has ›, :) (L.); etc. Decorative uses: II² 3301 (132 p.) ded., dots only in lines 5, 7, where after almost every word, including τού̄ and καί̄, perhaps to aid in filling up the line, cf. ἡ βουλὴ καί̄ ὁ δῆμος in II² 4185.1 (ca. 50 p.) ded. (L.); II² 3714.3, 14, 16, 18, 20 (s. III p.) ded., dot in the mid-point of every pentameter in a text in elegiac distichs (has dipole obelismene, cf. no. 5 infra; breathings, etc., cf. 4.032, no. 7, p. 98 infra) (L.); dot before and after lines 2–4 of II² 4488 (s. I p.) ded. (priv.), ‹, ‹ at end of 3, 4. Rarely the dot may be used in conjunction with ⤿, the sign for a patronymic the same as the son's name, cf. 5.0123, p. 106 infra.

It is frequently impossible to tell from the printed text in IG II² whether a dot is actually on the stone or is used as a mark of punctuation for the convenience of the modern reader. Thus there are no dots on the stone in II² 2223 (ca. 218/9 p.) eph. cat. (L.); in II² 2193 (198/9–205/6 p., cf. Graindor, *Album* p. 55) eph. cat., the only dots on the stone are those in lines 12 and 22 (L.); in the ded., II² 4071 (ca. 150 p.), there is no dot on the stone in line 21, but there are dots in 17, 19, and 22 (this last one omitted by the IG II² text) (L.).

4) Ϻ

Such leaves are very common on texts of Roman times, but are more often purely ornamental than true marks of punctuation. Illustrative examples of appearance: *Imagines*² plate 49, no. 136 (= II² 2055.6, 18); *Imagines*² plate 53, nos. 145–146 (= II² 3764, II² 4007); Graindor, *Album* plate 41, no. 51 (= II² 2041), plate 57, no. 73 (= II² 1368.1, two leaves in heading not mentioned by IG II²), plate 60, no. 76 (= II² 1739.5), plate 73, no. 93 (= II² 2361).

Infrequent before 100 A.D.: e.g. II² 4938 (init. s. Ip.) ded. (priv.) (L.); II² 3112.6 (cf. Graindor, *Album* plate 19, no. 26) (75/6–87/8 p.) ded.; II² 4245 (s. Ip.) ded.; II² 4735 (s. Ip.) ded. (priv.); II² 5049, II² 5051 (fin. aet. Augusti?) seats in Theatre of Dionysus.

Usually decorative and not a true lectional sign, although it should be noted that most of the other signs of punctuation are at least attested in purely ornamental use. Leaves are used to separate names, words, etc. in the cat., II² 2361.10, 14, 16, 34 (init. s. IIIp.), while elsewhere dots are used in exactly the same way, e.g. lines 18, 19, 22. So leaves are used after abbreviated Roman names: Λ Ϻ Τάμπιος Στράτων II² 4938.1 (init. s. Ip.) ded. (priv.) (L.); ΠΟ Ϻ ΟΡΑΕΩΝΙΟΝ II² 4211 (117–138 p.) ded.; ΙΟΥΛ Ϻ ΜΟΥΣΩΝΙΟΣ II² 4083.1 (ca. 210–230 p., cf. Clinton, *Sacred Officials* p. 80) ded. Rarely the ornamental leaves and those used as punctuation may be of different sizes. Thus in the ded. (priv.) II² 4938 (init. s. Ip.) just cited, purely ornamental leaves occur at the left and right of the third line and these are larger than the leaf after Λ in line 1 (L.); the ornamental leaves to the right of lines 5 and 6 (not recorded in the IG II² text, cf. the photograph on p. 124 of Clinton, *Sacred Officials*) of the ded., II² 4083 (ca. 210–230 p.), are considerably larger than the small leaf appearing after ΙΟΥΛ in line 1; in II² 2041 (128/9 p.) eph. cat., the leaves serving to divide sections of the text in lines 3, 7 are smaller than those used purely as ornaments at the right of lines 1, 4, and 8 (cf. Graindor, *Album* plate 41, no. 51).

Decorative uses. Commonly at the end of a text, at the right of the last letter or in right margin, or below last line of text, e.g.: II² 4245 (s. Ip.), II² 3362 (132 p.), II² 3323 (ante 138 p.), II² 3967 (ca. 150 p.), II² 3764 (ca. 217/8 p.), II² 4007 (paulo ante 238 p.) dedications; II² 4740 (s. I/IIp.), II² 4746 (s. I/IIp.), II² 4785 (s. IIp.), II² 4825 (s. IIIp.), II² 4829 (s. III/IVp.) dedications (priv.); II² 13219 (s. II/IIIp.), II² 13167 (s. III/IVp.) sep. monuments; II² 1121.45 (cf. *Imagines*² plate 53, no. 148) (305/6 p.) imp. edict; etc. Two leaves below last line of text: II² 3987 (s. IIp.) ded. At end of a section of text: II² 1105 A.b 14 (aet. Hadriani) imp. letter, after εὐτυχεῖτε and before the text of the following letter beginning in the same line; II² 3680.13 (init. s. IIIp.) at end of text of ded. proper, a phallus separates this from the following list of officials; II² 3301.3 (132 p.) ded., after Hadrian's name and titles, text of ded. begins in next line; II² 11140 below line 2 (s. IIp.) sep. mon., separating one sep. epigram from another, a leaf also below last line of the text; etc. Ornamental in headings: e.g. II² 2052.3 (145/6 p.) eph. cat.; II² 1368.1 (two leaves not mentioned by IG II², cf. Graindor, *Album* plate 57, no. 73) (ca. 162/3 p.) Iobacchi regulations (L.); II² 2199 (ca. 200 p.), II² 2208.5 (212/3 p. aut paulo post) eph. catalogs; II² 2361.1 (init. s. IIIp.) cat.; II² 3670.1 (ante 266/7 p.) ded. (L.); etc.

At ends of metrical units: II² 11477 (s. II/IIIp.) sep. mon.; II² 3743.4, 8 (post 158/9 p.) ded., at end of hexameters, Ϻ in same function in line 6 (cf. no. 2 supra),

a leaf at end of line 11 also (prose); cf. II² 3753 (s. IIp.) ded. On both sides of bottom line: II² 4938.3 (init. s. Ip.) ded. (priv.) (L.); on both sides of a line within a text: II² 1739.5 (181–184p.) cat. (L.). In margin to the right of one or more lines: II² 2133.7 (paulo post 192/3p.) eph. cat. (L.); II² 2055.6, 18 (not 17, where there is a dot after the last word, cf. no.3 supra) (145/6p.) eph. cat. (L.); II² 2041.1, 4, 8 (128/9p.) eph. cat.; II² 2095.1, 5 (ca. 170p.) eph. cat.; II² 3379.2 (132p.), II² 3371.2 (132p.) dedications; etc.

Other symbols of largely ornamental character are occasionally employed:

- * Asteriskos: Graindor, *Album* plate 39, no.49 (= II² 3387) (ca. 128/9p.) ded. (L.), at right and left of lines 3, 6; in mid-line between two words in lines 1, 7 (cf. no.6 infra); II² 3343.1 (132p.) ded., after last letter at right (L.); II² 4514 (ca. 150p.) ded. (priv.), between lines 11 and 12, between lines 22 and 23, separating sections of verse (L.). (For the asteriskos as an abbreviation to indicate sums of money, cf. 5.0124 infra).
- ~ Ornament at right of line 2 of II² 3933 (s. Ip.) ded., fills up part of space left blank because of word division; the mark is constructed out of the antisigma (which occurs on a new fr. now joined to the top of this text) and no.6 infra (L.). For the same sign used as punctuation, cf. no.18 infra.
- Ω MONΩΩΩ at end of text, II² 2221.22 (IG II² text not accurate) (217/8p. aut paulo post) eph. cat. (L.). Cf. nos. 11, 14 infra.
- ~ At the bottom of Hicks, BMI p.157, no.131 (= II² 13150) (s. II/IIIp.) sep. mon.
- T (= τέλος?) II² 3739, below line 6 (141/2 aut 142/3p.) ded., at end of a section of text; a phallus and large blank area before rest of text (cf. Graindor, *Album* plate 50, no.64).

The use of crowns, olive branches, enlarged leaves, and certain other purely decorative figures lies outside the scope of this work.







The following types of punctuation are much less frequently used than nos. 1–4 supra:

- 5) – Small horizontal stroke in mid-line position, a variant of the dot (cf. no.12 infra); with the addition of serifs it becomes no.8 infra. It is used to separate names in an eph. cat., II² 2147.5–11 (s. IIp.) (L.); separates two names in one line of a cat., II² 1739.5 (cf. Graindor, *Album* plate 60, no.76) (181–184p.) (L., the mark is very short, showing close kinship to the dot); separates names and sections of text in the ded., II² 4174.2, 4, 6 (41p.) (L., but in line 3 it has small serifs and is no.8 infra); cf. ·· to right of the last line in II² 4488.4 (s. Ip.) ded. (priv.), · at right of the preceding line. A similar short stroke is used between sections of text in II² 1817.9 (paulo ante 221/0p.) pryt. cat.; in line 12 it is hard to tell if the same mark occurs or an elongated dot (L., the large-sized bar indicated in the IG II² text is erroneous).
- A short horizontal stroke (a sort of paragraphos) is used between the lines 110 ff. of the eph. cat., II² 2065 (cf. Graindor, *Album* plate 48, no.60) (150/1p.); the mark is above (not to the left as in IG II²) the first letter of the name of the tribe, indicating the start of the names of each new tribe.
- The normal function of horizontal bars placed above or below letters was to indicate abbreviations, cf. 5.0122, no.1, p.103 infra.

- The dipole obelismene or forked paragraphos (cf. Turner, *GMAW* pp. 14–15). It separates sections of text in the ephebic catalogs, Π^2 2056.7, 25 (ca. 145/6 p.) (L.); Π^2 2094.43, 50, 56 (ca. 166/7 p.) (L.). It appears after the words ἐπὶ τὸ ἡρώδων μου, probably a subject heading for a section of text, in the will, Π^2 2773.16 (cf. Graindor, *Album* plate 80 a, no. 101) (ca. 240 p.). With the horizontal stroke slightly shortened this mark may be seen in the eph. cat., Π^2 2207.34 (cf. Graindor, *Album* plate 74) (init. s. III p., ante 212 p.). The dipole obelismene appears in the margin to the left of line 19 of the metrical ded., Π^2 3714 (s. III p.) (L.), setting off the last two lines (lines 19–20) from the rest of the text. It follows four elegiac couplets, separating them from a single iambic trimeter, in the sep. mon., Π^2 12664 (s. I p.) (L.).
- »», »» A variant of the dipole obelismene. It follows two poems (also with the word ἄλλο between them) on the sep. mon., Π^2 12318 (s. III p.), and then the more elaborate tailed form appears after the third and final poem (a single line), cf. the photograph, *Mnemosynon Theodor Wiegand* plate 6.2. Cf. Wilhelm, *Beiträge* pp. 160–161.
- 6) ∪ Variant of no. 5 or a sigma placed on its side? It resembles the mark used occasionally in papyri to indicate short vowels (cf. Turner, *GMAW* p. 14 and plates 15, 17, 58), but it is never used in this way in Attic inscriptions. Its normal function is to indicate abbreviations by being placed above the letters like the more frequent horizontal stroke (cf. 5.0122, no. 4, p. 104 infra). Such a mark is used in a nearly ornamental fashion to separate two names in lines 4 and 5 of Π^2 3387 (ca. 128/9 p.) ded., but in *ib.* 1, 3, 6, 7 the asteriskos is used (cf. Graindor, *Album* plate 39, no. 49) (there is now nothing on the stone in line 6 where *IG* Π^2 records a sigma) (L.).
- 7) / Oblique line, normally used above last letter of abbreviations (cf. 5.0122, no. 2, p. 104 infra). In the ded., Π^2 3648.1, 2 (s. I p.), it surrounds abbreviated names much like a mark of punctuation: ---ΙΝ'Τ'ΦΛ', 'Τ' ΦΛ' (L.). Cf. τῶν Φ' Π^2 3616.2 (= *Imagines*² plate 52, no. 143) (fin. s. II p.) ded.; here the mark is very small and thus difficult to distinguish from no. 12 infra. In the ded., Π^2 3187 (ca. 100 p.), this sign appears to the right of lines 1–3, 6–8 (not just line 3 as in *IG* Π^2), and appears after the name Ἀσκληπιῶνι (before καὶ) in line 1, between two names in line 2 (L.); a similar use occurs in the other ded. of the same type, Π^2 3188 (ca. 100 p.). / (line 5, wrongly recorded as a dipole in *IG* Π^2 text) and the unique occurrence of no. 19 infra enclose a name in the ded., Π^2 3670 (ante 266/7 p.) (L.). This same sign occurs between patronymic (not abbreviated) and following demotic in the eph. cat., Π^2 2052 (145/6 p.), but only in lines 37 and 41; elsewhere (including *ib.* 38, where *IG* Π^2 wrongly records this sign) dots and the dipole are used; in *ib.* 41 the sign is slightly curved (L.).
- 8) ⊥, ⊥ Variant of no. 5 supra with the addition of serifs. The form varies: for the most typical form, cf. Conze plate 471 (= Π^2 10385). In the ded., Π^2 3199 (s. III p.), this sign has the normal form of a horizontal hasta with serifs in lines 8 (before τὴν σάφην ἀνέθηκε, last words of the dedicatory text proper) and 10 (between ὁρκῆ and an abbreviatory compendium for λῆραι), but in *ib.* 2 (between ἡ ἱέρεια and a name) the sign has much higher arms and looks almost like C turned on its side (L.). This sign is used before, above, and after a numeral in the ded., Π^2 3931.2 (s. I p.), and between ἀρετῆς and ἐνεχεν in *ib.* 4 (this text also has

antisigma) (L.); between ὁ δῆμος and a name, II² 3800 (ante 128/9 p.) ded. (L.); after each metrical stichos, II² 10385 (s. II/III p.) sep. mon.; separating two names in II² 4174.3 (41 p.) ded. (this text has no. 5 supra elsewhere) (L.). For this sign as an abbreviation sign, cf. 5.0122, no. 6, p. 105 infra.

- 9) ~ Another variant of no. 5 supra, also normally used with abbreviations (cf. 5.0122, no. 3, p. 104 infra). But this sign occurs before and after the word Ἀθηναίων in the eph. cat., II² 2130.47 (192/3 p.), a text which elsewhere employs it as an abbreviatory sign (cf. Kern plate 47). The sign occurs after a numeral in the ded., II² 3287.B5 (124/5 p.) (not recorded in IG II² text); for the dot (uncertain) before the numeral, cf. 5.022, p. 115 infra (L.).
- 10) ^, v, L, j The dipole in various unusual positions. The first form occurs in the eph. cat., II² 2052.90 (145/6 p.), although elsewhere this text has dots, • (cf. no. 2 supra), and once no. 7 supra (L.). The second form of this sign (also rarely used for ∟, the abbreviation for the patronymic when the name is the same as the son's, cf. 5.0123 infra) is said to occur at the end of each line of the ded., II² 3012 (158/9 p.). The third form occurs at the ends of lines 15 (after Ζώσιμος) and 19 (after Δωρόθεος) in the eph. cat., II² 2001 (s. I p.), a text which elsewhere has varying forms of the antisigma (cf. no. 1 supra), dots, and no. 15 infra (L.); it is also used to separate names in the eph. cat., II² 2037.23, 24, 25, 28 (cf. Graindor, *Album* plate 34, no. 42). The fourth form occurs before the demotic in the second line of the sep. mon., II² 6856 (s. II/III p.), with ∙ in *ib.* 1 (both wrongly recorded as antisigmata by IG II²) (L.).
- 11) ? Separates --]οναυεύς from ἐκ T--- in II² 5604.2 (= IG III, no. 1562) (s. II p.) sep. mon., thus keeping the two names distinct (L., mark wrongly omitted from IG II² text). Cf. II² 2221, cited p. 90 supra.
- 12) † Variant of the dot, a minute vertical stroke. Cf. *AJP* 6 (1885) p. 1 (= II² 1969); Graindor, *Album* plate 34, no. 42 (= II² 2037.12ff., wrongly transcribed as dots in IG II² text). Often hard to distinguish from the dot. To separate names, etc. in II² 1969 (45/6 p.) eph. cat. in lines 6, 7, 10, dots in lines 5, 8, 9, 10 of the same text; this mark follows the names of months in the eph. cat., II² 2037.12ff. (125/6 p.). When such marks are slanted they become no. 7 supra.
- 13) ∈ This sign occurs between two names in the eph. cat., II² 2226.10 (wrongly recorded as a sigma by IG II²) (ca. 218/9 p.) (L.); the mark is much smaller than the letters, the size of the sigma used as punctuation (cf. no. 1 supra). This same sign is used with an abbreviation in the eph. cat., II² 2076.11 (cf. 5.0122, no. 5, p. 105 infra). The reverse of this sign (i.e. opening to the left instead of the right) is used for the abbreviatory sign for the patronymic in II² 2052.79; the sign itself, but letter-sized, is used for the patronymic abbreviation in II² 3683 (cf. 5.0123, p. 106 infra). Both these signs look like variations of the sigma and antisigma formed by breaking the semi-circle at the middle.
- ε i. e. ⸮ The peculiar bracket-like sign occurs only once, before a numeral in the eph. cat., II² 2058.6 (146/7 p. aut paulo post) (L.); the numeral has the horizontal line used with numerals above it and is followed by a small antisigma and then by a dot, not in mid-line but placed at the level of the bottoms of the letters. This sign might be two antisigmata placed on top of one another.

- 14)  Either a combined sign made up of sigma and antisigma or an upright version of no. 9 supra. It occurs after a name in the fr. of an eph. cat., II² 1994.7 (ca. 80 p.) (L.); it occurs both before and after ΦΛ, ΚΛ, as well as between words in the ded., II² 4073.5, 6, 11, 13 (ante 160 p.) (L.). The somewhat larger second form occurs after line 31 of the cat., II² 2361 (init. s. III p.) (cf. Graindor, *Album* p. 63).
This mark occurs at least once with abbreviations in II² 2076, cf. 5.0122, no. 5, p. 105 infra. Note ornamental use of this sign at end of II² 2221, cited p. 90 supra.
A wavy line roughly the height of three lines of text occurs in the left margin of the pryt. cat., II² 1776.27–29 (cf. Graindor, *Album* plate 56, no. 72) (169/70 p.) (L.). Such a mark is recorded to the left of subject headings in the eph. cat., II² 2106.7, 22, 27 (ca. 178/9 p.). These signs are doubtless a stylized form of the coronis comparable to that found in some papyri, cf. Turner, *GMAW* p. 122 and facing plate, nos. 72–73.
- 15) +, × These occur in the eph. cat., II² 2001 (s. Ip.); the first form after Εὐολπῆς in line 14, after Κλ in *ib.* 19, after Εὐτυχός in *ib.* 21, after the last name in *ib.* 24; the second form after Στέφανος in *ib.* 18, before Ἀλυσος *ib.* 24 (L.) (cf. this text in nos. 1, 10). This sign is recorded in the ded., II² 3584.2 (117–118 p.), but what actually occurs on the stone is an antisigma with the two hastae crossed and extended slightly at their point of juncture; the sign also occurs after τῆς in *ib.* 3 (L.).
- 16) =,  These are doublings of nos. 5 and 8 supra and occur only in the eph. cat., II² 1996 (84/5–92/3 p.), the first form after the abbreviated name Τερων in line 213, the second to the left of Βεργίλιος in *ib.* 195 (L.).
- 17)  The first form is probably just another stylized form of the antisigma; it separates words in the sep. mon., II² 9446 (cf. Graindor, *Album* plate 31, no. 39) (ca. 140 p.). The somewhat similar second mark occurs before names of phylai in the eph. cat., II² 2191 (ca. 200 p.), although it was omitted in line 52 (for a drawing, cf. T. Combe, *A Description of the Ancient Marbles in the British Museum* 2 [London, 1815] plate 36); perhaps another stylized coronis (cf. no. 14 supra).
- 18)  Composed of the antisigma and no. 6 supra above and below it. Used purely decoratively in II² 3933.2 (cf. p. 90 supra); it occurs several times in the eph. cat., II² 2065 (150/1 p.), but always in a slightly varying form, cf. lines 21, 25, 28, 48, 49, etc. (L.).
- 19)  This strange mark apparently occurs only once: no. 7 supra (line 5, wrongly recorded as a diple in IG II² text) and this mark (line 7) enclose a name in the ded., II² 3670 (ante 266/7 p.) (L.).
- 20)  Three dots or tricolon. Occurs twice in a late ded., II² 5208 (ca. 400 p.): Φαίδρος : Ζωίλου | Παιανιεύς : ἐποίη[ι] (cf. Graindor, *Album* plate 88, no. 112). This sign disappears early from the papyri; Turner cites only one papyrus, of the early third century B. C., which still employs it (cf. *GMAW* p. 10 and note 2).

- 21) : Double dot or dicolon. Rare in inscriptions of the Roman Period. Cf. Θεόφιλος : Τίτου : Σουνιεύς II² 7435 (s. II/III p.) sep. mon. (L.); between a name and following patronymic in larger letters in the eph. cat., II² 2133.14 (paulo post 192/3 p.) (L.); in these two texts the dots are widely spaced, about on a level with the tops and bottoms of adjacent letters. : occurs at the end of a hexameter (also the end of a physical line on the stone) in the sep. mon., II² 12617.2 (s. II/III p.) (L.). : is said to occur in mid-line in the lost sep. mon., II² 11157.10 (s. III p.); and in the lost ded., II² 4098.5 (aet. Rom.?). A widely spaced dicolon is recorded between two names in the ded., II² 3012.2 (158/9 p.), which elsewhere makes extensive use of the single dot. There is no trace of a dicolon in II² 3705.3 (ca. 250 p.) (L.), II² 3620.11, 15 (really antisigma in 11, no. 12 in 15) (177–180 p.) (L.) dedications. In the sep. mon., II² 11492 (s. II p.), the : can be confirmed after Calpurnio in the Latin section of the text, but not elsewhere; in the Greek text occur ‘ and ‘ (cf. nos. 2, 3 supra) (L.).

4.03 Other types of punctuation: diaeresis, spiritus asper, etc.

Punctuation of this type does not appear in Attic inscriptions until the Roman Period, chiefly after 100 A.D.; only the diaeresis is frequent.

4.031 Diaeresis

Attested rarely in the early Roman Period, the diaeresis or trema is common in the second century A.D. and later. It occurs in both public (decrees, eph. and pryt. catalogs, dedications) and private (dedications; sep. monuments) texts. It is normally used with iota, rarely with upsilon, and once with intervocalic omicron. Turner (Lit. infra) distinguishes between the ‘organic’ use to separate vowels which do not go together in a cluster, e.g. εὐποιῶς, υἱός, ἱερεὺς, Μουνιχιῶνα ὁ ἀρχων, τοῦτο ἴς, etc., and the ‘inorganic’ use, when the diaeresis merely points out a vowel as an aid to the reader, usually at the beginning or end of a word, e.g. Αἴλιος Ἰ[σάχρ]υςος, κύδεος ἡμεῶν, ὥσπερ ὑπέστης, etc.; beginning a new line, ἰνδαλμα, Ἰσίδωρος, etc. There are also a few peculiar cases (cf. no. 7 infra) and the diaeresis may be doubled, e.g. υἱός, υἱός (cf. no. 5). In cases like υἱός, Τινήτιος, Γάιος, Κυῖντος, etc. it is by no means certain that the diaeresis indicates that the iota was a separate vowel from those on both sides of it (or that Κυῖντ- was pronounced as two syllables rather than as [ky^hnt-]), cf. nos. 2, 3 infra. A given text may use the diaeresis in several different ways, and within a single text the diaeresis does not necessarily appear in all the places where it might be expected. In the Greek papyri from Egypt the diaeresis is first encountered in the second century B.C., but it is not frequent until the second century A.D. Its use in the papyri does not differ significantly from that in Attic inscriptions (cf. Turner, Lit. infra).

Lit.: MS³ p. 13, notes 60–61; Wilhelm, *Beiträge* pp. 161–162; Larfeld, *Handbuch* 2.2 pp. 563–564; Turner, *GMAW* p. 12 and note 2.

Examples (in this section accents and breathings have been omitted over vowels with '):

Typical appearance: Usually two dots placed above the iota, upsilon or omicron: e.g. *Imagines*² plate 51, no. 142 (= II² 2193); plate 53, no. 145 (= II² 3764.1, 7); Graindor, *Album* plate 55, no. 71 (= II² 2097); etc. Sometimes the two dots may be on either side of the letter rather than above it, usually at the level of the tops of the letters, e.g. II² 2130.4 (cf. Kern plate 47); II² 1824.5 (cf. Graindor, *Album* plate 75, no. 95); etc.; or slightly below the level of the tops of the letters, e.g. II² 1368.88 (cf. *Imagines*² plate 50, no. 138). Published texts of inscriptions are frequently inaccurate in such cases. In the examples in nos. 1–7 infra no effort has been made to indicate the position of ' in relation to the lettering. The diaeresis occasionally has a form other than the usual '':

- (simple horizontal stroke above the letter, cf. 5.0122, no. 1) εὐέροις (scanned –υυ–) II² 12664.2 (s. Ip.) sep. mon. (L.). Found in papyri of Roman times, cf. Gignac p. 205, note 1.
- ⌞ (has serifs, cf. 5.0122, no. 6) Ἀθηναῖδα II² 3594.3 (ante 150 p.) ded. (L.).
- ~ (wavy line, variant of –, cf. 5.0122, no. 3) Ἰταίου (after a vowel) II² 1794.2 (180/1 p.) pryt. cat. (L.).
- (single point, frequent as punctuation) Ἀττικοῦ (followed by a vowel), Μαχαθωνίου (followed by a consonant) II² 4063.2, 3 (ante ca. 135 p.) ded. (L., cf. *Imagines*² plate 49, no. 135). The single point over upsilon is combined with ' over iota in ὑτός in a ded. (priv.) found in the cave of Pan on Mt. Parnes, after a consonant, cf. AE 1918, p. 24, no. 12 and fig. 15 (= II² 4831.7) (s. IV p.) (this part of the text is not metrical, cf. A. Wilhelm, AE 1924, p. 59). For the usual ὕτός, cf. no. 5 infra. The single point also in papyri, cf. Gignac p. 205, note 1.

Types of use (where texts are metrical the scansion is indicated):

1) ιερεῦς, ιεροφάντης, etc. Here the diaeresis seems to separate the ι from the following ε, for it is used without consideration of whether the preceding word ends in a vowel or a consonant. Cf. *Hesperia* 21 (1952) pp. 381ff., lines 17 (= II² 1092A.17), 27, 45, 49, 50, 52, 54 (= II² 1092B.8, 26, 30, 31, 33, 35) (after preceding vowel only in line 27 [= II² 1092B.8]) (ca. 165 p.) decree; it also has ιερεῦς several times without a diaeresis, apparently always after a consonant (cf. this text also in nos. 3, 4 infra); II² 1368.61, 67, 77, 85, 88, 92, etc. (ca. 162/3 p.) Iobacchi regulations, ιερεῦς often without diaeresis; the diaeresis is not always used when the preceding word ends in a vowel, cf. ὁ ιερεῦς in line 107, but ὁ ιερεῦς *ib.* 111 (L.) (cf. this text also in nos. 4, 5 infra); σταδίου ιεροῖς II² 2193.2 (not recorded in IG II²) (198/9–205/6 p., cf. Graindor, *Album* p. 55) eph. cat. (L.) (cf. this text also in nos. 2, 3, 4 infra); II² 2342.20 (ca. 300 p.) cat., after vowel; II² 4841.9 (fin. s. IV p.) ded. (priv.) after consonant (cf. no. 3); II² 1824.5 (post 216 p.) pryt. cat., after a consonant (L.); ἱερὸν GVI 1, p. 380, no. 1282 (= IG III, no. 1383) (s. III/IV p.) sep. mon., after a consonant (L.).

The same type of separation of initial ι from following vowel occurs in ἱούλιος II² 2106.9 (ca. 178/9 p.) eph. cat.; and in ἱοβακχος, frequent after both vowels and consonants in II² 1368 just cited (ἱοβακχος also frequently without diaeresis after both vowels and consonants).

Cf. spellings like ειεροφάντης, εἰέρια, and Εἰούλιος in 9.024, nos. 15, 38, 25, p. 201 infra; cf. 27.01, pp. 392–393 infra.

2) Diaeresis on internal ι/V—V. Here the diaeresis in some cases certainly separates the three vowels into three separate syllables; cf. the following metrical examples:

πατρῶι II² 3158.1 (s. Ip.) ded. (cf. 31.00 infra).

θεοῦκελον II² 3674.1 (s. II/III p.) ded.

ὄγλαῖα Π² 3118.10 (s. II p.) ded. (L.).

ὄμοιός Π² 13161a (in add.)³ (s. III p.?) sep. mon. (L.), for οἷα αἰθέρος *ib.* 7, cf. no. 7 *infra*.

Comparable cases in prose texts: Ἀντινοῶν Π² 2089.7 (162/3 aut 164/5 p.) eph. cat. (cf. this text in no. 4 *infra*); Λαϊτάνος Π² 1817.29 (paulo ante 220/1 p.) pryt. cat. (L.); εὐποῦας Π² 1824.2 (post 216 p.) pryt. cat. (cf. 17.0214, no. 5, p. 333 *infra*). But in other cases it seems unlikely that the diaeresis over the iota really separates it from the vowels on both sides of it. Metrical examples make it clear that the spellings υῖός, υείός were disyllabic, cf. υῖέα (—) Π² 3743.4 (post 158/9 p.) ded. The same sort of thing may be the explanation for Φοντήιον, where the metre demands Φοντήιον, in a sep. mon. of ca. 200 A.D., Π² 5935 + *Hesperia* 33 (1964) p. 224, no. 71. Here the diaeresis perhaps indicates that the iota is not silent after eta as it normally would be at this time; the pronunciation might be [p'on-te¹-on] or [p'on-te^h-on] rather than [p'on-te-i-on]. Although it is uncertain, it seems likely that this text reflects the normal pronunciation rather than a metrical license. Similar cases in prose: Τινήιον Π² 2097.6 (169/70 p.) eph. cat., Μάτορ *ib.* 13, 244 (cf. Graindor, *Album* p. 47, no. 71) (cf. this text in nos. 3, 6 *infra*); Γάιος Π² 2106.9 (ca. 178/9 p.) eph. cat.; Γάτου Π² 2193.7 (198/9–205/6 p., cf. Graindor, *Album* p. 55 and for the diaeresis plate 69) eph. cat., υῖος *ib.* 9 (this text also in nos. 1, 3, 4) (L.). For υῖός, cf. no. 5 *infra*. EI for ι also occurs in these words, cf. Γάειος, Πομπήεια (cf. 9.024, p. 200 *infra*); υείός (cf. 18.011, p. 342 *infra*).

3) Diaeresis over internal ι/V—C. Here the diaeresis usually separates iota from the preceding vowel: περὶδωσιν *Hesperia* 21 (1952) pp. 381ff., line 42 (= Π² 1092B.23) (ca. 165 p.) decree (cf. this text also in nos. 1, 4); ἀῖσεται Π² 1782.48 (177/8 p.) pryt. cat.; Πτολεμαῖδος Π² 2097.74 (169/70 p.) eph. cat. (cf. this text in nos. 2, 6); ἡθέους (—) Π² 3606.18 (ca. 175 p.) ded., a trace of a diaeresis visible on stone in Ἀλκαίδην *ib.* 2? (L.) (cf. this text in no. 4 *infra*); δαῖδας (—) Π² 4841.8 (fin. s. IV p.) ded. (priv.) (cf. no. 1 *supra*), but δαδούχος *ib.* 9, no diaeresis in βασιληῖδος (five syllables) *ib.* 7 (cf. 31.00, p. 411 *infra*); κληῖζεται (—) Π² 10826.6 (s. III p.) sep. mon. (cf. 23.011b/c, p. 371 *infra*). But in the spelling Ζωῖλος, cf. Π² 2130.28 (192/3 p.) eph. cat., the diaeresis could indicate that the ι is not silent after ω as it usually is, i.e. [zo¹-los], supported by the spelling Ζοῖλος (cf. 12.012, no. 2, p. 229); but cases of Ζωείλος might support a trisyllabic Ζωῖλος (cf. 9.024, pp. 200–201; 31.00, p. 412). The function of the diaeresis in Κυῖντου, cf. Π² 2193.7 (198/9–205/6 p., cf. Graindor, *Album* p. 55 and for the diaeresis plate 69) eph. cat. (L.), is also doubtful. If the use of the diaeresis is analogous to that in υῖός it might merely indicate iota is not silent, and the Κυῖ- might have been pronounced as a diphthong similar to the [ʔi] of French lui, or even as [k^wi]. But it is also possible that the Latin sound was difficult for Greeks and actually Hellenized as [ky-i]. (This text also in nos. 1, 2, 4).

4) Diaeresis over initial ι, previous word ending in a vowel: τοῦτο ἔς *Hesperia* 21 (1952) pp. 381ff., line 26 (= Π² 1092B.7) (ca. 165 p.) decree (this text also in nos. 1, 3); τὸ ἰσηλῦσιον Π² 1368.61, 103 (ca. 162/3 p.) Iobacchi regulations (cf. nos. 1, 5); ἕμερτοῦ Π² 2193.7 (198/9–205/6 p., cf. Graindor, *Album* p. 55) eph. cat., τῷ ἔδωι *ib.* 11 (not printed in *IG* II²) (L.) (cf. this text also in nos. 1, 2, 3 *supra*); Ἰσοχρόσου Π² 1825.36, Π² 1826.6 (both post ca. 217 p.) (L.) pryt. catalogs; cf. Ἰνδαλμα (begins new line) Π² 12142.4 (s. III p.) sep. mon.

Kirchner's interpretation of line 17 of the ded. of ca. 175 p., Π² 3606 (also in no. 3 *supra*), is quite absurd (as pointed out again by Peek, cf. *AM* 67 [1942] p. 47, no. 65); read: Ὀλυμπῖω ἵμασι (= εἵμασι 'in respect to their garments') κυδρός. The presence of the diaeresis is, however, doubtful: I could see no trace of it on the stone when I examined it (L.).

Diaeresis over initial ι, previous word ending in a consonant: ἵνα, ἵσως II² 2291 b.3, 5 (fin. s. II p.) oration of ephebes; ἱμεῖρων (---) II² 12473 (s. III/IV p.) sep. mon.; Ἰσιδωρος II² 2089.42 (162/3 aut 164/5 p.) eph. cat. (cf. this text in no. 2); Ἰ[σάχου]σος II² 2130.4 (192/3 p.) eph. cat. (cf. no. 3).

5) Diaeresis over υ: καὶ ὁ ὑβρίσας II² 1368.79 (ca. 162/3 p.) Iobacchi regulations (cf. in nos. 1, 4 supra) (L.); ὥσπερ ὑπέστης II² 4514.25 (ca. 150 p.) ded. (priv.) (L.); υἱς II² 3632.24 (not in IG II² text, but very clear on the stone) (post 150 p.) ded. (L.); υἱός II² 3764.7 (ca. 217/8 p.) ded. (= *Imagines*² plate 53, no. 145); also υἱός, Ἀττικῷ, Μαραθωνίου, cf. p. 95 supra.

6) Diaeresis over ο: Μουνιχιῶνα ὁ ἄρχων II² 2097.25–26 (169/70 p.) eph. cat. (also used with iota, cf. no. 2 supra), cf. Graindor, *Album* plate 55, no. 71.

7) Alleged instances of a diaeresis to split diphthongs artificially in poetical texts could not be confirmed. There is no trace of a diaeresis as recorded in πόλει in the sep. mon., II² 13161 a (in add.).⁴ (s. III p.?) (L.); either the stone has suffered further damage since publication, a fact which must be regarded as very unlikely, or the reading is based on a misreading of a squeeze. The other two diaereses are quite clear on the stone: ὁμοῖος in *ib.* 3, οἷα in *ib.* 7: in the latter case the scansion is uncertain, but οἷα seems a more likely scansion than οἷα (α written against the metre in οἷα by *scriptio plena*). There is not the slightest trace of a diaeresis on the stone where ὀρχῶ (α must be scanned as one syllable) has been recorded, cf. GVI 1, p. 380, no. 1282 (= IG III, no. 1383) sep. mon. (cf. no. 1 supra), and damage to the stone makes it impossible to confirm the diaeresis recorded in ἀποτέροισ *ib.* 2, which is suspect; the μῦν of the last line can be eliminated outright: the mark thought to be a diaeresis is nothing but a stray mark (L.). A photograph of this text is published as plate 5 of *Mnemosynon Theodor Wiegand*. The doubling of the diaeresis in υἱός, υἱός does not split the two vowels of the diphthong υι, but the first diaeresis is that frequently used over initial ι and υ (cf. no. 5 supra), the second indicates that iota is not silent in the word (cf. no. 2 supra).

4.032 Spiritus asper, apostrophe, coronis, accent marks

Besides the diaeresis the lexical signs attested in Attic inscriptions are the spiritus asper, the apostrophe, one instance of an apostrophe used in conjunction with crasis (no. 16 infra) (coronis), and one case of a circumflex accent (no. 11). The spiritus asper and apostrophe are found as early as the first century A. D. and occur occasionally thereafter, almost always in metrical texts (no. 8 and the uncertain no. 5 would be exceptions), usually sep. monuments, sometimes dedications. The two signs frequently occur in the same text, and the examples have therefore been combined here. These lexical signs are not used consistently throughout a given text.

The engraving of the combination of the circumflex accent and the spiritus asper in no. 11 is clearly to prevent the reader from going astray, and this practice is similar to that seen in some papyri. It remains the only example in Attic inscriptions. There is no circumflex over the eta of ἐξῆς in the small fragment published by W. Peek in *AM* 67 (1942) p. 72, no. 126 (= IG II no. 3970); what Peek read as an accent is only a fortuitous mark on the stone, cf. R. S. Stroud, *Hesperia* 41 (1972) p. 438.

Lit.: Larfeld, *Handbuch* 2.2, pp. 563–564; *Handbuch* (1914) pp. 301–302.

Examples (all lexical signs have been omitted except those actually on the stone):

- 1) τοδ'εστιν Π² 13131.5 (s. Ip.) sep. mon., but no apostrophe in *ib.* 3–4 (L.);
- 2) ὁμαρτη Π² 12664.7 (s. Ip.) sep. mon., βωστρεετ'η *ib.* 8, but elsewhere no breathings or apostrophes; the breathing has the form: ϛ; has a diaeresis of an unusual form, cf. 4.031, p.95 supra (L.);
- 3) ε|ν|θ|αδ' εασας Π² 13136 b (in text) (s. I/II p.) sep. mon. (L.);
- 4) αναπλη|σας' ενια|ντους Π² 11040.2 (s. II p.) sep. mon. (L.);
- 5) ὁ και Τερπανδρος Π² 2270.6 (s. II p.?) eph. cat.;
- 6) ὁς Π² 3662.9 (ca. 200 p.) ded., elsewhere no breathings, e. g. in *ib.* 11;
- 7) ὦν Π² 3714.12 (s. III p.) ded., δ'υμετερους *ib.* 13, φυντ'αγαθης *ib.* 16, but elsewhere no breathings or apostrophes;
- 8) ενθαδ'εθαψαν Π² 11551.8–9 (ca. 200 p.) sep. mon. (not metrical) (L.);
- 9) ηδε Π² 5935 + *Hesperia* 33 (1964) p. 224, no. 71, line 3 (ca. 200 p.) sep. mon., ὁ *ib.* 5, but Ερμης *ib.* 5; has Φοντηϊον, cf. 4.031, no. 2, p.96 supra;
- 10) δ'ονομ'εσκον Π² 12617.2 (s. II/III p.) sep. mon., ουπωποτ'εναντιο|ν *ib.* 3, ουποτε δ'η *ib.* 7, but οφε εν in *ib.* 2; apostrophe has varying forms, viz.: Δ'Ο, Μ'Ε, Τ'Ε, Δ'Η (L.);
- 11) ο| *Hesperia*, suppl. 8 (1949) p. 246, line 15 (cf. *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 7 [1939] pp. 319, 322) (ca. 220 p.) Serapion monument (originally published *Hesperia* 5 [1936] pp. 91ff.; cf. *TAPA* 71 [1940] p. 308) (for a photograph, cf. *Hesperia* 5, p.96);
- 12) ὁ Π² 3811.10 (ante 250 p.) ded., no other breathings;
- 12 a) |ο|α'αιθερος Π² 13161 a (in add.).7 (s. III p.?) sep. mon., the metre is uncertain, but ο|α'αιθερος is perhaps more likely than ο|α|θερος and both would have α written by *scriptio plena* (cf. 4.031, no. 7, p.97 supra); the apostrophe has not been previously recorded (L.);
- 13) ὁς Π² 12473.1 (s. III/IV p.) sep. mon., αλλ' εον *ib.* 5, elsewhere no breathings or apostrophes; has ϛ in ιμειρων in *ib.* 2, cf. 4.031, no. 4, p.97 supra;
- 14) ε (for η!) GVI 1, p. 380, no. 1282 (= IG III no. 1383) (s. III/IV p., probably later than the bounds of this book) sep. mon., δ' *ib.* 5, elsewhere no breathings or apostrophes, but diaeresis occurs once, cf. 4.031, nos. 1, 7, pp.95 and 97 supra (for a photograph, cf. *Mnemosynon Theodor Wiegand* plate 5);
- 15) αλλ' Π² 11952.10 (s. Vp., and thus later than the bounds of this book) sep. mon., ηδιος *ib.* 4 (has the form: ι-), but no other breathings or apostrophes (L.);
- 16) παιδ' IG III no. 1387.2 (= Kaibel no. 178) (s. IVp.? probably later than the bounds of this book) sep. mon., in *ib.* 3 a coronis indicating crasis: κ'ανειασε (has the form: K'AN) (for a drawing, cf. BCH 2 [1878] plate 1.10) (L.);
- 17) τοδ'εν Peek, AG 2 (1958) p. 64, no. 211, line 1 and plate 1.3 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.

The existence of a diacritical mark may be doubted in the ded., Π² 3634 (post 150 p.), where the IG Π² text prints Ο ΙΣ (= ο|ς) at the end of line 4; the stone is now broken off: I could read only: δος δ'ο|ς μεν ηβ|ην ο|ς (L.).

The diacritical signs are frequently omitted from the text in IG Π². Some of the examples cited by Larfeld must be rejected: e.g. in Π² 3734 there is no apostrophe, but the mark is part of the letter Δ or Α, cf. Graindor, *Album* plate 37, no. 45; in Π² 1113.14 the mark thought to be an apostrophe is a seriph.

5.00 Abbreviations, ligatures, numerals

5.01 Abbreviations, ligatures, etc.

5.011 In texts earlier than the Roman Period

Apart from the acrophonic numerals and a few analogous cases (cf. 5.02) a developed system of true abbreviations is absent from Attic stone inscriptions until the Roman Period. The phenomenon that does frequently occur, the dropping of the last letter or letters of a word to save space, might better be called shortening or curtailment. This quite natural tendency can be seen developing quite early, i.e. in some of the early graffiti, e.g. Πολύτιμος Πρασι(εύς) on I² 914.3 (= LSAG p.76, no.9, dated late seventh or early sixth century, although it should be put in the late sixth or early fifth); certain examples on archaic stone texts are lacking: perhaps the omission of the last letter of ΜΕΓΑΛΕ, not the last one in the line, in I² 530.3 (to accommodate syllabification?) falls into this category (cf. DAA p.126).

In public stone texts this type of shortening begins to appear just before the mid-fifth century, but remains rare until the last decade of it. There are a number of examples of shortened forms in the tribute lists; here lack of space is always the reason and the use of ∷ after the shortened form is never attested: the correct reading of I² 197.9 is ΜΕΚΥΒΕΡΝΑΗΗΗ (although wrongly transcribed ATL 2 no.2, col.9, line 5), cf. ATL 1 p.15, fig.12 and the correct transcription on plate III. The remaining examples:

ATL 2 no.2, col.10.5, 6, 11 (= I² 197.9, 10, 15) (453/2);

ATL 2 no.9, col.1.17; col.2.27; col.3.34 (= I² 199.17, 27, 34) (446/5);

ATL 2 no.10, col.1.21; col.2.24–5; col.5.26 (= I² 200.16, 19, 20–1) (445/4);

ATL 2 no.11, col.1.23, 27, 28; col.2.28 (= I² 201.28, 29) (444/3);

ATL no.12, heading: ΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΙ(ΟΣ) (end of space); col.1.35 (= I² 202.1, 35) (443/2);

ATL no.13, col.1.5, 36, 37; col.3.17, 35 (= I² 203.5, 17, 36, 37) (442/1);

ATL no.27, col.2.19, 20, 22 (= I² 214.11, 12, 14) (428/7).

Truncation because of lack of space is rare in the Attic Stelai of ca. 414: e.g. Π[α]να-
θεναικ(οί) *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p.249, no.2, line 21, στύρακ(ος) *ib.* 225; σαπρ(αί)
Hesperia 22 p.264, no.5, line 2; not, however, in *Hesperia* 22 p.268, no.6, line 118
(= I² 325.30) where the reading is Σ]καμβονίδ[ο]; in *Hesperia* 22 p.240, no.1, line 95
there was plenty of space, but the mason still carved χαλκό(ς).

Lack of space caused shortening to στατῆρ(ες), χρυσί(ο) in I² 310.226, 227, an
inventory (429/8); τριε, φυλαρχ have been crammed into I² 950.42, 180, a cas. list
(412/1, cf. SEG 21.127); probably also due to lack of space is the corrected reading
παρέδ(ροις) Λυσιθέοι Θυμαί(τάδει) καί of I² 304B.83, accounts of the tamiai of
Athena for 407/6 (cf. W.K. Pritchett, *The Choiseul Marble* p.8).

Omission of ζ in I² 270.1 is probably just a clerical error.

The fully developed form of this device, with frequent shortening of demotics and other repeated technical terms and indication of shortening by the interpunct (: or ;) occurs in the large building inventories for the Erechtheum: cf. I² 373 (409/8) with frequent shortening of demotics and of οἰκῶν to οἰκ, οἰ, etc. followed by :; I² 374 (408–406), with the same type of shortening indicated by :, but only after about line 310; and in a dedication by the prytaneis of Erechtheis dated 408/7, I² 398, which shows καθύπ:, υπέ[v:] for καθύπερθε, υπένερθε; also Τ]μιοκ:; abbreviations occur *passim* with no following punctuation in the cat., I² 1951 (406, cf. SEG 22.53).

This developed use of shortening is not infrequent in the fourth century, where, however, it is confined to certain types of documents. Any kind of shortening is avoided by almost all the inventories of the tamiai of Athena, etc.; exceptions are I² 1400 (390/89), I² 1443 (344/3), I² 1468 (321/0), with demotics shortened in the heading; I² 1477 (cf. *Hesperia* 40 [1971] p. 448, no. 1) (303/2), I² 1487, I² 1492 A (both fin. s. IV a.), with στα: or στα for σταθμός; I² 1490.4 (fin. s. IV a.) with Χολα: for Χολαργεύς. But abbreviatory truncation is very frequent in the inventories (from the Acropolis) of Brauronian Artemis, e.g. I² 1515–I² 1518 (all post 350) and of Asclepius, cf. I² 1533 (post 338/7), I² 1534 A (291/0, cf. SEG 16.118); in the later I² 1534 B (247/6) shortening still occurs, but no use of : is made. Shortening is common in most of the catalogs of Attic manumissions, cf. *Hesperia* 28 (1959) pp. 208 ff. (= I² 1554 ff.) (all ca. 330–320); in the mine inventories of the poletai, I² 1582, *Hesperia* 19 (1950) pp. 189 ff. (some as early as ca. 350); in the naval inventories, first in I² 1609 (ante 370/69) and I² 1611 (357/6); and in the two large building inventories, I² 1673 (333/2? cf. AE 1971 p. 112) and I² 1672 (329/8); in other inventories of the 390s dealing with building, repairs, etc., cf. I² 1656–I² 1664; in the sacred calendar, BCH 87 (1963) pp. 603 ff. (= SEG 21.541; Sokolowski, *Lois*² p. 36, no. 18); in various types of catalogs, i.e. I² 1929 (init. s. IV a.), I² 1930 (383/2) liturgy catalogs; *Agora* 15, p. 341, no. 492, lines 127, 130 (= I² 1697 + I² 1698 + I² 2372) (ca. 370) cat.; I² 1706 (fin. s. III a.) archon catalog; I² 1742 (370/69?) pryt. cat.; I² 2345 (ante 350) list of thiasotai.

In decrees the shortened forms normally occur only in lists, usually appended to the text, e.g. I² 102 (ca. 370), I² 124 (357/6), I² 230 (ca. 341), I² 417 (post 330), I² 478 (305/4), I² 787 (236/5), I² 791 (247/6), *Agora* 15, p. 120, no. 129 (= I² 848) (222/1), I² 901 (ca. 185/4), I² 1028 (101/100, cf. SEG 24.188), I² 1039 (79/8, cf. SEG 22.110), I² 1036 (108/7), I² 1152 (fin. s. IV a.?) decree (tribe); or occasionally in preambles, e.g. I² 220.4 (344/3), I² 360.2, 4, 46 (325/4), I² 336.a5, a6 (334/3); I² 399.4 (320/19); I² 450.10 (314/3), I² 502 (list in the preamble) (302/1), I² 796 (305/4) (same); I² 1190 (post 350) decree (deme). Unusual: I² 1261.16 (302/1) decree (thiasotai) δρᾶχ(μάς) because of space, but κοινῷ ib. 21, Μυλωθρῷ ib. 24 are not due to lack of space, cf. 13.03, p. 258 (L.); I² 1335.19, 21 (103/2) decree (sabaziasotai), early cases of νεώτερος, πρεσβύτερος, common in Roman times. Not common in dedications or sep. monuments, the shortened forms (usually of demotics) occur occasionally, e.g. I² 2814 (ante 350), I² 2967.5 (ca. 350), I² 3105 (= Reinmuth p. 51, no. 13) (329/8 aut 324/3), I² 2932 (342/1), I² 2859 (s. III a.)

dedications; II² 6117 (ca. 400), II² 6597 (ante 350), II² 6826/7 (ca. 350), II² 6932 (ca. 350) sep. monuments. The shortening is common in two types of private documents in which spatial considerations are paramount: mortgage texts, e.g. II² 2654, II² 2649, II² 2662, II² 2719, II² 2723, II² 2761–2; and dikasts' pinakia, cf. II² 1835–II² 1923 (400–350).

Many texts make no use of interpuncts to point out the shortened forms, while others use them sporadically, cf. II² 124, II² 336a, II² 1492A, II² 1556, II² 1609, II² 1611, II² 2345, etc.; interpuncts are not normally used with abbreviatory shortenings after the first half of the third century, cf. 4.013, p. 84 *supra*.

Other means of abbreviation are very unusual in this period: II² 3424 (fin. s. IVa.) ded., has Κε^{ων} and Κερα^{ων} for Κεραμέων. But M. Lang's interpretation of ΚΛΕΙ-Φ|ΟΝΤΙ as Κλειτοφῶντι in an early fifth-century B.C. graffito seems unlikely to be right, whether a careless omission or an abbreviation, cf. *Agora* 21, p. 9, no. B6; probably a new name Κλειφῶν occurs here, Κλει- (cf. Κλείσοφος) + -φῶν (as in Στασιφῶν, Ἰοφῶν, etc.); cf. Κλειφῶσσα IG XII, suppl. p. 92, nos. 1123, 1190 (brought to my attention by Volkmar Schmidt). For abbreviations like X = χοῦς, K = κοτύλη, etc., cf. 5.021, p. 112 *infra*.

Lit.: MS³ p. 8, notes 33–35; Larfeld, *Handbuch* (1914) pp. 275–281; *Handbuch* 2.2, pp. 513–537 (with extensive lists of examples).

5.012 Abbreviations in the Roman Period

The treatment of the system of abbreviations in use in Attic inscriptions of the Roman Period may be divided into the following sections:

5.0121 Abbreviation of personal names, demotics, and other frequently repeated words through dropping of one or more letters at the end; to this practice, a continuation of practices familiar in pre-Roman texts, is added frequent use of Roman abbreviations for personal names, e.g. ΚΑ, ΑΥΡ, etc., although these names too are frequently truncated in the Greek manner, e.g. ΚΛΑ, ΚΛΑΥ, ΚΛΑΥΔ, etc.

5.0122 Abbreviatory signs. Abbreviations of all types are frequently indicated by a special lexical sign, e.g. ΑΥΡ̄, ΑΥΡ', ΑΥΡ~, etc.

5.0123–5.0124 True abbreviatory symbols occur in a few cases. The only common one is the symbol for a patronymic the same as the name of the son (5.0123).

5.0125 Use of ligatures and compendia.

5.0121 Abbreviations in use

Throughout the Roman Period, especially in catalogs, names, demotics, patronymics, and other frequently repeated words are often abbreviated by shortening in the same way as in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods, cf. e.g. II² 1077, decree; II² 1996, II² 2017, II² 2019, II² 2020, II² 2035, II² 2098, II² 2237, II² 2243, II² 2245, etc., eph. catalogs; II² 1776, II² 1781, II² 1782, II² 1803, etc., pryt. catalogs. This system is greatly expanded by the importation of many Roman names. The more or less standard Roman abbreviations such as Γ, Τ, Μ, ΑΥΡ, ΦΛ, Π, Λ, ΚΑ, etc. are very frequent, but the Greek system of truncation is also widely employed, producing

variants such as AY, ΚΛΑ, ΚΛΑΥ, ΚΛΑΥΔ, ΑΙΑΙ, ΚΟΡΝ, ΓΑ, etc. Abbreviated Roman names of all sorts are the only types of abbreviation common in dedications and sep. monuments. Such abbreviations are especially frequent after the beginning of the second century A.D., but are also found earlier, e.g. II² 4126 (non ante 14); II² 4938 (init. s. Ip.); II² 3261 (14–37 p.); II² 3185 (ca. 50 p.); II² 3449 (ca. 50 p.); II² 3927 (ca. 50 p.); II² 3538 (aet. Neronis); II² 3280 (66–68 p.); II² 4203 (s. Ip.); II² 4481 (85/6–94/5 p.); II² 1975 (40–54 p.); II² 1976 (40–54 p.); II² 1996 (84/5–92/3 p.); II² 2001 (s. Ip.); II² 6683 (s. Ip.); etc. In decrees and imperial letters abbreviations are less frequent, but they are not avoided in giving names, in lists appended at the end, in dates, etc., e.g. II² 1073, II² 1075, II² 1077, II² 1103, II² 1091, II² 1368, etc.

In addition to the foregoing abbreviations which are typical and frequent, Roman texts also occasionally offer others more unusual. Cf. ΧΩΡ for χωρίου in the financial doc., II² 2776 (aet. Trajani, cf. *Hesperia* 41 [1972] p. 476), not far from the sort of abbreviatory shortening found in inventories of the Classical Period, but that text also has * (= denarius) and a complicated system of symbols for various monetary units (cf. 5.0124, p. 107 infra) and uses a ligature \mathfrak{M} (= γίγνεται ὁμοῦ) as a sign for total sums (cf. 5.0125, p. 109 infra). A series of imperial letters of ca. 175 A.D. uses κρ as an abbreviation for κράτιστος, a device found elsewhere, cf. ὁ κρ Ἡρώιδης *Hesperia*, suppl. 13 (1970) pp. 3ff., lines E 24, E 42, E 49, E 90; τοῦ κρ ἀνδρός *ib.* E 82; τῶν κρ Κυντιλίων *ib.* E 42; note the writing out of the phrases ὁ κράτιστος ἀνὴρ, τοῦ κρατίστου ἀνδρός in *ib.* A 3, C 17, C 12. The letters ΚΕ ΝΟ ΘΕ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ appear at the top of an edict of Hadrian, II² 1100 (ca. 124 p.); probably for κε(φάλαια) νο(μο)θε(σίας) Ἀδριανοῦ, although νό(μου) θε(οῦ) might also be possible, but not νό(μου) θε(ιωτάτου), cf. J.H. Oliver, *The Ruling Power* (= *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 43 [1953]) p. 961. Cf. ΕΝ = ἐ(στ)ν in the sep. mon., II² 6865.5 (s. III p.); ΘΚ = θεοῖς καταχθονίοις, II² 13225 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.; ΔΙΔΑΟC (= διδάσκαλος) II² 2221.74 (217/8 aut paulo post) eph. cat. In the ded., II² 4513, read κάριστιου, not ΚΞ'Αριστίου.

For ligatures, compendia, etc., cf. 5.0125 infra.

Lit.: Larfeld, *Handbuch* (1914) pp. 276–280; *Handbuch* 2.2, pp. 521–533; Avi-Yonah, *Abbreviations*.

5.0122 Marks to indicate abbreviation

After 100 A.D. and rarely in the first century A.D. abbreviated forms are often accompanied by a lexical sign which indicates their abbreviated character. By far the most common of these signs is a horizontal line placed above all or some of the letters of the abbreviation, and most of the other signs are probably variants of this horizontal stroke, although some of them are normally placed slightly to the right of the abbreviation rather than above it (but at the level of the tops of the letters, not in mid-line like most true punctuation). These signs of abbreviation are often used in conjunction with interpuncts and punctuation to produce almost decorative combinations, e.g.

·AYP, ·AYP, etc.; or sometimes the punctuation is only on one side of the abbreviation: Γ̄, Δ̄, etc. But many abbreviations with signs of the type being discussed here do not have other punctuation, e.g. Δ', AYP', AΛ̄, etc., just as there are abbreviations with punctuation only and no special signs of the sort treated here, e.g. ·ΦΛ', Γ', ·AYP, etc., and still others with neither type of lexical sign, e.g. AYP, Γ, Δ, etc. Many texts contain more than one of these possibilities. To cite only a few examples:

ΑΧΑΡ', ΦΑ', ·Γ', Π, ΚΩ, Μ, ΚΛ, ΚΛ̄, ΕΓ̄. Π² 2058 (146/7 p. aut paulo post) (L.);
 ΚΛ̄, Γ̄, Γ̄, ΚΗΦ, ΦΛ̄, ΒΟΗΑΡΟ', ΜΟΥΝΙ', ·ΦΛ', ΜΙ, ΜΑ, ΙΟΥΛ, ΙΟΥΛ, etc. Π² 2068 (155/6 p.) (L.);
 ·MAYP, AYP, AYP, AYP̄, AYP', ΚΑΩΔ, ΑΙΑ', ΥΒΑ, ΥΒΑ, etc. Π² 2239 (238/9–243/4 p.) (L.).

The distinction between signs which serve only to point out abbreviations and normal punctuation is in a few cases difficult to draw. Thus in rare instances the dot or dipole in AYP, ΑΙΑ', etc. might have been intended by the writer to point up the abbreviation, although these signs are normally not used for this purpose by themselves, and such cases have not been included here among the examples. But in general the signs of abbreviation are quite distinct from punctuation: the most common types are not used except with abbreviations (cf. nos. 1–2 *infra*) and their placement above letters (or at the right of letters but at the level of the tops of the letters) is also found only with abbreviations.

Illustrative examples of lexical signs used with abbreviations:

- 1) – Horizontal line above the letters. It may extend over one or more letters of the abbreviation, or, less often, it may be repeated over individual letters of the abbreviation. Probably derived from the paragraphos.
 Typical appearance: Graindor, *Album* plate 53, no. 68 (= Π² 2068); plate 55, no. 70 (= Π² 2086); plate 55, no. 71 (= Π² 2097); plate 56, no. 72 (= Π² 1776); plate 62, no. 78 (= Π² 2119); plate 64, no. 81 (= Π² 2113); plate 71, no. 90 (= Π² 2199); plate 75, no. 96 (= Π² 2227); plate 81, no. 103 (= Π² 2243). With the addition of pronounced scrips the mark becomes no. 6 *infra*, from which it is sometimes hard to distinguish. Nos. 2–4, 7 are also variants of this sign. It may occur along with other signs in the same text (cf. nos. 2, 6 *infra*).
 Generally used with self-evident abbreviations: Roman names, truncated demotics, numerals, NE, N, ΠΠ, etc. E.g.: Ἀ Πομπήιον Π² 4203 (s. Ip.) ded. (L.); Αἰῖκ(ινος) Π² 4067 (ante 150 p.) ded. (L.); ΚΛ Π² 2001.4 (s. Ip.) eph. cat. (L.); ΕΓ̄ Π² 2058.6 (146/7 p. aut paulo post) eph. cat., but ·Γ' in line 8 (L.); ΦΛ̄, ΟΡΦ, ΠΟΜ Π² 2097.13, 30, 33, etc. (169/70 p.) eph. cat.; ΣΟΥ(νιεύς), ΠΕΙ(ρσιεύς) Π² 2127 (190–200 p.) eph. cat.; ΛΑΜ(πρεύς), ΦΑΛ(ηρεύς) Π² 2193.44, 146 (198/9–205/6 p., cf. Graindor, *Album* p. 55) eph. cat. (L.); ΓΑΡ(γήτιος) Π² 2197.15 (paulo post 200 p.) eph. cat.; ΥΒΑ(δης), AYP Π² 2239.11, 15, etc. (238/9–243/4 p.) eph. cat., peculiar placement in ΑΙΑ' in line 184, elsewhere AYP, ΚΛ, ΦΛ, AYP', ΑΙΑ' (L.); ΦΙΛ]ΟΥΜΕΝ(ου) Π² 2082.31 (post 150 p.) eph. cat. (L.); ΜΟΙ(ρογένους) ΦΥΛΑ(σιος) Π² 2237.6 (all this line and the following one in erasure) (230–235 p.)

eph. cat. (L.); with numerals: τῶν Φ *Hesperia* 40 (1971) p.315, no.12 (178/9–179/80p.) ded.; Π² 2086 (163/4p.) eph. cat.; Π² 2119 (180/1–191/2p.) eph. cat.; etc. Ν(εώτερος) Π² 1996.8 (84/5–92/3p.) eph. cat. (L.); ΝΕ(ώτερος) Π² 2012 (s. Ip.) eph. cat.; Ν(εώτερος) Π² 2059.55 (ca. 147/8p.) eph. cat. (L.); etc.

Peculiar use over unabbreviated form: ΩΗΘΕΝ (bar over eta and theta only) Π² 2237.78 (230–235p.) eph. cat. (L.); cf. ΖΩΠΥΡΟΥ Π² 2059.122 (ca. 147/8p.) eph. cat. (L.).

Earliest occurrences: Γ̄ Π² 2891.2 (cf. Graindor, *Album* plate 14, no.20) (40/1–53/4p.) ded.; ΤΙΒ Π² 2894.1 (fin. s. Ip.) ded.; Λ̄ Π² 4203 (s. Ip.) ded. (L.); ΚΛ̄ Π² 2001.4 (s. Ip.) eph. cat. (L.); Ν, ΚΛ̄ Π² 1996.8, 106 (84/5–92/3p.) eph. cat. (L.); etc.

- 2) /, \ Oblique line of varying size directly to the right of the top of the last letter of the abbreviation or immediately above it; normally points towards the right, e.g. / . Probably a variant of the preceding.

Typical appearance: Graindor, *Album* plate 55, no.70 (= Π² 2086); plate 62, no.78 (= Π² 2119.169, elsewhere no.1 in this text); plate 82, no.104 (= Π² 2245); plate 81, no.103 (= Π² 2243). Exceptionally pointing up to the left, Π² 2039.23 (126/7p.) eph. cat., has scrips *ib.* 13, 22 § (L.). Sometimes hooked, ΤΙΒ̄ Π² 2243.50 (post 243/4p.) eph. cat. (L.), but has its normal form in line 68; Π² 2039.26 (126/7p.) eph. cat. (L.).

Used with abbreviations, especially names and demotics, after 100 A.D.; frequently occurs along with other signs in the same text (cf. nos.1 *supra*, 3 *infra*). Cf. Π² 2064 (now joined to Π² 2033, which also has the sign a few times) (ca. 150p.) (L.); Π² 2081 (ca. 160p.) (L.); Π² 2086 (163/4p.); Π² 2138 (s. Ip.) (L.); Π² 2221.6 (*IG* Π² wrong) (217/8p. aut paulo post) (L.); Π² 2239 (238/9–243/4p.) (L.); Π² 2243.68 (post 243/4p.) (L.); Π² 2245 (262/3 aut 266/7p.) all eph. catalogs.

- 3) ~ A wavy line, variant of no.1 *supra*, but usually placed to the right of the abbreviation rather than above it, e.g. Π² 2093.21–34 (only in line 26 is the *IG* Π² text wrong; no.2 *supra* occurs there) (ca. 165p.) eph. cat. (L.); Π² 2061 a.3–21 (ca. 150p.) eph. cat. (L.); Π² 2130 (cf. Kern plate 47) (192/3p.) eph. cat. (the mark is punctuation in line 47, cf. 4.021, no.9, φ.92 *supra*) (L.). Rarely the mark actually appears above the abbreviation: with numerals in the dedications, Π² 3287.A4, Π² 3287.C4 (*IG* Π² text wrong) (124/5p.) (cf. 5.022, p.115 *infra*) (L.); above the numeral in Π² 2130.40 (cf. *supra*) (L.); above the M of M AYP TEPTIOΣ in the eph. cat., Π² 2243.13 (*IG* Π² text wrong) (post 243/4p.), which elsewhere uses nos.2 *supra*, 6 *infra* (L.).

- 4) ~ Variant of no.1 *supra* or a sigma turned on its side? (cf. 4.021, no.6, p.91 *supra*). Usually above one or more letters of an abbreviation: Τ ΑΥΙΔΙΟΣ (no antisigma after the tau) Π² 1776.56 (169/70p.) pryt. cat. (L.); /Τ/ΦΛ/, /Τ/ΦΛ/ Π² 3648.1, 2 (fin. s. Ip.) ded. (L., omitted from *IG* Π²); ΚΛ·ΑΤΤΙΚΟ[Σ] Π² 1073.9 (ca. 120p.) decree, the mark only in this one line (unnoticed by *IG* Π²) (L.); ΑΙΑ·ΣΟΣ[] Π² 4082.2 (fin. s. Ip.) ded.; τῶν Χ Π² 4060 (ante 128/9p.) ded.; ΚΛ, ΤΙ ΚΛ, ΤΙ ΚΛ, ΚΛ Π² 3585.2, 9, 10, 12 (117–138p.) ded. Less often the sign may be to the right of the abbreviation: ΙΟΥΛΙ Π² 2069.22 (ca. 150p.) eph. cat. (L.); as part of a numeral in *Hesperia* 3 (1934) p.42, no.30, line 7 (cf. 5.022, p.114 *infra*) (fin. s. Ip. aut init. s. IIIp.) imp. letter; ΥΠΙΟΓΡΑΜΜΑΤ~ Π² 2049.14 (142/3p.) eph. cat., has no.1 *supra* elsewhere (L.).

- 5) €,&Y In the eph. cat., II² 2076 (ca. 150 p.), I could read the first of the three signs at the left after AYP in line 11, the second after ΟΥΛΠ in *ib.* 21, the third after ΙΟΥΛ in *ib.* 14; a space was certainly left blank between ΦΛ and Νυΐας in *ib.* 5. Other punctuation and blank spaces recorded in IG II² for this text are now illegible (L.). For marks of punctuation similar to the first two of these signs, cf. 4.021, nos. 13, 14, pp. 92–93 *supra*.
- 6) ⇐ Variant of no. 1 *supra* formed by the addition of serifs; often hard to distinguish from no. 1, cf. Graindor, *Album* plate 40, no. 50 (= II² 1102.6). Used above a numeral in the ded., II² 3931.2 (s. Ip.), with the same sign of punctuation before and after it (cf. 4.021, no. 8, p. 91 *supra*) (L.). It occurs several times in the eph. cat., II² 2243 (post 243/4 p.), e.g. both above and below T in line 8, above the alpha of ΚΑΛΠ in *ib.* 57, above the alpha, rho, and ς (of three times) ΑΥΡ·Σω[κράτης in *ib.* 127 (elsewhere in this text nos. 1, 2, 3 *supra*) (L.).
- 7) = Double version of no. 1 *supra*. Occurs only in II² 2058.18 (146/7 p. aut paulo post) eph. cat., above ΚΛ (IG II² text wrong), elsewhere no. 1 *supra* in this text (L.). Cf. 4.021, no. 16, p. 93 *supra*.

Lit.: Cf. 5.0121 *supra*.

5.0123 The sign ⊃

The special abbreviatory sign ⊃ is used extensively after 100 B.C. to indicate that a man's father's name is the same as his own, thus 'Ασκληπιώδης ⊃ is for 'Ασκληπιώδης 'Ασκληπιώδου, etc. The first examples appear in the first century B.C.: II² 1754.2, 6, 7, 11 (ca. 50) pryt. cat.; II² 1756.9, 23 (ca. 50) pryt. cat.; II² 2461, *passim* (ca. 50/49, cf. SEG 23.92) cat. (L.); II² 1043.89, 99, 101, 115, 118, 119 (38/7) decree (L.); II² 1961, *passim* (post 37/6, cf. SEG 22.113) eph. cat.; II² 1757, *passim* (40–30, cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 [1937] p. 174, no. 106) pryt. cat.; II² 1721.19 (14/3) cat.; II² 2338.11, 14, 19, 33 (27/6–18/7) cat.; II² 1722.18 (post 9/8), II² 2463, *passim* (fin. s. Ia.), II² 1729.9 (init. s. Ip.), II² 1733, *passim* (init. s. Ip.) catalogs; II² 1963, *passim* (13/2) eph. cat.; II² 2997.7 (paulo post 8/7) ded.; II² 1967, *passim* (36/7 p.), II² 1973.3, 5, 6, 11 (40/1–53/4 p.), II² 1970.11, 12, 13 (45/6 p.), II² 1990, *passim* (61/2 p.), II² 1996, *passim* (84/5–92/3 p.) eph. catalogs; II² 1759, *passim* (96/7 p.) pryt. cat.; II² 3004.7 (post 50 p.) ded. After 100 A.D. the sign is regularly employed in pryt. catalogs (cf. II² 1764–II² 1832), eph. catalogs (cf. II² 1998–II² 2245); and is not rare in dedications, cf. e.g. II² 3571.7 (ca. 107–117 p.), II² 3736.7 (post 128/9 p.), II² 3607.34, 36 (ca. 150 p., ante 161 p.), II² 3680.11, 16, 21 (init. s. III p.). The normal practice in sepulchral monuments was to write out the patronymic even when the father and son had the same name, but ⊃ also occurs rarely on this type of text, cf. e.g. II² 5394 (s. Ip.) (no other punctuation on this text) (L.); II² 7703 (fin. s. Ip.), II² 5895.3, 4 (ante 150 p.), II² 6692 (ca. 150 p.), II² 5943 (s. II/III p.), II² 6093 (s. II/III p.), II² 7483 (s. II/III p.), II² 5300, II² 7517 (aet. Rom.), etc. Note rare cases of use of ⊃ after feminine names: 'Αλεξάνδρα ⊃ (= 'Αλεξάνδρου?) 'Οἷθεν II² 6945 (aet. Hadriani); Ζωσίμη ⊃ (= Ζωσίμου?) Z--- II² 11550 (s. II p.); Σωσιράτη ⊃ (= Σωσιράτου?) Φυλασία II² 7764 (s. II/III p.) all sep. monuments.

The shape of the sign may be virtually a backwards C, as for example in the archon catalog, Π² 1721 (14/3), cf. *Imagines*² plate 44, no. 119, but it is often somewhat elongated and extending slightly above and below the letters in the line. For typical examples, cf. photographs in Graindor, *Album* plate 5, no. 6 (= Π² 1963), plate 17, no. 24 (= Π² 1970), plate 25, no. 33 (= Π² 2024), plate 52, no. 67 (= Π² 2067), plate 53, no. 68 (= Π² 2068), plate 56, no. 72 (= Π² 1776), plate 64, no. 81 (= Π² 2113). In the cat., Π² 2463 (fin. s. Ia.) (L.), ∟ is letter-size in lines 5, 10, 13, but elongated (7) in *ib.* 18, 19. In the sep. mon., Π² 11289 (s. I/Πp.), the sign is a ∟ of letter-size, but begins in mid-line and extends below, i. e. ΕΠΙΚΤΗCIC∟. In the eph. cat., Π² 2119 (180/1–191/2p.), the sign is usually letter-size (e.g. in lines 242, 248, 255, 256, cf. Graindor, *Album* plate 62, no. 78), but sometimes it is smaller and above the line, cf. line 170; it has the exceptional form > in line 140 (L.). The form > is just a variant for ∟, easier to carve on stone because it lacks curved lines. > is also found in Π² 1767.2, 7, 11, 17 (ca. 150p.), Π² 1806.3, 5, 12 (194/5p.?) pryt. catalogs; > in Π² 2076.24 (ca. 150p.) eph. cat., but the normal ∟ in lines 7, 10, 25 (L.). > also in Π² 2088.14 (ca. 163/4p.) eph. cat., according to the drawing of the stone in Hicks, *BMI*, p. 118, no. 47, although in this last text the sign has the normal form in line 3 (twice). The sign has the exceptional form 7 in Π² 1765, *passim* (138/9p.) pryt. cat.; Π² 2050, *passim* (143/4p., cf. SEG 24.191) eph. cat. (cf. Graindor, *Album* plate 44, no. 55; plate 51, no. 66); and Ε in Π² 3683.16 (init. s. IIIp.) ded. (L.), if Καλλίφρων πρεσβύτερος is the same as the Μ ΑΥΡ Καλλίφρων ὁ καὶ Φροντεῖνος Καλλίφρωνος Γαργήτιος of the ded., Π² 3682; otherwise Ε is a mark of punctuation, cf. 4.021, no. 13, p. 92 *supra*; 3 in Π² 2052.79 (145/6p.) eph. cat. (L.). Sometimes the sign ∟ is accompanied by an ornamental dot: ∟· Π² 2052.88 (145/6p.) eph. cat., ∟ *ib.* 89, but no dots elsewhere (L.); ∟· Π² 2059.65, 68 (ca. 147/8p.) eph. cat., elsewhere no dots (L.); Π² 2045.3 (post 136/7p.) eph. cat., no dots in *ib.* 21, 26 (L.); Π² 2069, *passim* (ca. 150p.) eph. cat. (L.); Π² 2171.8 (s. IIp.) eph. cat. (L.).

In some eph. catalogs this sign is used in conjunction with the antisigma type of interpunct. Normally the two are kept distinct, as the interpunct is small and the abbreviatory sign for the patronymic is letter-size or larger, but there are some cases of confusion, and in one case the same sign is used indiscriminately for the punctuation and the abbreviatory sign. For the examples, cf. 4.021, no. 1, p. 87 *supra*.

The article τοῦ may or may not appear when the name preceding the sign ∟ goes into the genitive: [ἐπὶ ἀρχ]οντος Πραξαγόρου ∟ τοῦ [καὶ Τι]μοθέου, genitive of Πραξαγόρας Πραξαγόρου ὁ καὶ Τιμόθεος, cf. Π² 1765.2 (138/9p.) pryt. cat.; but παιδοστρεβούντος Φιλίου τοῦ ∟ νεωτέρου Φρεαργίου, genitive of Φίλιος Φιλίου νεώτερος Φρεαργίος, cf. Π² 2997.7 (paulo post 8/7) ded.

Lit.: Larfeld, *Handbuch* 2.2, pp. 535–537.

5.0124 Other true abbreviatory symbols

Most of the acrophonic numerals (Δ = δέκα, Π = πέντε, etc.) and a number of other abbreviations for weights or money (e.g. Σ = στατήρ, Χ = χούς, Μ = μέδμνος, etc.) show the practice familiar in abbreviations of this type of using the first letter of

a word as a symbol for it. There are also a few ligatures in these systems (cf. 5.0125 infra). The upright stroke is a symbol to the extent that it represents a unit: in amounts of money it automatically represents the obol, but note combinations like XIII which can mean a chous and three kotylai. The use of I for the obol necessitates a special sign for the drachma, \vdash , and there are also symbols for parts of the obol. For all these symbols see the section on the acrophonic numerals (5.021 infra).

In Roman times the asteriskos is used to indicate the denarius in II² 2776, *passim* (aet. Trajani, cf. *Hesperia* 41 [1972] p. 476) financial doc.; II² 2773.13, 15 (ca. 240 p.) will, cf. the neuter relative $\tilde{\alpha}$ in *ib.* 15; if * = drachmas one would expect $\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$; probably also in II² 2130.40, 44 (192/3 p.), II² 2221.76 (217/8 p. aut paulo post) eph. catalogs; II² 13217.9 (s. II/III p.), II² 13221.9 (s. III p.) both sep. monuments; and II² 1368.38, 40, 55, etc. (ca. 162/3 p.) Iobacchi regulations, contrast $\lambda\epsilon\pi\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\rho(\alpha\chi\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma)$ + numeral in *ib.* 80, 99, etc. But M.N. Tod takes * as = drachmas in II² 1368, a use found elsewhere, cf. *BSA* 45 (1950) p. 131, note 13.

The use of * for the denarius in II² 2776 is in conjunction with an elaborate system of symbols for various amounts of money. Thus:

- * = 1 denarius (6 new drachmas) \angle = $\frac{1}{2}$ denarius (3 drachmas)
- ΔP or \textcircled{P} = 1 drachma ($\frac{1}{6}$ denarius) ΔPA = 1 drachma, ΔPB = 2 drachmas, etc.
- S = $\frac{1}{2}$ drachma ($\frac{1}{12}$ denarius)
- = 1 obol ($\frac{1}{36}$ denarius)
- \supset = $\frac{1}{2}$ obol ($\frac{1}{72}$ denarius)

The symbol \angle = $\frac{1}{2}$ is found elsewhere; for another Attic example, cf. II² 2878 (cf. p. 114 infra), ded. of the early first century A.D. It is not likely that — is the old symbol for the obol turned on its side, still less likely that \supset = $\frac{1}{2}$ obol has anything to do with the symbols C = $\frac{1}{2}$ obol, \supset = $\frac{1}{4}$ obol of classical times (cf. 5.021 infra). For the compendium \textcircled{P} , cf. 5.0125 infra. For the use of the alphabetic numerals in this text, cf. 5.022 infra.

Graffiti and dipinti from the Agora excavations of Roman times and later show some of these same signs. Cf. < (= $\frac{1}{2}$) in *Agora* 21, p. 61, no. Ha 21 (init. s. II p.), no. Ha 22 (150–200 p.) dipinti; p. 62, no. Ha 29 (s. III p.), p. 67, no. Hb 17 (s. IV p.), p. 62, no. Ha 33 (fin. s. IV p.) graffiti; p. 63, no. Ha 48 (init. s. VI p.), no. Ha 50 (init. s. VI p.) dipinti. Asteriskos for the denarius, cf. *Agora* 21, p. 78, no. He 17 (s. II p.) dipinto. Additional symbols (all dipinti): \textcircled{d} or $\textcircled{\supset}$ with or without a stroke (= $\frac{1}{4}$) *Agora* 21, p. 63, no. Ha 46 (init. s. VI p.); with < in front (= $\frac{3}{4}$): *Agora* 21, p. 62, no. Ha 39 (s. V p.), p. 63, nos. Ha 47, Ha 49 (init. s. VI p.); β (beta) with a stroke (= $\frac{2}{3}$) *Agora* 21, p. 62, no. Ha 36 (fin. s. V p.), p. 63, nos. Ha 41–Ha 42, Ha 44 (ca. 500 p.). Dates for these texts are the archaeological context in which they were found, but even so many of them are later than the limits of this book.

5.0125 Ligatures, compendia, monograms

Letters are written in ligature when they share a part, e.g. NE , HN , m , HN , etc. They are foreign to the writing of inscriptions on stone in Attica before Roman times. They are found frequently, however, in less formal types of writing. The ligature AE (= $\Delta\text{EMO}\Sigma\text{ION}$) is frequent: cf. the dipinto on an oinochoe of the end of the sixth or the beginning of the fifth century B.C., *Hesperia* 15 (1946) plate 27 (inventory

no.13429) and p.276, note 17 (cf. no.16) (= *Hesperia*, suppl. 4 [1940] p.142, note 134); many examples among fifth-century graffiti, cf. *Agora* 21, pp.51–52, nos. Fa 1–Fa 26, plate 29; also p.52, nos. Fb 1–Fb 3 of later date (Δ¹). Other ligatures incised on pottery are probably usually the initials of the owners: cf. *Hesperia* 15 (1946) p.277, no.21; p.278, nos.25, 26; *Agora* 21, p.33, no. F46 (all init. s. Va.); etc. **ῚῚ** = two tryblia, graffito on a pot dated ca. 450 B.C., cf. *Hesperia* 25 (1956) p.13, no.60 and plate 3. A ligature for EI probably occurs in **μιογϷ**, in another graffito, cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 8 (1949) p.398, no.10a (= *LSAG* p.76, no.9c; *Agora* 21, p.12, no. C8) (fin. s. VIa.) (reading the second line from left to right, following M. Lang, cf. p.55 supra).

Compendia are symbols produced by placing a letter within or on top of another letter, e.g. **Α̂**, **Π̂**, **Α̃**, **Θ̂**, etc. (cf. Larfeld, *Handbuch* [1914] p.280). A certain number of compendia occur in the system of acrophonic numerals (cf. 5.021 infra), but they are otherwise not used in Attic texts carved on stone before Roman times. Less formal inscriptions freely introduce additional compendia not attested in texts carved on stone, cf. **Ϸ** = five choes, **Δ̂** = ten choes, graffiti of classical and Hellenistic times, cf. *Hesperia* 25 (1956) p.10, nos.38, 41, 42, etc. Cf. perhaps **Π̂** = πέντε στάδια on a horos, II² 2639 (non post 350) (= *IG* II, no.1077 = *IG* III, no.409). Probably owner's initials are other graffiti: **Ϸ** *Hesperia* 15 (1946) p.278, no.28 (init. s. Va.); **Ϸ** *Agora* 21, p.33, no. F48 (init. s. Va.); *Hesperia*, suppl. 7 (1943) p.32, nos.13 (**Α̂**), 15 (**Α̃**) (both init. s. IVa.); p.34, no.17 (**Ϸ̂**) (Hellenistic).

In Roman times ligatures and compendia are found on stone texts, although they were always avoided in formal documents like decrees, imperial letters, and similar documents. Most of the examples are found in ephebic catalogs and dedications. But the fondness for ligatures and compendia is fairly limited. Only a few abbreviations like **NE** (= νεώτερος), **Π̂** (= πρεσβύτερος), and the like are very common. Most texts have only a very few ligatures and compendia, even when the text is quite extensive, as in the case of many of the ephebic catalogs. Two documents which are probably fragments of wills are quite exceptional in using a great many ligatures, cf. II² 2774, II² 2775 (s. IIIp.). The tribal catalog of ca. 50/49, II² 2461 (cf. *SEG* 23.92), is the first text to show the typical Attic use of these writing devices in Roman times: **NE** occurs lines 14, 52, a true compendium **Π̂** in *ib.* 107, **Μ̂** (= μέσος) *ib.* 68 (L.). Cf. **Ε̂** (E not lunate) = μέ(σον) in a ded., II² 3502.1 (ca. 45–30, cf. *Agora* 15, p.223, no.282). There is not much difference in the employment of ligatures, true compendia, and placing a letter above another, sometimes merely to save space. Note the ligature **IC** in *IG* III no.1089.15 (fin. s. Ip.) eph. cat., with the combination of ligature and writing the last letter above in **NT̂** in the following line (= II² 1998.16, 17; the ligatures are unfortunately not mentioned by Kirchner). Often the use of ligatures and compendia seems to be governed by a desire for space at the end of a line; the use of these writing devices can often prevent the dividing of a word or at least allow the line to end with the end of a syllable. Cf. **APXΘ̂|TOΣ** II² 2041.6–7 (128/9p.) eph. cat., **ΟΛΥΜΠΙΘ̂|** *ib.* 2 (the compendia are not recorded by Kirchner, but cf. Graindor, *Album* plate 41, no.51); **ΔΙΑΣ|ΚΑΛΟΥ** II² 4073.7–8 (ante 160p.) ded., **ΘΥΓΑΕΡΑ|**

ib. 8, ΓΑΡΓΓ end of last line (L.); ΕΡΜΕΙΘ| Π² 2245.6 (262/3 aut 266/7 p.) eph. cat., -ΗΝ *ib.* 8 (ligatures not mentioned in IG Π², but compare *Imagines*² plate 54, no. 147); etc.



Other cases of ligatures: ΔΗΠ Π² 1973.62 (40/1–53/4 p.) eph. cat. (not in IG Π², cf. IG III no. 1081); ΝΕ Π² 2012 (s. Ip.) eph. cat.; ΑΖΗΝΙ(εύς) Π² 2017.12 (paulo post 102 p.) eph. cat. (cf. Graindor, *Album* plate 24, no. 32); Θ, ΝΗ Π² 2051.31, 75 (144/5–148/9 p.) eph. cat. (cf. Graindor, *Album* plate 45, no. 56); ΟΥΝΙΟΣ Π² 2058.17 (146/7 p. aut paulo post) eph. cat. (L.); Ξ Π² 4211.7 (117–138 p.) ded.; some ten ligatures in Π² 2049 (142/3 p.) eph. cat. (L., most are not recorded by IG Π², cf. IG III no. 1113 a in add.); ΛΑΜΠΡΕΥΣ Π² 1796 (186/7 p.) pryt. cat. (not in IG Π²) (L.); ΜΕ Π² 3634.1 (post 150 p.) ded. (not mentioned by IG Π²) (L.); etc. Ligatures are exceptional in decrees, but cf. ΝΕ, ΗΝ Π² 1091.2, 4 (138–161 p.) decree (Panhellenes) (cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 13 [1970] p. 94, no. 5 and plate 7 a); ΝΕ, ΗΝΕ, etc. Π² 1350, *passim* (aet. Antonini) decree (synodos). For additional examples of ligatures in texts of Roman times, cf. Larfeld, *Handbuch* 2.2, pp. 514–515.




A certain number of abbreviatory compendia are typical of the dedications and catalogs of the Roman Period, especially from the reign of Hadrian on. Cf.: ΝΕ (= νεώτερος), e.g. Π² 1765.39 (138/9 p.) pryt. cat.; Π² 3687 (init. s. III p.) ded.; Π (= πρεσβύτερος), e.g. Π² 2338.25 (27/6–18/7) cat.; Π² 1764.25, 43 (138/9 p.) (L.), Π² 1775.10 (168/9 p.), Π² 1776.11 (169/70 p.) pryt. catalogs; Π² 2022.17 (ca. 112 p.), Π² 2049.81 (142/3 p.), Π² 2128.203 (190–200 p.) eph. catalogs; etc.; Μ (= μῆνα, μηνός) Π² 2086.10 ff. (163/4 p.), Π² 2087.7 (163/4 p.), Π² 2243.53, 56 (post 243/4 p.) eph. catalogs; Ρ Β (= γραμματεὺς βουλευτῶν/βουλῆς) *Agora* 15, p. 312, no. 445, lines 11, 12 (each compendium occurs twice, Β has a different meaning in each of the two lines) (= Π² 1815.11, 12, corrected) (ca. 200 p.) pryt. cat.; Ρ (= Πόπλιος) Π² 2046.13 (paulo ante 140 p.), Π² 2128.26 (190–200 p.), Π² 2130.4 (192/3 p.), Π² 2131.5, 7 (192/3 p.) eph. catalogs; Π² 3665 (fin. s. II p.), Π² 3687, Π² 3688, Π² 3666 (init. s. III p.), Π² 3667 (ca. 250 p.), Π² 3671 (ante 266/7 p.) dedications; Θ (= θυγάτηρ) Π² 3965.4 (ante 150 p.), Π² 3960.3 (wrongly printed ΘΥ in IG Π²) (post 128/9 p.) (L.), Π² 3628.3 (post 150 p.) dedications; Γ (= γυμνασάρχος) Π² 2032.5 ff. (119/20–124/5 p.) eph. cat.; Γ (= Γάιος) Π² 3642 (192/3 p.) ded.; Φ (= Φρεάριος) Π² 2103.97 (172/3 p. aut paulo post) eph. cat.; Λ (= λίτραι) Π² 3199.10 (s. III p.) ded. (L.); and a few others (cf. Larfeld, *Handbuch* 2.2, pp. 534–535).

Where a compendium is attested more than once it may not always be executed in the same way, thus both Ρ and Π occur; Ρ and Π; Θ and Φ; etc.

Both Π (= ὁμοῦ) and Ρ (as well as ΔΡ) (= δροχαί) occur in the financial document, Π² 2776, where they form part of a complex system of abbreviations (cf. 5.0124, p. 107 supra; for the use of ' before Μ and the alphabetic numerals of this text, cf. 5.022, p. 114 infra).

The term monogram is used by Larfeld to describe signs composed of groups of letters (or parts thereof) joined together, often into a scarcely recognizable whole, such as ✠, the sign for Χριστός, on many Christian texts (cf. *Handbuch* 2.2, p. 535 and *Handbuch* [1914] p. 281). Strictly speaking the simple joining of two letters is also a monogram if one is turned on its side, although the term ligature is also sometimes used for combinations of this type, cf. ΞΕ (= ΛΕ), probably the owner's initials,

incised on a vessel, cf. *Hesperia* 3 (1934) p.395, no. E 44 (fin. s. IIa./init. s. Ia.). The same combination >E is for ΓΕ, with Attic gamma, in *Agora* 21, p.34, no. F 73, plate 13 (475–450). All the pre-Roman Attic examples are graffiti, as might be expected: cf. e.g. *Agora* 21, p.31, nos. F 14, (ca. 525), F 15 (fin. s. VIa.), F 19 (s. VIa.), F 27 (init. s. Va.); p.33, no. F 45 (init. s. Va.); p.34, no. F 69 (475–450); p.45, no. F 241 (ca. 100). Two other early examples are the graffiti, probably by the same hand, on two stamnoi of ca. 470 B.C., cf. ARV² p.297, Hephaesteion painter no.1 (= *Imagines*² plate 11, no.23); ARV² p.414, Dokimasia painter no.34 (circle of the Brygos painter) (= *AJA* 31 [1927] p.349, no.10), with , , probably for a name such as Θαλίαρχος. These stamnoi are certainly Attic (cf. also p.116 infra).

There are a few monograms on stone texts from Attica of Roman times. Cf.  (= Μᾶρκος Αὐτοῦράλιος) in II² 5426.1 (s. II/IIIp.) (cf. *IG* III, no.1355) sep. mon. The symbol  (= Latin dixit) in the decree, *Hesperia* 21 (1952) pp.381 ff., line 33 (= II² 1092B.14) (ca. 165 p.), is a true monogram of this type; it comes from the usage of scribes in Roman governmental offices (cf. *Hesperia* 21 pp.388 ff.). Here it occurs at the beginning of the text of the apophysis of Severus, the eparch: Σεβῆρος  is for Σεβῆρος εἶπεν.

A fragment of what was evidently an explanation of a system of short-hand can be dated to about the middle of the fourth century B.C., cf. II² 2783. The text is so fragmentary that there are many difficulties of interpretation, but it seems fairly clear that the signs for the consonants were attached to signs for the vowels, consonants before the vowel being attached to the left, those following being attached to the right. Cf. Larfeld, *Handbuch* (1914) pp.281–289 for the various theories proposed for the document's interpretation.

Lit.: Larfeld, *Handbuch* 2.2, pp.514–515, 534–535; *Handbuch* (1914) pp.280–281.

5.02 Numerals




5.021 Acrophonic numerals


The system of numerals in use in Attica in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods contains the following simple symbols:


I = 1 Π (← πέντε) = 5 Δ (← δέκα) = 10


H (← ἑκατόν) = 100 X (← χίλιοι) = 1000 M (← μύριοι) = 10,000;

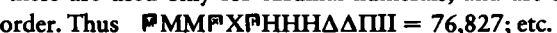
and the following compendia based on them:

, , or  = 50

 = 500

 = 5000

 = 50,000.

In Attica these are used only for cardinal numerals, and are always arranged in descending order. Thus  = 76,827; etc.

If the letters ΔΔΓΔΙ are an acrophonic numeral in II² 2292 (cf. infra), they are the only Attic exception to the use of the descending order; perhaps a scribal error for ΔΔΔΠΙ.

There has been some reluctance to accept the convenient term acrophonic numerals (cf. e.g. Larfeld, *Handbuch* 2.2, p. 543). The compendia are of course not acrophonic, but they are merely compounded from the simple symbols. As for the sign for the unit, it is a symbol found among many peoples of the world for the unit; the Greek I has nothing to do with ἰα (= $\mu\alpha$) or ἰῶτα , as some grammarians thought, and is probably not from a graphic representation of an obelos either. Except for the unit sign, all the simple signs are acrophonic, and there is no reason to avoid this convenient term for the whole system (cf. Tod, *BSA* 18 [1911–1912] p. 126 and note 8).

In a decree of the late fourth century πεντέδραχμος is expressed by a combination of the symbol Π and the written word, cf. : XXX : μεδῖμους πυρῶν : Π : δράχμους (= τρισχίλους μεδῖμους πυρῶν πεντέδραχμους), cf. Π^2 360.9 (325/4), and XXX μεδῖμους Π δράχμους *ib.* 67–68, with the same meaning.

When the acrophonic numerals are used for sums of money there are the following additional symbols:

T (= τάλαντον) (= 6000 drachmas)

M (= μνᾶ) (= 100 drachmas)

Σ (= στατήρ)

† = one drachma (6 obols)

I = one obol, IIII = 5 obols, to avoid confusion with 5 drachmas (= Π)

Thus : Π †IIII : = 6 drachmas, 5 obols in Π^2 1544.14.

C = $\frac{1}{2}$ obol, ἡμιωβέλιον

⌋, or T = $\frac{1}{4}$ obol, τεταρτημόριον

X = $\frac{1}{8}$ obol, χαλκοῦς

For large sums of money the talent was the most frequently used value. The symbol T forms compendia with both the simple and compound signs: thus P = 5 talents, Δ = 10 talents, PA = 50 talents, etc. Cf. e.g. P Π^2 355.15 (bis) (440/439), PA , Δ , *ib.* 14; M , Δ , P Π^2 293.5 (440/439), P *ib.* 17 (cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 150), X *ib.* 19; M , M Π^2 354.4 (438), Δ *ib.* 16; X , M , Δ , M Π^2 324.119 (426/5–423/2); etc. (all inventories). Compendia are also formed from M and Σ . Cf. : Δ M Σ : (= 20 minas, 2 staters) Π^2 1672.161 (329/8) *inv.*, : Δ M Δ M Δ , ἡ μνᾶ : † † : (= 40 minas, each equivalent to two drachmas) *ib.* 202; Δ T Δ (11 talents, 10 staters) *ib.* 311; Δ *ib.* 206; T P $\Sigma\Sigma\Sigma\Sigma$: ὁ στατήρ : †IIII (= 1 talent, 9 staters, each stater equivalent to one drachma, 5 obols) Π^2 1673.26 (333/2?, cf. *AE* 1971 p. 112) *inv.*; T Δ P $\Sigma\Sigma\Sigma$ ἡμισατήρα (= 1 talent, 18½ staters) *ib.* 53; Δ Δ P $\Sigma\Sigma$ ἑκτε (27 staters and a hekta, a coin = $\frac{1}{6}$ stater) Π^2 352.15–16 (434/3) *inv.*, cf. P (= 50 staters) *ib.* 13; Δ (= 10 minas) cf. Π^2 340.41 (446/5), Π^2 345.9 (441/0) inventories; etc. These symbols may be used to indicate amounts of weight (as e.g. in Π^2 1672 and Π^2 1673 just cited) as well as money.

The symbol for the drachma does not form compendia, thus $\text{MPXHHH}\text{P}\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta\text{†} = 16,392$ drachmas in Π^2 352.34 (434/3) *inv.* The origin of † is obscure, perhaps derived from the symbol for the unit with a mark to distinguish it when used for drachmas.

Even when occurring in conjunction with δραχμαί, I still represents the obol, cf. Tod, *BSA* 18 (1911–1912) p. 101. Thus $\text{P}\Delta\text{†}\text{III}$ δραχμάς in the decree (thiasotai), cf. Π^2 1277.14 (278/7); ἀργυρίου δραχμάς $\Delta\Pi\text{†}\text{†}$, Π^2 839.80 (221/0) decree.

On two abaci from Athens the obol is represented by O, probably an acrophonic symbol, cf. Π^2 2778, Π^2 2780.1, 2. Tod cites a similar use of O on an abacus from Thyrreum, cf. *BSA* 28 (1926–1927) p. 144. The symbols for the half (C) and quarter obol (⌋) might be the two parts of this O symbol for the obol.

For the use of the symbols for divisions of the obol, cf. I² 324.32, 46, 47, 48, etc. (for C), *ib.* 64, 76, 86, etc. (for Δ) (inv. of 426/5–423/2); I² 304 A.5, 18, 23, 27, etc. (for C, Δ) (inv. of 410/9); Ι-ΠΠΠΙCT I² 1544.43 (inv. of 333/2); I² 1524, *passim* (for C, T) (inv. of after 334/3); I² 1672, *passim* (for C, T, X) (inv. of 329/8); etc.

Note that possible confusion between signs with more than one value is avoided by the descending order or the context. Thus in ΧΓΓΔΠΠΠΤΧ in I² 1672.2 (329/8) inv., the first X can only be = 1000, the second X = 1/8 obol (χαλκοῦς), and the T can only be 1/4 obol (τεταρτημόριον), not the talent, because of its position after the sign for the obol I. In *ib.* 40 the first two cases of T in the numeral must represent talents, but the T at the end = 1/4 obol. So also in μέδμινου HH ΔΔΔΔ MMMM in *ib.* 258 it is clear that the M represents one medimnus (a rare use, but along the same acrophonic principle as X = χοῦς, etc.) because it follows the symbol for 10, and is thus not for 10,000. Elsewhere in this text Α = 10 minas, cf. *supra*.

In less formal texts other acrophonic abbreviations for units of measure are found. Thus X = χοῦς and K = κοτύλη are found as graffiti on vases, cf. *Hesperia* 25 (1956) pp. 7ff.; *Agora* 21, *passim*. Noteworthy is the use of X or K for one type of measure and the symbol for the unit for the other, thus XIII[on *Hesperia* 25, p. 8, no. 24 = one chous, at least 3 kotylai; on the vessel *Hesperia* 25, p. 7, no. 21, K seems to represent kotylai, I = choes. Note also the dipinto XX on a vase, presumably indicating its capacity as two choes, cf. *Hesperia* 8 (1939) pp. 278 ff. For the ligature Κ (= τρύβλιον) cf. 5.0125, p. 108 *supra*. These uses are rare on texts carved on stone, cf. M = μέδμινος in I² 1672.258 cited above and a ligature of Π and ΣΤ for πέντε στάδια on a fourth-century horos (cf. p. 108 *supra*). For an obscure M on a text of Roman times, cf. 5.022, p. 114 *infra*.

The system of acrophonic numerals first appears in Attica in inventories of just before the middle of the fifth century B.C. The first examples are: SEG 10.210 (= AE 1934–35, pp. 128–132; Meiggs–Lewis p. 144, no. 53) (ca. 450–440) inv., with all the simple and compound symbols for numerals and Ι; I² 191–I² 195 (= ATL 2, nos. 1–5) (454/3–450/49) trib. lists; SEG 10.243 (= I² 338 + new fr., cf. *Hesperia* 5 [1936] p. 362, no. 4; *Hesperia* 7 [1938] p. 264, no. 2) (ca. 465–455) inv.; I² 335 (ca. 450, cf. SEG 10.244) inv.; I² 339–I² 345 (447/6–441/0) inv. Some of the graffiti on vases published in *Hesperia* 25 (1956) pp. 1ff. are earlier than the mid-fifth century, and as the system is fully developed when it appears in Attica for the first time, it has clearly been in use for some time. It is found as early as the first half of the sixth century elsewhere.

As the acrophonic numerals were only used for cardinals they were chiefly used for making accounts, and they are commonly found in inventories, a type of text most frequently found in the second half of the fifth century and throughout the fourth century B.C. But even for cardinal numbers the use of the numerals is foreign to documents in connected prose such as decrees. Their use is abnormal in decrees of the fifth and earlier fourth centuries, and thereafter is restricted to giving the price of executing the inscription, usually set off by interpuncts :, or in the Hellenistic Period by blank spaces (cf. 4.013b, pp. 83–84 *supra*). Even texts which use the acrophonic numerals for the cardinal numbers do not always use them in all places, producing a mixture of written-out numbers and acrophonic numbers, cf. πίνακες δύο χαλκοῖ I² 1541.11 (356/5) inv., alongside κάδοι II οὐ στέγοντες *ib.* 13; I²

1534 A (291/0, cf. SEG 16.118), II² 1534 B (247/6) inv., acrophonic numerals mixed with written-out numbers throughout.

The acrophonic numerals remained normal in Attica until the end of the second century B.C. The last extensive texts in which they are used are: a cat., II² 2336 (102/1–97/6); the decrees, *Hesperia* 36 (1967) p.66, no.12, line 27 (= II² 1051.c27 + new fr.; SEG 24.141) (post 38/7, ante 31), with: ---ΔΔΠ (L.); and II² 1035.3 (10/9–3/2, cf. p.124 infra, no.59), with XXXHHHHΠΔΙ and ΗΠΠ. There is also the doubtful]ΜΑΣΙΙΙ in II² 1052.11 (post 50?), a small fr. of a decree; did the number of drachmas precede the δραχ]μάς or does the sign Ι indicate drachmas here by exception? The restoration ---δραχ]μάς is itself quite uncertain. In the cat. of pyloroi, II² 2292.52, the letters ΔΔΓΔΙ are perhaps the numerals ΔΔΠΔΙ. The order is strange, however, and a copying mistake of the stone-cutter (for ΔΔΔΠΙ) has to be assumed. The date of the text is controversial, but it is probably slightly later than A.D. 45/6. By this time the earliest cases of the alphabetic numerals have occurred (cf. p.117 infra).

Lit.: M.N. Tod, *BSA* 18 (1911–1912) pp.98–132, especially pp.100–101 and pp.125 ff.; *BSA* 28 (1926–1927) pp.141–157; *BSA* 37 (1936–1937) pp.236–257; cf. 5.022. The articles of Tod completely supersede the earlier bibliography, e.g. MS³ p.9, notes 36–39; Larfeld, *Handbuch* 2.2, pp.543 ff., *Handbuch* (1914) pp.291–293. Cf. also M. Lang, "Numerical Notation on Attic Vases" *Hesperia* 25 (1956) pp.1–24; *Agora* 21, pp.21–23.

5.022 Alphabetic numerals

In Roman times the following system of alphabetic numerals was in use at Athens:

A = 1	I = 10	P = 100
B = 2	K = 20	Σ = 200
Γ = 3	Λ = 30	T = 300
Δ = 4	M = 40	Y = 400
E = 5	N = 50	Φ = 500
Ϝ = 6	Ξ = 60	X = 600
Z = 7	O = 70	Ψ = 700
H = 8	Π = 80	Ω = 800
Θ = 9	Ϟ = 90	Τ = 900

The normal form for 6 was Ϝ, cf. Graindor, *Album* plate 54, no.69 (= II² 2085.7, eph. cat. of 161/2 p.); *AM* 37 (1912) p.184 (= II² 1102.6, imp. letter of 131/2 p.); etc. For rare forms cf. *BSA* 45 (1950) p.135 and note 22. The early form of the letter (ϝ) is found rarely elsewhere, but not in Attic texts. The frequent Ϛ is absent from Attica in Roman times. Qoppa occurs only in the financial doc., II² 2776.38, 56, 109 (aet. Trajani, cf. *Hesperia* 41 [1972] p.476), and has a form common elsewhere: Ϟ; this same form appears in two graffiti: *Agora* 21, p.79, nos. He 23, He 24 (fin. s. III p.), plate 45. In stone texts the sign for 900 occurs only in lines 11, 87, 113, and 137 of the same financial document, in the form Τ. ΑΤ has been scratched on an amphora found in the Agora, where it is part of the number 964, cf. *Hesperia* 25 (1956) p.56 (= *Agora* 21, p.72, no. Hc 25), but the vessel may be as late as the seventh century A.D. and is thus considerably later than the limits of this study. The relationship of the numeral Τ and the letter Ϟ is not ab-

Π² 3740.8 (142/3 p.) dedications; etc. For rare variant forms cf. βουλή τῶν ~X~ Π² 3931 (s. Ip.) ded., where the sign of the abbreviation is also used as punctuation (cf. 4.021, no. 8, p. 91 supra) in addition to appearing above the numeral (cf. 5.0122, no. 6, p. 105 supra). Two rare variants are found in the three dedications of the year 124/5 A.D.: τῶν X̃ (badly worn, uncertain if a mark of punctuation preceded) Π² 3287.A4; τῶν X̃ (wrongly recorded in IG Π²; there is no following antisigma) Π² 3287.C4 (in same hand as Π² 3287.A); τῶν ·X̃~ (the dot is not quite certain; the mark on the stone may be the result of damage) Π² 3287.B5 (all readings L.), ~ also Π² 1794.2 (180/1 p.) pryt. cat. (L.). Both / (frequent, cf. 5.0122, no. 2, p. 104 supra) and ~ (rare, cf. 5.0122, no. 3, p. 104 supra) are usually used to mark off abbreviations, located above and at the right. But the mark / is not otherwise used with numerals in Attic inscriptions. Another rare sign is ˇ (cf. 5.0122, no. 4, p. 104 supra); it occurs above a numeral: τῶν X̃ Π² 4060 (ante 128/9 p.) ded.; to the right of Μ (= 10,000) and before ΒΤ (= 2,300), cf. supra.

At all periods numerals frequently appear with no mark to point them out, either with or without surrounding punctuation; this practice is precisely the same as that seen in other abbreviations. Cf. e.g.: Π² 3799.2 (ante 128/9 p.), Π² 3616.2 (fin. s. Ip.) dedications; Π² 2085.7 (161/2 p.), Π² 2115, *passim* (180/1–191/2 p.) eph. catalogs; Π² 3683.3 (init. s. IIP.) ded. (L., but stone too worn to confirm); Π² 3687.13, 24 (init. s. IIP.) ded.; Π² 1077.10, 27 (lines 4, 5 uncertain) (209/10 p.) decree; Π² 2245.33, 36 (262/3 aut 266/7 p.) eph. cat.; etc. But published texts are frequently inaccurate in recording this sort of thing. Thus in Π² 1764.7 (138/9 p.) pryt. cat. (L.) the numeral has a mark over it; the numeral ΚΕ has – over it in Π² 2235.7 (post 226/7 p., ante 234/5 p.) eph. cat. (L.); there are numerals both with and without – over them in Π² 2119 (180/1–192/3 p.) eph. cat.; etc. Numerals with the sign * (= denarius, cf. 5.0124, p. 107 supra) normally have no –, cf. e.g. Π² 1368, *passim* (ca. 162/3 p.) Iobacchi regulations; Π² 2776, *passim* (aet. Trajani, cf. *Hesperia* 41 [1972] p. 476) financial doc. An exception may be seen in the will, Π² 2773 (ca. 240 p.) with *F̄, *F̄ in lines 13, 15.

Whether or not there is a mark above the numeral seems to make little difference in the use of interpuncts on one or both sides of it. Very frequent are dots on both sides (for the dot as punctuation, cf. 4.021, no. 3, p. 88 supra), cf. e.g. τὸ ·Δ· Π² 3535 (ca. 57 p.) ded.; τῶν ·X· Π² 1072.10 (116/7 p.) decree; ὑπατος τὸ ·Γ̄· *Hesperia* 2 (1933) p. 165, no. 10, line 19 (179–180 p.) imp. letter; ·Γ̄· Π² 3592.10 (165/6–168/9 p.) ded.; etc. For the rare variants of the dot: cf. τῶν 'Φ' Π² 3616.2 (fin. s. Ip.) ded.; [π]αιδοτριβοῦντος τὸ 'Γ' Π² 1969.4 (45/6 p.) eph. cat. (cf. 4.021, no. 7, p. 91 supra; no. 12, p. 92 supra). The dot is combined with the antisigma (cf. 4.021, no. 1, p. 86 supra) in τὸ ·B̄> in *Hesperia* 2, no. 10 (cited supra) line 5; note also ὁ ΚF̄ Π² 2085.7 (161/2 p.) eph. cat.; τῶν ·X̃~ Π² 3287.B5 (124/5 p.) ded., cited supra for X̃ and X̃; etc. For the rare variant ~ in ~X̃~ cf. supra.

The alphabetic numerals had a much more extensive usage than the earlier acrophonic ones. They could be used for ordinal as well as cardinal numerals, and were thus frequently used in dates, cf. e.g. Π² 1763.6 (ca. 132/3 p.), Π² 1764.7 (138/9 p.)

(L.); Π² 1765.5 (138/9 p.), Π² 1773.4 (166/7 p.) pryt. catalogs; Π² 2086.10 ff. (163/4 p.) eph. cat.; etc. They could be used for the adverbs τρίς, τετράκις, etc., cf. e.g. Π² 3592.10 (165/6–168/9 p.) ded.; Π² 3169/70.10 ff. (253–257 p.) ded.; etc. For the ordinal numeral in the expressions τὸ δεύτερον, τὸ τρίτον, etc. (in phrases like ὑπατος τὸ τρίτον ‘consul for the third time’, etc.), cf. e.g. Π² 1969.4 (cited supra); δημορχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ΓΒ, ὑπατος τὸ Γ Π² 1102.6 (131/2 p.) imp. letter; αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ Η Π² 1111.4 (186–192 p.) imp. letter; etc. Numerals were also frequently used to designate the various boulai, thus βουλὴ τῶν Φ = the boule of the five hundred, τῶν Χ, that of the six hundred (for examples, cf. Π² 3680, Π² 3931, Π² 3287, Π² 4060, Π² 3799, Π² 3683, Π² 3616, Π² 1072.10, cited supra; etc.).

The combination of Ϝ (cf. 5.0123, p. 105 supra) and Γ to mean the third man of the same name may be seen in Φίρμος Ϝ Γ, cf. Π² 4441.8 (s. II p.) ded., as seen by Tod (cf. Lit. infra p. 134). The numeral represents the adverb τρίς in this type of expression, not rare in other parts of Greece, but not otherwise found in Attica.

As has been seen the acrophonic numerals were normal in Athens in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods, and they are the only ones normally found on stone texts before Augustan times (cf. 5.021, p. 113 supra), but there are a few possible cases of alphabetic numerals in Attic graffiti of much earlier date. First there are two graffiti, probably by the same hand, on stamnoi dating roughly to 470 B.C., which read as follows:

Λύδια μέζω : Ι : Ε : λεπαστίδες : Κ : Ζ : ARV² p. 297, Hephaesteion painter no. 1 (= *Imagines*² p. 15, no. 23; cf. Hackl [p. 38 supra, note 4] pp. 53, 73, no. 78 and plate III).

Μυρτώται : Κ : Ζ : ARV² p. 414, Dokimasia painter no. 34 (circle of the Brygos painter).

Beazley takes these as alphabetic numerals in both cases, translating: “10 larger Lydia [probably a type of cup], 5; 20 lepastides, 7” and “20 myrtotai, 7” (cf. *AJA* 31 [1927] pp. 349–350, no. 10). Despite the interpuncts it seems not impossible to interpret both letters together and read “15 Lydia, 27 lepastides” etc.; the normal descending order would be seen here. The texts are of course graffiti, and need not be as early as the vases, although that is what has usually been assumed, even if the letters look like early fourth-century letters (cf. *Imagines*² p. 15). The form μέζω could be Ionic or Doric as well as Attic (cf. Schwyzler, *GG* 1, p. 536). The early use of Ionic letters would be unexpected in an Attic text of ca. 480–470, although it could easily be paralleled from ca. 455 on (cf. 2.0121, nos. 26 ff., p. 36 supra). For the monogram, cf. 5.0125, p. 110 supra. In addition to the foregoing, M. Lang has interpreted a number of other graffiti as showing alphabetic numerals before Roman times: cf. ὀλ(καί) ϩ *Agora* 21, p. 66, no. Hb 2 (s. III a.); Β (= 2), ΙΑ (= 11) *Agora* 21, p. 43, no. F 198 (250–200). Other cases, some of them earlier in date, are less certain: δοχος (= δξος) Α (is this a numeral or does it = ἀμφορεύς?) *Agora* 21, p. 74, no. Hd 1 (= *Hesperia* 18 [1949] p. 336, no. 102) (425–400); are ϩ and Ζ alphabetic numerals in *Agora* 21, p. 37, no. F 104 (fin. s. Va.); ΠΘ (= 89?), ΧΧΗΚ (= 2 choes, half kotyle?) *Agora* 21, p. 60, no. Ha 10 (350–325); Μ (= 40 drachmas?) *Agora* 21, p. 23, no. E 15 (fin. s. IV a.); Κ (= 20?) *Agora* 21, p. 66, no. Hb 3 (s. III a.). Cf. the abecedarium on a lead plaque from the Acropolis cited in 1.013, p. 23 supra.

M.N. Tod insisted that some sort of alphabetic numerals occur in the peculiar Attic stone text, I² 760 (cf. *Lit. infra* p. 137), dated to the Periclean Period on the basis of the letter-forms. There are two fragments, each with columns of pairs of letters: the letters on the left are the letters A through Θ, including frequent use of a digamma of the form C, in no particular order; the letters on the right of each pair are I, Λ, M, N (10s, 30s, 40s, and 50s?). Lambda and gamma have the Ionic form. The presence of the digamma in a context of Ionic letters, as well as the restriction of the first column to letters which represent one-digit numbers, certainly makes it hard to reject the notion that some sort of alphabetic numerals like those seen on later stone inscriptions are present here. If each pair of letters is to be taken as a single number, the ascending order goes against the practice normal later, although there are some exceptions (cf. p. 114 *supra* for Attic cases); it might also be at variance with the two graffiti just cited if they in fact contain numerals to be read as 15 and 27. Others have suggested that each pair of numbers in I² 760 is to be taken separately, e.g. A, Λ = 1, 30. The purpose of this document is quite unknown (cf. *IG I²* for theories and bibliography), but it seems pretty definite that it contains alphabetic numerals.

Other examples of the system in early texts on stone are unconvincing. Three Attic horoi of the first half of the fifth century with ὁρός K, cf. I² 876.1, 2, 3, have been thought to have the numeral K (= 20), but that K is some abbreviation (perhaps κρένες, as suggested by Tod, *BSA* 49 [1954] p. 1, or some name) is more likely. So also two other horoi, ὁρός A II² 2515, ὁρός μνήματος ΛA II² 2543, perhaps of the fourth century B.C., can not be proved to contain numerals. The use of letter-labels on objects is not evidence for any kind of alphabetic numeral system (cf. 5.0221 *infra*). A Locrian inscription of 460 B.C. uses the letters A to Θ including digamma to indicate divisions of text, cf. *IG IX.1*, no. 718, but as digamma was normal in this alphabet these may be subject headings of the letter-label type, not the alphabetic system normal later.

Use of the alphabetic numerals in Attic stone texts comes in in the Roman Period. The first cases are: ἡ βουλὴ ἢ τῶν X II² 4126.7 (non ante 14) ded.; the same phrase must be restored in II² 3788.1 (aet. Augusti) ded., where there is not room to restore ἐξακοσίων (cf. Graindor, *Album* plate 9, no. 12). Also dated vaguely to early in the first c. A.D. is the cat., II² 2337, with I (= 10? surely not = one obol) fourteen times in lines 7ff., Γ (= 3) once in line 30. Slightly later is τὸ Ἄ·Δ· in II² 3535.6 (ca. 57p.) ded., with βουλὴ τῶν ἐξακοσίων in *ib.* 2. Numerals of any kind are rare in the period ca. 90 B.C.–ca. 100 A.D., but there is one certain case of acrophonic numerals in a decree of 10/9–3/2 B.C.; perhaps an instance in a cat. of the period ca. 45 A.D. (cf. 5.021, p. 113 *supra*). The alphabetic numerals were certainly universal thereafter; there is no trace of the acrophonic system in the extensive financial doc., II² 2776, of the reign of Trajan (cf. *Hesperia* 41 [1972] p. 476) or in dedications and catalogs after 50 A.D. The alphabetic numeral KH (= 28) occurs in a date in a decree of Cretan cities dated to 111/10, cf. II² 1135.5, where it merely reflects the usage in the cities themselves (the text is in Doric, not Attic).

Lit.: M.N. Tod, *BSA* 45 (1950) pp. 126–139; Larfeld, *Handbuch* 2.2, pp. 548–549; *Handbuch* (1914) pp. 293 ff.; *Agora* 21, pp. 55–90. Cf. 5.021, 5.0221.

5.0221 Letter-labels

The letters of the alphabet had a fixed order, and could thus be used for organizing objects or sections of text, as in the Locrian inscription mentioned at the end of the

preceding section. The phenomenon occurs in Attic texts first in the fourth century. Thus the dikasts' pinakia of the first half of the fourth century B.C. are stamped with the letters A to K, indicating which of the ten sections of jurors from a given tribe the owner of the pinakion belonged to (cf. Kroll, p. 1 and note 1, pp. 13–14; cf. Aristotle, *Athenaion Politeia* 63.3–4). On other pinakia running to the number of 25 the letter Γ is pressed into service to give the additional letter-label; the procedure is similar to the use of Γ for 900 in the alphabetic numeral system, although this use of letters to differentiate pinakia is not a numeral system (for these pinakia, cf. *Hesperia* 29 [1960] pp. 393 ff.; for the Γ , cf. *ibid.* pp. 398–399 and 1.014, p. 24 supra).

A similar labelling of objects is mentioned in fourth-century inventories. Cf. $\theta\upsilon\mu\alpha\text{-}\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu\ \acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{o}\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\omicron\nu\ \iota\upsilon\alpha\ \tau\acute{o}\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\phi\alpha\ \pi\kappa\alpha\rho[\alpha]\sigma\epsilon\sigma\eta\mu\alpha\nu\tau\alpha\iota$, $\theta\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu\ \acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{o}\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\omicron\nu$, $\iota\upsilon\alpha\ \tau\acute{o}\ \beta\eta\tau\alpha\ \pi\alpha\rho\alpha\sigma\epsilon\sigma\eta\mu\alpha\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ Π^2 1425.94–95, 97–98 (368/7); the same sort of thing in Π^2 1421.50 ff., 55 ff. (374/3, cf. SEG 21.549), Π^2 1429.28, 31 (ca. 367/6). Cf. $\phi\iota\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\ \acute{\epsilon}\phi'\acute{\epsilon}\iota\ \tau\acute{o}\ \Lambda$ Π^2 1471.3 (post 318/7), cf. *ib.* 2 ff.; Π^2 1469.7 ff. (post 320/19), Π^2 1476.6 ff. (post 315/4), Π^2 1477.24 ff. (cf. *Hesperia* 40 [1971] p. 448, no. 1) (303/2); Π^2 1485.8 ff. (307/6), Π^2 1486.5 ff. (307/6), Π^2 1492.27 ff. (post 311/10). When the letters of the alphabet were exhausted objects were labelled AA, BB, etc. $\sigma\acute{\tau}\acute{\epsilon}\phi\alpha\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\acute{\epsilon}\phi'\acute{\omega}\iota\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \delta\acute{\upsilon}\omicron\ \Lambda\Lambda$ Π^2 1491.13 (307/6); $[\tau]\acute{\alpha}\ \delta\acute{\upsilon}\omicron\ \Upsilon\Upsilon$ Π^2 1485.4 (307/6); Π^2 1443.14–88 (344/3), $\acute{\rho}\upsilon\mu\omicron\iota$ ('shelves') labelled from A to EE: $\iota\upsilon\alpha\ \tau\acute{o}\ :\ \Lambda\Lambda$, etc. A combination of iota and other letters may be seen in Π^2 1496.176 ff. (334/3–331/0): objects are divided up among $\acute{\rho}\upsilon\mu\omicron\iota$, ten to the $\acute{\rho}\upsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$, which are described as: $\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \beta\eta\tau\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \iota\acute{\omega}\tau\alpha\ \pi\alpha\rho\alpha\sigma\epsilon\sigma\eta\mu\alpha\nu\tau\alpha\iota$, $\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \beta\eta\tau\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\acute{\upsilon}\omicron\ \iota\acute{\omega}\tau\alpha\ \pi\alpha\rho\alpha\sigma\epsilon\sigma\eta\mu\alpha\nu\tau\alpha\iota$, $\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \beta\eta\tau\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\tau\alpha\rho\alpha\ \iota\acute{\omega}\tau\alpha\ \pi\alpha\rho\alpha\sigma\epsilon\sigma\eta\mu\alpha\nu\tau\alpha\iota$. The text goes on to describe objects with gamma and iota, and objects with alpha and iota can presumably be assumed to have been in a lost part of the inventory. In addition to these objects labelled BI, BII, BIII, BIIII, etc., there are others in lines 210 ff. labelled with letters, although Kirchner's suggestion they were labelled AB, AG, AD, etc. seems based on insufficient evidence. All these texts date from the period when inventories were most common in Attica, the fourth century, but one text now shows that this type of thing was still used in the second century: cf. $\tau\acute{o}\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\mu\mu\alpha$, $\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \delta\acute{\upsilon}\omicron\ \nu\acute{\upsilon}$, etc. in *Hesperia* 13 (1944) p. 254, no. 11, lines 32 ff. (ca. 166) inv.

Although described by some as a third system of numerals this use of letters of the alphabet to label objects in no way constitutes a true numerical system. The procedure is in fact not different from similar uses of the alphabet by persons making use of Arabic numerals. There is no evidence these letter-labels ever had a numerical value. The phrase in Π^2 1496.176 (cf. supra) clearly distinguished between ordinal and cardinal numerals on the one hand and these letter-labels on the other: $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\rho}\upsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha$, $\omicron\iota\varsigma\ [\gamma\acute{\alpha}\mu\mu\alpha]\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \iota\acute{\omega}\tau\alpha\ \pi\alpha\rho\alpha\sigma\epsilon\sigma\eta\mu\alpha\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ (the restorations are certain): first $\acute{\rho}\upsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$: ten objects marked $\Gamma\iota$. Cf. also $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\iota\ \omicron\iota\ \tau\acute{o}\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\mu\mu\alpha\ \acute{\epsilon}\chi[\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma]\ \Delta\Delta\Delta$: $\sigma\tau\alpha\theta\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau[\omicron\upsilon]\ \Delta\Delta\Delta$ = another group having (the label) Γ : 30, weight of each [30]. It is not impossible that the alphabetic number system grew out of some sort of letter-label device, but the principle of organization of the number system based on

units, tens, and hundreds, is completely different from that seen in the Attic inventories. Letter-labels are also used extensively in Delian texts (cf. Tod, *Lit. infra*).

In rare instances the use of alphabetization by first letter for organizing names of non-citizens in ephebic lists occurs: cf. II² 2061, fr. b (not part of the same text as II² 2061, fr. a) (ca. 150 p.) [This fragment will soon be republished by M. Mitsos, who has associated it with a number of fragments to produce a whole which contains, with some gaps, names beginning with alpha all the way down to the end of the alphabet]; II² 2103.195–269 (172/3 p. aut paulo post): names in A to Π, with one name in O added in line 233, then names in Δ to X; in line 205 Μέμ(μος) Εἰρηορος is filed under Ε, in line 250 read not Εἰκελος but Σίκελος (L.); in line 259 the name Τούτος was intended (the praenomen Κλ(αύδιος) is ignored, cf. treatment of Μέμ in line 205, but in 248–249 two names are filed under Πρεῖμος). In lines 270–284 follow two short lists of names in E to Θ (270–274) and names in E to Z (275–284). The alphabetization extends only to the first letter of the name: within the group of names beginning with any letter there is no order according to the alphabetical place of the second letter in the name.

In the eph. cat., II² 2094 (ca. 166/7 p.), a large Β to the left of the second column (lines 66–67) perhaps indicates an ordinal number; cf. Kirchner's note *ad loc.* 'Littera Β, quae est in fronte columnae alterius, lapidem secundum indicat' (L.). The mark Τ to the left at the beginning of the list of epengraphoi in II² 2207.34 (init. s. III p., ante 212 p.) eph. cat. is a dipole obelismene, not the letter tau (cf. 4.021, no. 5, p. 91 supra) (L.).

Lit.: M. N. Tod, *BSA* 49 (1954) pp. 1–8; cf. 5.021, 5.022. The Tod article completely supersedes the erroneous information in MS³ p. 10, notes 40–43.

II. PHONOLOGY

a) VOWELS

6.00–14.00 Simple Vowels

6.00 A-vowels

For α ~ αι, cf. 15.01; α ~ ω, cf. 12.02.

6.01 Confusion of α and ε

Except in a few lexical items (cf. 6.011 ff. infra) confusion of α and ε is unusual. Such examples as do occur are usually the result of vowel assimilation (less often dissimilation) or involve non-Attic words. Of the cases of α for ε and of ε for α:

a) Regressive assimilation may be seen in:

- 1) δ'ερετῆς, i.e. ΔΕΡΕΤΗΣ Π² 11812.3 (= GVI 1, p.534, no.1782) (ca. 350) sep. mon.; less likely: δέ'ρετῆς (cf. 33.02, p.426 infra);
- 2) Ἀκαλήθεν Π² 6014 (s. III a.) sep. mon. (L.);
- 3) ἐθαράπ[ευσεν Π² 1006.35 (122/1) decree; alongside θερα[πεύσαντες *ib.* 82 (L.);
- 4) ἐθαράπευσεν Π² 2337.32 (init. s. I p.) cat. (L.);
- 5) ἀκατέρου *Hesperia*, suppl. 13 (1970) pp. 3 ff., line E 10 (ca. 175 p.) imp. letter; for the spelling ἀκάτερος cf. SEG 9.8.28 (Cyrene);
- 6) δράπανον Agora inventory no. IL 493, line 27 (= *Hesperia* 6 [1937] p.389, no.3, where the reading has not been correctly made; the new reading is that of D. Jordan) (found in a deposit of s. I p. material; orthography and writing look like s. III p.) defixio.

It is likely that ANATIA is for ἐναντία in two places in the defixio, IG III.3, no.110.2, 4 (400–375) (pointed out to me by D. Jordan); ny is omitted before tau in several other places in the text (cf. 41.011, p.488 infra) (not Attic?).

Progressive assimilation may be seen in:

- 7) προ]σταράδοσαν AM 66 (1941) p.235, no.6, line 6 (= SEG 19.130) (344–313) inv.; but careless omission of the augment may be the reason for this example.

With no. 1 supra cf. Κληνεῖτη in Π² 8491 (fin. s. Va./init. s. IV a.) sep. mon. of a woman from Lesbos.

It is noteworthy that in four of the above cases the intervening consonant is a liquid (cf. 26.01 infra).

The spelling ΠΙΡΟΣΑΛΕΑΕΝ (= προσαγαγεῖν) in the decree, I² 45.36 (439/8, cf. SEG 21.29; 10.34), looks more like a copying mistake than assimilation (or dissimilation).

*Ἀρταμν occurs twice on a defixio, IG III.3, no. 75.b1, b10 (s. III a.), alongside *Ἀρτεμ-*passim* al.; it could be due to assimilation or the non-Attic origin of the writer: *Ἀρταμν is normal in all West Greek dialects except Cretan and Boeotian, cf. Buck, GD² p. 24, no. 13.2.

For *Ἀκαδήμεια ~ *Ἐκαδήμεια, cf. 6.015 *infra*.

b) Dissimilation has been invoked as the explanation for Σέραις, etc. (cf. 6.011 *infra*), and it may have some bearing on *Ἀμφιάραος ~ *Ἀμφιέραιος (cf. 6.012 *infra*). The Ψεμάθε said to occur on a rf. lekythos in Naples (no. 3352, cf. Kretschmer, *Vasen-inschriften* p. 117) may be due to dissimilation. Other vases have Ψαμάθε, e.g. ARV² p. 1142, Berlin inv. no. 3244 (by Xenotimos) (= CVA, Germany 22, plate 116.3–5); ARV² p. 992, Achilles painter no. 69 (= E. Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg*, plates 198, 199). A naval inventory also mentions a ship named Ψαμάθη, cf. II² 1611.122, 136, 166 (357/6); and it is attested as the name of a woman from Herakleia, wife of a Plataean, cf. II² 8818 (s. II/I a.) *sep. mon.*

Probably just a copying error: πEρ[α]σεσήμανται in II² 1425.95 (368/7), an inv. with several other copying mistakes; for προσαγεγῆν, cf. a) *supra*.

c) Latin e written α occurs occasionally in Attic texts: Σακόνδα II² 5628 (fin. s. Ia./init. s. Ip.) *sep. mon.* of the wife of an Athenian (L.); elsewhere Σεκόνδος, Σεκοῦνδος, Σεκουνδία, etc. (cf. 11.042 *infra* for examples). So also Ούαλα[ρία in II² 4247.1 (ca. 100 p.) *ded.*, for the normal Ούαλερι- (frequent, cf. 37.011 *infra*). For Kalendae the use of α in Greek was normal; cf. Καλανδῶν *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p. 287, no. 180 (aet. infimae) *sep. mon.*; Καλανδίων, man's name, cf. II² 1817.48 (paulo ante 220/1 p.) *pryt. cat.* (L.); II² 2214.37 (post 212/3 p.), II² 2245.112 (262/3 aut 266/7 p.) *all eph. catalogs*. Cf. Eckinger p. 18.

d) Purely graphic mistakes are: ἄμμορον inadvertently inscribed for ἔμμορον (demanded by the sense), II² 12318.9 (= GVI 1, p. 629, no. 1996) *sep. mon.* (metrical), cf. Peek's discussion in *Mnemosynon Theodor Wiegand* p. 37; τεύξες for τεύξας, II² 4792.5 (s. II p.) *ded.* (priv.); cf. ηερμὸν]εχς for ηερμὸναχς on a rf. vase, ARV² p. 483, no. 6 (= HRF 2, p. 20, no. 1); other vases of this group have ηερμὸναχς.

e) Attic spellings are:

καταπάτης, κατάπαλτικα, καταπαλταφεία, καταπαλταφέτης: cf. e.g. II² 120.37 (353/2, cf. *Hesperia* 7 [1938] p. 286) *decree*; II² 1627.328, 330, 331, 337, 340 (330/29), II² 1628.510, 512, 513, 518, 521 (326/5), II² 1629.985, 987, 988, 993, 997 (325/4), II² 1631.222, 226, 228 (323/2), II² 1469.78 (post 320/19) *inventories*; II² 9979 (post 350) *sep. mon.* of a Mysian: κατ[α]παλταφέτας; II² 554.15 (307–304? cf. SEG 24.111) *decree*; II² 1487.87, 88, 102 (post 307/6) *inv.*; II² 665.27 (266/5, cf. SEG 15.103), *Hesperia* 2 (1933) p. 158, no. 6, lines 5–6 (ca. 240), II² 900.22 (185/4), II² 944 b (in add.) 21 (175–150? cf. *Hesperia* 11 [1942] p. 300), II² 1006.34, 46, 65, 82 (122/1) *all decrees*. The spellings in -πελτ- frequent in codd. of literary texts are not attested at Athens.

ἡλακάτη (attested once only): II² 1517.209 (353/2–341/0) *inv.*

Also not found in Attic texts is -ερα in τέτταρα or τέσσαρα. Even where non-Attic -σσ- occurs for -ττ-, there is no -ερ- (cf. 43.04 *infra* for examples).

Lit.: MS³ pp. 14–15, notes 62–69; Lademann p. 115; Schwyzler, GG 1, p. 258; Mayser-Schmoll pp. 33 ff.; W. Schulze, KS² p. 268.

6.011 Σάραπις ~ Σέραπις. A decree of sarapiastai of the later third century B.C. has the first Attic examples of Σαραπ- (no.51 infra). The Σαράπιδι on an incised knuckle-bone from the Agora provides a good contemporary parallel (Agora inv. no. Bl 847 of the late third c., brought to my attention by Professors Stella Miller and John Kroll). The Σαραπ- spellings are found as late as ca. 230 A.D., but they are not normally encountered after the middle of the second century after Christ (latest examples nos.8, 43–44, 57–58). The first case of Σεραπ- occurs on a sep. mon. showing a genuine hesitation between Σεραπ- and Σαραπ- (no.62 infra). It might be as early as the late second century B.C., but it must be admitted that the evidence of the letter-forms on which the date is based is scarcely conclusive. In general the Σεραπ- spellings are rare before 100 A.D., when they become more frequent than those in Σαραπ-. Except for no.62 no single text exhibits both spellings; and Kirchner's connection of the Σεραπίων of Π² 6829 (no.64) with the family of the Σαραπίων of Π² 2336 (no.21) and other texts is quite uncertain (cf. PA no. 12564).

Best attested are Σαραπίων and Σεραπίων. A nominative Σάραπις is not attested, but Σαράπιδος, Σαράπιδι occur (nos.1–9). A nominative Φιλοσέραπις (man's name) occurs once (no.60), but the name of the deity Σέραπις is attested only in the genitive (no.61).

The papyri provide conclusive evidence of priority of the Σαραπ- spellings even in the name of the deity Σάραπις (cf. Mayser-Schmoll pp.33–34; U. Wilcken, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 3 [1903–1906] p.251). Thus J. Schmidt's complicated theory (cf. ZVS 32 [1892] pp.358 ff.) of an assimilation of Σεραπ- to Σαραπ- in the oblique cases such as Σεράπιδος (i.e. where the accent was no longer on the initial syllable) followed by a restoration of Σερ- here (from the unchanged nominative Σέραπις) must be given up. An original Σαραπ- was probably dissimilated to Σεραπ- (so Mayser-Schmoll, p.34). The chronological trend Σαραπ- to Σεραπ- makes it less likely that hesitation in the transcription of a foreign vowel is involved.

Lit.: MS³ p.14, notes 62–3; Schwyzler, GG 1, p.258; Mayser-Schmoll pp.33–4; Mayser 1, p.57; for the accentuation Σέραπις/Σάραπις, cf. U. Wilcken, *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit* 1, p.86, note 5.

Examples: Σαραπ-:

Σαράπιδος, Σαράπιδι:

- 1) Π² 4692.1 (ca. 200, cf. Vidman p. 6, no. 3; S. Dow, *HTR* 30 [1937] pp. 198 ff.) ded.;
- 2) *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p. 252, no. 51, line 6 (144/3?) ded.;
- 3) Π² 2336.47, 80, 130, 257 (102/1–97/6) cat.; Σαραπίων, Σαραπίωνος elsewhere, cf. no. 21 infra;
- 4) AE 1913 p. 197 (116/5–95/4, cf. Vidman p. 7, no. 5) ded.;
- 5) Π² 3498.9 (s. Ia.) ded.;
- 6) *Hesperia* 34 (1965) pp. 125 ff., line 1 (ca. 37 aut paulo post) decree: Σαρ[άπι]δης;
- 7) Π² 3565.4 (s. I/II p.) ded.;
- 8) Π² 3681 (init. s. III p.) ded.;
- 9) Π² 4872 (date?) ded. (priv.);

Σαραπίων:

- 10) Π² 820.9 (= *Hesperia* 28 [1959] p. 179, no. 5) (190–170) decree;
- 11) Π² 7081.1 (s. III/IIa.) sep. mon.;
- 12) Π² 2358.71 (ca. 150) cat.;
- 13) Π² 7407.1 (post 150) sep. mon.;
- 14) AM 66 (1941) p. 228, no. 4, line 2 (138/7 aut 137/6) decree (orgeones): Σαραπίων (cf. the photograph Tafel 76.2; the printed text has an erroneous Σαραπίων);
- 15) Π² 2452.33 (ca. 125/4) cat.;
- 16) Π² 2485.3 (122/1) actually part of decree Π² 1006, cf. AE 1950/51 p. 45, no. 25;
- 17) Π² 1009.28 (116/5) decree; cf. *ib.* 68: Σαρ[;]
- 18) Π² 1010.72, 73 (ca. 116) decree;
- 19) Π² 1228.5 (116/5) decree (Salaminian cleruchs);
- 20) Π² 1011, col. 6.101 (106/5) decree;
- 21) Π² 2336.55, 137, 202, 204, 206, 208, 210 (102/1–97/6) cat.; cf. no. 3 *supra*;
- 22) Π² 8609.2 (s. II/Ia.) sep. mon.;
- 23) Π² 9189 (s. II/Ia.) sep. mon.;
- 24) Π² 9788 (s. II/Ia.) sep. mon.;
- 25) Π² 3881.1 (ca. 100) ded. (bis);
- 26) Π² 1039.w22 (79/8, cf. SEG 22.110) decree;
- 27) Π² 1944.25 (75/4) cat.;
- 28) Π² 4464.1 (63/2) ded. (priv.);
- 29) Π² 1961.45 (post 37/6, cf. SEG 22.113) eph. cat.;
- 30) Π² 5515 (fin. s. I a.) sep. mon.;
- 31) *Eleusiniaka* 1 (1932) pp. 223 ff., lines 21–22 (25/4–18/7, cf. *Mélanges Bidez* pp. 819 ff.) decree;
- 32) Π² 3175.5 (10/9 a.–2/3 p.) ded.;
- 33) Π² 8006 (s. I a.) sep. mon.;
- 34) Π² 8033 (s. I a.) sep. mon. (bis);
- 35) Π² 8249 (s. I a.) sep. mon.;
- 36) Π² 12584/5 (s. I a.) sep. mon.;
- 37) Π² 12616 (s. I a.) sep. mon.;
- 38) *Hesperia* 32 (1963) p. 54, no. 102 (s. I a.) sep. mon.: Σ[α]ραπ[ί]ων Σ[α]ραπ[ί]ωνος;
- 39) Π² 9499.4 (s. I a./s. Ip.) sep. mon.;
- 40) Π² 2002.10 (s. Ip.) eph. cat.;
- 41) Π² 10123.4 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.;
- 42) Π² 11851 (s. IIp.) sep. mon.;
- 43) Π² 3634.2 (post 150 p.) ded. (L.);
- 44) Π² 2079.3 (158/9 p.) eph. cat.;
- 45) Π² 12586 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.;
- 46) *Hesperia* 29 (1960) p. 75, no. 149 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.;
- 47) *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p. 286, no. 175 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.;
- 48) Π² 10161 a (in text).4 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.;
- 49) Π² 8774 a (in add. nova) (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.;
- 50) Π² 9605 (date?) sep. mon.;

Σαραπιαστής:

- 51) Π² 1292.2, 17 (215/4, cf. Vidman p. 4, no. 2) decree (sarapiastai);

Σαραπιός (woman's name):

52) Π² 8280 (s. II a.) sep. mon.;

53) Π² 6811 (s. I a.) sep. mon.;

54) Π² 9866 (s. I a.) sep. mon.;

55) Π² 8279 (s. I a.) sep. mon.;

56) *Archaiologika Poikila* 1960 p. 17 (= *SEG* 19.277) (s. I p.) sep. mon.;

Σαραπιακός:

57) Π² 2200.7 (ca. 200 p.) eph. cat.: [Σ]αρά[π]ιακός;

58) *Hesperia* 29 (1960) p. 49, no. 59, line 4 (ca. 227/8–230/1 p.) ded.: Σαρά[π]ια[κοῦ];

Σαραπ-:

59) Π² 1035.56 (ca. 10/9–3/2, cf. *Hesperia* 44 [1975] pp. 221–223) decree: Σαράπ[ι];

Σεραπ-:

Φιλοσέραπης:

60) Π² 2100.23 (post 169/70 p.) eph. cat.: Φιλοσέραπ[ις];

Σέραπς, etc.:

61) *Hesperia* 36 (1967) p. 97, no. 28, line 7 (ca. 220 p.) ded.: Σεράπιδος;

Σεραπίων:

62) Π² 10210.1, 2 (s. II/I a.) sep. mon.: Σ^(ε)αράπιων | Σ^(α)εραπίωνος (L.). That the writer's final intention was Σαραπίων Σεραπίωνος can only be suggested with considerable hesitation. E and A have been superimposed in both lines, but as nothing has been erased it is hard to tell which letter was carved first in each case. In line 2 epsilon (smaller than the normal letter-size of this text) appears to cut through the strokes of the alpha and was probably carved second. In line 1 an earlier epsilon appears to have been converted into an alpha: at least the alpha seems to cut through the top hasta of the epsilon. The first two letters of line 1 (both epsilon and alpha) are also smaller than the rest of the lettering.

63) Π² 1757.24 (ca. 40–30, cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 [1937] p. 174, no. 106) pryt. cat.;

64) Π² 6829 (s. I a./s. I p.) sep. mon.;

65) Π² 8512.3 (s. I/II p.) sep. mon.;

66) Π² 2018.14 (init. s. II p.) eph. cat.;

67) Π² 2024.80 (112/3 p.) eph. cat.;

68) Π² 2038.3 (cf. *SEG* 12.112) (ca. 125/6 p.) eph. cat.;

69) Π² 2049.140 (142/3 p.) eph. cat. (L.);

70) Π² 2051.98 (144/5–149/50 p.) eph. cat.;

71) Π² 2059.39 (ca. 147/8 p.) eph. cat. (L.);

72) Π² 3012.1 (158/9 p.) ded.;

73) Π² 3607.19 (ante 161 p.) ded.;

74) Π² 2089.10 (162/3 aut 164/5 p.) eph. cat.;

75) Π² 2103.253 (172/3 p. aut paulo post) eph. cat.;

76) *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p. 48, no. 11, line 18 (182/3 p.) pryt. cat.;

77) Π² 1792.27 (ca. 172/3 p.) pryt. cat.;

78) Π² 2111/12.17 (182/3–190/1 p.) eph. cat.;

79) Π² 2119.31 (180/1–191/2 p.) eph. cat.;

80) Π² 2962.7, 13 (s. II p.) ded.;

- 81) Π² 2199.162 (ca. 200 p.) eph. cat.: Σερατίω(νος);
 82) Π² 1824.31 (post 216 p.) pryt. cat.;
 83) Π² 2208.92 (212/3 p. aut paulo post) eph. cat.;
 84) Π² 2218.2 (post 212/3 p.) eph. cat.;
 85) Π² 1832.23 (ca. 231/2 p.) pryt. cat.;
 86) Π² 2235.109 (226/7–234/5 p.) eph. cat.;
 87) Π² 2237.145 (230–235 p.) eph. cat. (L.);
 88) Π² 2242.6 (238/9 aut 242/3 p.) eph. cat.;
 89) Π² 2239.5 (238/9–243/4 p.) eph. cat. (L.);
 90) Π² 2243.9 (post 243/4 p.) eph. cat. (L.);
 91) Π² 2245.72 (262/3 aut 266/7 p.) eph. cat.;
 92) *Δελτιον* 25 (1970) p. 81, no. 55 (s. II/III p., al. π. X is surely a misprint for al. μ. X) sep. mon.;
 93) Π² 2283.8 (date ?) eph. cat.: Σερατίων;
 94) Π² 12587 (date ?) sep. mon.: Σερατίωνι;

Σεραπίās (woman's name):

- 95) Π² 9324 (fin. s. Ia./init. s. Ip.) sep. mon.;
 96) Π² 3962.5 (post 128/9 p.) ded.;

Σεραπίās:

- 97) Π² 1996.252 (84/5–92/3 p.) eph. cat. (L.);

Σεραπιακός:

- 98) Π² 2191.94 (ca. 200 p.) eph. cat.;

Σεραπίās (man's name):

- 99) Π² 2211.31 (init. s. III p.) eph. cat.: Σεραπίου;

Σεραπ-:

- 100) *Hesperia* 16 (1947) p. 179, no. 82, line 3 (ca. 175 p.) pryt. cat.: Σεραπ[.

Notes and Corrections:

The text *IG* III no. 1306 comes from Carystus (= *IG* XII.9, no. 11); in Π² 2021.36 (= *IG* III no. 1102) read Στρά[τ]ων (L.), not Σε[ραπ]ίων. The text *IG* III no. 3633 is suspect and was omitted from *IG* II²: cf. remarks of Dittenberger on p. 254 of *IG* III.2.

6.012 Ἀμφιάραος ~ Ἀμφιέραος. The dipinti have Ἀμφιάραος, i.e. Ἀμφιάρεος (cf. Corinthian Ἀμφιάρητος), or Ἀμφιάραος (only rf.); the reading Ἀφιέρεος on a bf. vase must be corrected to Ἀφιάρεος, cf. Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* pp. 122–123. There is no trace of the Attic Ἀμφιάρεος in stone texts, where Ἀμφιάραος is normal for the name of the deity (also rarely a man's name); Ἀμφιέραος is rare (nos. 8, 11, 23). For the festival there is one case of Ἀμφιέρεια before Roman times (no. 7); in the later Roman Period are found Ἀμφιέρεια (nos. 20, 22, 24), Ἀμφιάραια (no. 18), and Ἀμφιέραια (nos. 19, 21), but not Ἀμφιάρεια. In the decree of amphieraiastai (no. 12), Ἀμφιάραος and Ἀμφιεραιιστής occur in close proximity.

'Αμφιέρεια might be the result of assimilation, but the 'Αμφιέρως spellings are puzzling: perhaps derived from 'Αμφιέρεια, due to dissimilative tendencies, or result of confusion with ιερός, ιερεΐα, etc. The etymology is obscure, cf. GEW 1, p. 99. Cf. 26.01 d, p. 390 *infra*; 26.02, p. 391 *infra*.

Examples:

- 1) 'Αμφιέρως Π² 171 (400–350) epistyle of a decree;
- 2) 'Αμφιέρωι Π² 4394 (post 350) ded. (priv.);
- 3) 'Αμφιέρωι Π² 333.c21 (335/4) decree;
- 4) 'Αμφιέρου Π² 338.15, 27–28 (333/2) decree (actually found at Oropos);
- 5) 'Αμφιέρων Π² 1672.305 (329/8) inv. (L.);
- 6) 'Αμφιέρου Agora 15, p. 59, no. 49, lines 45, 57 (= AE 1917, p. 40, no. 92) (328/7) decree;
- 7) 'Αμφιέρ[ε]ια Π² 3140 (s. IV/III a.) ded., now only 'Αμφιέρ[ε] is legible (L.);
- 8) 'Αμφιέρω[ι] Π² 4436 (s. IV/III a.) ded. (priv.);
- 9) 'Αμφιέρων Π² 1282.13 (261/0) decree (thiasotai?);
- 10) 'Αμφιέρωι Π² 4441.1 (217/6) ded. (priv.) (no. 17 *infra* is on this same stone) (L.);
- 11) 'Αμφιέρωι Π² 4452 (s. III a.) ded. (priv.);
- 12) 'Αμφιέρωι Π² 1322.2 (fin. s. III a./init. s. II a.) decree (amphieraistai), but 'Αμφιεραισταίς *ib.* 11, 18;
- 13) 'Αμφιέρως Π² 2363.22 (ca. 100) cat.;
- 14) 'Αμφιέρων Π² 1344.10 (post 28/9 p.) an agreement of two synodoi (?);
- 15) 'Αμφιέρως (man's name) Π² 1997.11 (85/6–94/5 p.) eph. cat.;
- 16) 'Αμφιέρων Π² 2776.13 (aet. Trajani, cf. *Hesperia* 41 [1972] p. 476) financial doc.;
- 17) 'Αμφιέρω Π² 4441.11 (s. II p.) ded. (priv.) (no. 10 *supra* is on this same stone) (L.);
- 18) [Α]μφιέρων Π² 2196.12 (ca. 200 p.) eph. cat. (L.);
- 19) 'Αμφιέρων Π² 2193.28 (198/9–205/6 p., cf. Graindor, *Album* p. 55) eph. cat. (L.);
- 20) 'Αμφιέρ[ε]ω[ν] Π² 2197.14 (paulo post 200 p.) eph. cat.;
- 21) 'Αμφιέρων Π² 2208.109 (212/3 p. aut paulo post) eph. cat.;
- 22) 'Αμφιέρων (αι = ε, cf. 15.013, no. 85) Π² 2237.58 (230–235 p.) eph. cat. (L.);
- 23) 'Αμφιέρωι Π² 4530 (s. II/III p.) ded. (priv.);
- 24) 'Αμφιέρων Π² 2242.39 (238/9 aut 242/3 p.) eph. cat.

6.013 Πυγελεύς~Πυγαλεύς. In the fifth-c. tribute documents there are two examples of Πυγαλῆς for the more common Πυγελῆς, ethnic of the town in Ionia later known as Πύγελα or Φύγελα (cf. 38.012). The word is not found in later Attic inscriptions, but elsewhere the -ελ- spelling was clearly normal (cf. *ATL* 1 p. 543 for fourth-c. examples; add Πυγελεῖς *SEG* 23.189, col. 2.9, Argive text of ca. 330). The α for ε is due to characteristic difficulties in finding an Attic equivalent for the vowel of the foreign word.

Lit.: *MS*³ p. 15, note 66.

Examples (all tribute lists):

Πυγαλῆς:

- 1) Π² 199.7 (= *ATL* 2, no. 9) (446/5);
- 2) Π² 213.40 (= *ATL* 2, no. 23, col. 1.47) (432/1);

Πυγελῆς:

- 3) I² 202.29 (= ATL 2, no. 12) (443/2);
- 4) I² 203.29 (= ATL 2, no. 13) (442/1);
- 5) I² 204.3 (= ATL 2, no. 14, col. 1.15) (441/0);
- 6) I² 205.13 (= ATL 2, no. 15) (440/39);
- 7) I² 64.41 (= ATL 2, no. A 9, col. 1.151) (425/4) decree (in trib. list appended at end);
- 8) I² 221.22 (= ATL 2, no. 40, col. 1.24) (415/14).

6.014 Ἀρρηφορῶ, ἀρρηφόρος ~ ἐρρηφορῶ, ἐρρηφόρος (ἐρσηφόρος). Ten examples of ἐρρηφορῶ specifically mention Athena (nos. 4–12, 14), but one lost text (no. 13) tied this spelling to Demeter and Kore. Ἀρρηφορῶ is mentioned in a decree in connection with the Epidauria (no. 1) where it clearly means no more than κα-νηφορ-, cf. κανηφορήσασαν in II² 3554.19–22 (= no. 11, with ἐρρηφορήσασαν Ἀθηνᾶ). The other text with ἀρρηφορῶ (no. 3) and those with the examples of ἀρρηφόρος (no. 2) and ἐρρηφόρος (no. 15) do not mention the name of any deity. Thus it is perhaps risky to assume that the specific religious observance concerned with Athena (cf. Pausanias 1.27.3) must be meant in nos. 2, 3 and 15. Even if the ἐρρηφορία and ἀρρηφορία were originally distinct (so Nilsson, Adrados, cf. Lit. infra), there is no epigraphical evidence that ἀρρηφορ- and ἐρρηφορ- were not interchangeable at Athens by the Hellenistic Period (there are no earlier examples). The spellings in ἐρρηφορ- are both considerably more common than those in ἀρρηφορ- and are spread over a longer period of time (ca. 220 B.C. to after 150 A.D.). Two instances of ἐρσηφόρος on seats in the Theatre of Dionysus (nos. 16–17) involve the deities Chloe Themis and Ilithyia. The presence of the non-Attic -ρσ- may reflect later learned attempts to explain ἐρρηφορ- with reference to Ἐρση.

The etymologies and interrelationships of these terms remain obscure. The Ancients derived ἀρρηφορ- from ἄρρητος, with a difficult apocope (accepted by Deubner, cf. infra) and associated ἐρρηφορ- with Ἐρση, daughter of Cecrops, semantically very difficult. On the strength of the epigraphical evidence the text of Lysias 21.5 is generally emended from Ἀρρηφορίας to Ἐρρηφορίας (C. Robert). ἡρρηφόρουν Aristoph. *Lys.* 642 is of course ambiguous and Dinarchus fr. 6.4 is known only via Harpocration; other attestations in codd. are in late writers. It should be noted that an original ἀρρηφορ- could have been assimilated to ἐρρηφορ-, or an original ἐρρηφορ- could have been dissimilated to ἀρρηφορ-.

Lit.: MS³ p. 15, note 67; Lademann p. 121; DEG 1 p. 115 with lit.; Nilsson, *Geschichte gr. Religion* 1³ p. 441; L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* pp. 9 ff.; F. R. Adrados, *Emerita* 19 (1951) pp. 117–133; W. Burkert, *Hermes* 94 (1966) pp. 1 ff., especially p. 17, note 1.

Examples (all dedications except nos. 1, 16): ἀρρηφορ-:

- 1) II² 974.19 (= *Hesperia* 28 [1959] p. 188, no. 10) (137/6) decree: ἀρρηφοροῦσαν;
- 2) II² 3528.1 (init. s. Ip.): ἀρρηφόρον (L.);
- 3) II² 3960.3 (post 128/9 p.): ἀρρηφορήσασα (L.);

*ἐρρηφορ-:**ἐρρηφορήσασα(ν):*

- 4) II² 3461.5 (ca. 220): ἐρρ[η]φο[ρ]ήσασα[ι];
- 5) II² 3472.4 (200–150);

- 6) Π² 3470.7 (200–150): ἐρ[ρη]φορήσασα[ν] (L.);
- 7) Π² 3471.4 (200–150): ἐρρ[η]φορήσασαν];
- 8) Π² 3497.4 (s. Ia.) (L.);
- 9) Π² 3496.5 (s. Ia.);
- 10) Π² 3515.3 (aet. Augusti): ἐ[ρρη]φορήσασαν Ἀθην]ᾱ;
- 11) Π² 3554.3 (s. Ip.);
- 12) Π² 3555.3 (s. Ip.);
- 13) Π² 3729 (date ?);

ἐρρηφοροῦσαν:

- 14) Π² 3473.4 (ca. 150) (L.);

ἐρρηφόρον:

- 15) Π² 3634.1 (post 150 p.) (L.);

ἐρρηφόροις:

- 16)–17) Π² 5098, 5099 (aet. Rom.) theatre-seats.

6.015 Ἑκαδήμεια→Ἀκαδήμεια. The recent finding in the Academy of a *horos in situ* inscribed ὁρος τῆς ἑκαδεμείας confirms the statement of Diogenes Laertius 3.7 that the original form of the name was Ἑκαδήμεια, *Deltion* 22 (1967) *Chronika* p. 46 (= AAA 1 [1968] pp. 101, 107; BCH 92 [1968] p. 733, fig. 9; SEG 24.54); the text probably dates to the later sixth century. Several years earlier Beazley had already suggested that the ΕΕΚΑ[on an early bf. vase should be restored to the name of the eponymous hero of the Academy, Ἑκάδημος, cf. AJA 58 (1954) p. 187 (= ABV p. 27, no. 36). For the name, cf. Φεκάδαμος IG VII no. 593 (= DGE p. 230, no. 452.5) (s. VI/Va.) sep. mon. from Tanagra. The later attestations are later than 300 B.C. and have always Ἀκαδημ-: Ἀκαδήμεια (toponym) occurs in Π² 1006.20 (122/1) decree; Π² 2776.89, cf. 185 (aet. Trajani, cf. *Hesperia* 41 [1972] p. 476) financial doc.; cf. ἰαδημείαι *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p. 15, no. 9, line 4 (184–171) decree. An Athenian named Ἀκάδημος is mentioned in a decree, Π² 678.39 (256/5, cf. SEG 21.377); cf. the person of this name defended by Hyperides in the fourth c., PA no. 460. Attested as a woman's name (all these persons probably slaves):

Ἀκαδήμεια: Π² 10617 (s. II/Ia.) sep. mon.

Ἀκαδήμεια: Π² 8558 (s. Ia.) (L.); *Deltion* 21 (1966) *Chronika* p. 107, no. 3 (needs correction, cf. *Deltion* 23 [1968] p. 296, no. 2; SEG 25.274) (aet. Rom.) sep. monuments. Probably also in another sep. mon., Π² 10616 (s. I/IIp.), where an upright stroke in between the final Ε and Α is probably not a letter but a stray mark (L.). For the spelling without iota, cf. 16.021f, no. 4, p. 320 *infra*.

Ἀκαδημ- doubtless arose from Ἑκαδημ- through assimilation, but the loss of the aspiration remains unexplained; the opposite assimilation is perhaps to be seen in Φεκάδαμος IG IX.2 no. 662 (= DGE p. 277, no. 584.2) (450–425? cf. LSAG p. 99, no. 9) sep. mon. from Thessaly.

Lit.: Schwyzler, GG 1, pp. 226, 256; Lejeune, *Phonétique* p. 238, no. 254 and note 3; p. 134 (= *Traité*² pp. 115, 208); C. de Simone, ZVS 84 (1970) p. 219, notes 26–29; J. Schmidt, ZVS 32 (1893) p. 393.

6.02 Confusion of α and ι

a) Μιτροδάτης is attested once in the Hellenistic Period: II² 4684 (s. IIIa.) ded. of a person (almost certainly not Athenian) of unknown origin. This same spelling is found in codd. to Herodotus 1.110, 121 (the man was a Mede). Μιθριδάτης is normal in texts of the Roman Period: II² 3444.3 (ante 17 p.) ded. of the demos to the Commagene monarch (both Μιθραδ- and Μιθριδ- on coins of these rulers, cf. *HN*² pp.774–5, s. Ia.–s. Ip.); II² 1968.1 (41–54 p.) eph. cat.: archon at Athens; II² 2472.8 (ca. 140–144 p.) cat.; II² 9180 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon. Μιθραδάτης occurs on all the coins of the various Pontic rulers, cf. *HN*² pp.500 ff. (s. III–Ia.), even on those minted at Athens in 87–86 B.C. (*HN*² p.385). To the Greeks the derivation from Μιθρα was apparent, and the fondness for Μιθριδ- was probably due to the abnormality of α as a connecting vowel in composition. Μιθριδάτης is found in a text from Oropos as early as ca. 240 B.C., cf. *IG* VII no.303.80. In Μιτροβάτης the ο is again the connecting vowel of compounds: the name occurs once, II² 4689 (init. s. IIa.) ded. (priv.) (L.), person of unknown origin. Codd. to Herodotus 3.120 vary between Μιτροβάτης and Μιτραβάτης (the man was a Persian). For this ο as connecting vowel, cf. Μιθροδάτης, found in papyri, Mayser-Schmoll p.38; ἐμυτροφόρου, codd. to Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae* 163. Cf. also Μιθραξίδης, name of Cappadocian, II² 980.11 (ca. 150) decree.

For the variation Μιτρ- ~ Μιθρ-, cf. 38.012b, p.453 infra.

b) A decree of the fifth c. attests the Macedonian name Ἀρραβαῖος, cf. I² 71.75, 76 (ca. 436? cf. *SEG* 21.30); cf. the same spelling on a decree from Troy honoring another member of this family, *SIG*³ no.188 (360/59). The Ἀρριβ(β)αῖος of the codd. of Polyaeus 7.30 is probably a Hellenized form based on names in Ἀρρι-. Only Ἀρρι- in the Macedonian name Ἀρριδαῖος, cf. II² 102.20 (ca. 370) decree; *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p.47, no.7, line 4 (173/2–168/7) decree: Ἀρριδαῖος. The Ἀρριδαῖος on a text from Thrace may belong to the same family, as noted by G.A. Stamires (*Hesperia* 26, p.50, note 77), cf. *OGIS* no.301. The name is spelled Ἐγριδαῖος in a treaty from Olynthos, cf. *SIG*² no.135.

c) Known only from an early copy: Μασσιννασοῦ, cf. II² 2316.44 (ca. 166/5) cat. of Panathenaic victors; Kirchner had no independent authority for printing Μασσιννασοῦ in *IG* II². Non-Attic texts of the same date have Μασσιννασῶς, cf. *IG* XI.4, nos.1115–1116 (ca. 167) dedications. The Μασσινισσῶς of codd. to Lucian Μακρόβιοι 17 may be a more Hellenized form or be related to Latin Masinissa; literary codd. usually have Μασσιννασσ-, cf. Pape-Benseler p.870.

d) Ἀφαιδαῖο(ς) *Agora* 15, p.59, no.49, line 24 (= *AE* 1917, p.40, no.92) (328/7) decree, might be assimilation or just a careless graphic mistake; Ἀφι- occurs in this word in *ib.* 5, 42, 48.

A careless writing error: ΤΕΤΙΡΤΩΙ (= τετάρτωι) II² 1534A.45 (291/0, cf. *SEG* 16.118) inv. *Lit.*: MS³ p.15, notes 70–72; Lademann p.115; Schwyzer, *GG* 1, p.206; *Gram. pergamenischen Inschriften* p.34.

6.03 Confusion of α and ο

a) Two early rf. vases attest the existence of Κερκυανεύς alongside Κερκύων (cf. Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* p.203): Κερκυα[νεύς ? ARV² p.191, Kleophrades painter no.104 (= HRF 2, p.147, no.36); [Κερ]κυανεύς ARV² p.260, Syriskos painter no.7 (= CVA, France 2, plate 22.4). In both cases the figures depicted make it certain that the individual is the same as that labeled Κερκύων elsewhere, e.g. ARV² p.318, Onesimos no.1 (= HRF 1, p.398, no.11); ARV² p.1174, Aison no.1 (= CVA, Spain 2, plates 1–5). A small fragment of an eph. cat. has Κερκυονεύς, an epithet of Apollo, cf. Π² 1972.7 (ca. 45 p.) (L.). Κερκυονεύς would be a back-formation from Κερκύων; for original α in Κερκυανεύς, cf. Schulze, ZVS 33 (1895) p.320 (= KS² p.393).

b) In a decree of a garrison of troops including mercenaries dated just after 236/5, παρεσκευάσσοτο (= παρεσκευάσατο) is more likely just a copying error than an assimilation, cf. Π² 1299.7 (this omicron not different from others on the monument, L.).

c) Attic inscriptions agree with Bosphoran coins in the spelling Σπάρτακος, cf. e.g. Π² 212.1, 9, etc. (347/6); Π² 653.10, etc. (285/4) (L.) decrees; Π² 7972 (s. IIa.) sep. mon. For the coins cf. HN² p.503 (s. IIa.).

Codd. of literary writers (Diodorus, etc.) have Σπάρτακος. For τ~δ in this word, cf. 35.03 c, p.438 *infra*.

d) καλᾶς on a rf. vase (alongside καλός several times), cf. ARV² p.948, related to Painter of London E 777 no.5 (= CVA, USA 5, plate 38.1), and κολός on another, cf. ARV² p.1188, Pothos painter no.1 (= CVA, USA 2, plate 23.1 a–c; HRF 2, p.387, no.8), might be graphic mistakes or assimilation (note intervening liquid), cf. 26.01 *infra*. Cf. κατοδῶ (corrected from κατοδοῖ) on a defixio, IG III.3, no.51.3 (s. IVa.), alongside καταδῶ *ib.* 1.

For Θεο-/Θεαγένης, etc.; Νεο-/Νεαπολίτης, cf. Morphology.

Lit.: MS³ p.16, note 73.

6.04 η vs. ᾱ

6.041 Attic ᾱ

The distribution of η and ᾱ has reached its final form in Attica by the time of the earliest written documents. Thus η appears for ᾱ (usually original or resulting from loss of Indo-European s, e.g. ἑφᾱνα) except after ε, ι, or ρ (but η from ᾱ after -ρϕ-, cf. κόρη). -εᾱ contracted directly to -η, which is thus not for -ᾱ, although contracted -εᾱ does appear as -ᾱ after ε, ι (but not ρ, cf. e.g. ὄρη). -εᾱ probably also contracted directly to -η, as in χρυσῆ, χαλκῆ, etc. (but ἀργυρᾱ).

The earliest examples on stone monuments are: στέλε I² 997 (= IGAA p.129, no.22; LSAG p.76, no.8) (ca. 625–600?); νεαράν ἡέβεν I² 976 (= IGAA p.133, no.34) (ca. 560–550?); φιλεμοσύνης I² 1016 (= IGAA p.136, no.41; LSAG p.77, no.22) (ca. 540?); φίλες I² 1012 (= IGAA p.137, no.44; LSAG p.77, no.23) (ca. 550–540?); ἡαπάσες, ἀνο[ρ]έαν, ἡελιμίας I² 1021 (= IGAA p.143, no.56) (ca. 550–540?); ἀδελφεῖς φίλες, στέλεν, Εὐκοσμίδες IGAA p.139, no.48 (= SEG 10.452a) (ca. 540?); Φρασικλείας, κόρε I² 1014 (= IGAA p.138, no.46; LSAG

p.78, no.29) (ca. 540?); Μυρίνες I² 1009 (= IGAA p.142, no.54) (ca. 525–500?); Λυσέαι I² 1025 (= IGAA p.141, no.53) (ca. 525–500?); μνῆμα, σοφίας I² 1019 (= IGAA p.147, no.66) all these texts sepulchral monuments; φόρει I² 468 (558? cf. DAA p.358) ded.; κόρει I² 663 (+ I² 548, cf. DAA p.10, no.6) (527–514) ded.; I² 500 (= DAA p.196, no.171) (init. s. Va.) ded., etc. Cf. κρατέρα in the Attic copy, κρητήρα in the Ionic, on a sep. mon. from Sigeion, DGE p.356, no.731 (ca. 550? cf. AAG² pp.165ff.; LSAG p.371, nos.43–44). Cf. numerous examples of ἈθENAΙΑ on archaic dedications (cf. 15.0121, pp.271ff. infra).

Metrical texts often have Ionic η where Attic should have ā because of the artificial character of the diction, often pseudo-epic. Cf. αἰδοίεν, πατρώες I² 978 (ca. 525–500, cf. IGAA p.130, no.24) sep. mon.; φιλοχσενίες, ἈθENAΙΕΙ I² 530 (= DAA p.126, no.121) (ca. 475?) ded.; γενεήν II² 13102a (in text).2 (ca. 350) sep. mon.; πυρκαϊή II² 8494.5 (init. s. IIIa.) sep. mon., alongside κενεαῖ, σκοτίας, όσίαν; σοφίης, [Ἀχα]δημείης II² 12764 (ca. 167/6) sep. mon.; etc. In the Roman Period this use of Ionic η is very frequent in poetical texts, especially sep. monuments, e.g. Παφίη II² 12664.5 (s. Ip.), γενεήν II² 10457a (in add.).3 (ca. 100p.), λυγρήν II² 12628.6 (s. IIp.), πάτρης, Αύσονίην II² 12473 (s. III/IVp.), etc.; also on dedications, e.g. Θρήμικες II² 4786.4 (s. Ip.; early, cf. SEG 24.227; 19.223); εύνομή II² 4797 (s. IIp.); etc.; cf. Σελήναίης II² 4997.4 (s. I/IIp.) oracular response.

Apart from texts consistently written in Doric or some other dialect which shows ā where Attic has η, spellings in ā occur not infrequently in metrical texts, and in conjunction with spellings in η where Attic would have ā. Cf. έφεμοσύναι, σῆμα IGAA p.122, no.14 (= GVI 1, p.46, no.161; SEG 21.199) (ca. 510–500) sep. mon.; ηυπλοσύνα[ι] I² 946.2 (probably part of the same monument as I² 944; variously dated as ca. 431, cf. SEG 22.64, or 458/7, cf. GVI 1, p.6, no.14) cas. list; this text is preserved as no.254 of Book 7 of the *Anthologia Palatina*, where the manuscripts vary between ηυποσύνη and ηυποσύνη, cf. J. Waltz' Budé edition, volume 4 (Paris, 1938); ἈθENAΙΑ, but άπαρχέν, τῆι, Θεβάδες (the sculptor's name) I² 499 (ca. 510–500? cf. DAA p.308, no.290) ded.; κόραι I² 590 (ca. 500? cf. DAA p.87, no.82) ded.; κόραι, εύχσάμενε I² 451 (fin. s. VIa.) fr. of a bronze ded., certainly metrical, cf. I² 529; ἈθANĀ, μνῆμα, ήδε I² 643 (init. s. Va., cf. DAA p.53, no.53) ded.; φρασμοσύναι, Ὀνάτᾱς, but μετρός I² 503 (init. s. Va.? cf. DAA p.272, no.236) ded. (L.). For the mixture of α and η in metrical texts of the Archaic Period, cf. the remarks of Peek, *Kerameikos* 3, p.25. It is not uncommon in metrical texts of later times, cf. e.g. άρετᾱς, alongside μητερ, II² 7711 (= GVI 1, p.414, no.1386) (390–365); άρετᾱς II² 11960 (= GVI 1, p.435, no.1466) (ca. 250); μάτηρ, but άψαμένη, ληστῶν II² 13132a (in text) (= *Hesperia* 7 [1938] p.470, no.29, cf. p.471; GVI 1, p.366, no.1242) (s. IIp.) all sep. monuments; άθανάτᾱ, δερχομένᾱ, θνατῶν next to στήσεν II² 4792 (s. IIp.) ded. (priv.); μορφᾱς, but μο|ιριδίη, etc. II² 13152 (s. II/IIIp.) sep. mon.; etc.

By and large the dipinti have the Attic spellings. Some of the earlier examples: ἈθENAΙΑ (but ā in Αρεπυια for Ἀρπυια) on a vase of the Nettos painter (fl.625–600) ABV p.5, no.4 (= LSAG p.76, no.6b); ΑΙΝΙΑ clay plaque dated ca. 600, LSAG

p. 77, no. 11 (= v. Bothmer, *Amazons* plate 1.2); *ἡεστία* ABV p. 39, Sophilos no. 15 (= HBF p. 336, no. 2; LSAG p. 77, no. 14a) (ca. 575–550); *ἡεστία*, *Ἀστερία*, *Κλιτίας*, *Ἀταλάτῃ*, *Δαμασισράτῃ*, *Λυσιδίτῃ*, *Διομέδῃ*, etc., on the François vase, ABV p. 76, Kleitias no. 1 (= HBF p. 150) (ca. 570); of the numerous names of the François vase only *Στεσιχόρῃ* (Muse) is anomalous, where Schulze saw the influence of epic diction, cf. GGA 1896 p. 240, and p. 246, note 2 (= KS² p. 702; p. 708, note 3). Occasional spellings with non-Attic *ā* or with Ionic *η* are not surprising, as some painters were certainly not Athenians, and the influence of epic was especially strong where the names of mythological figures so frequent on vases were concerned. A few feminine names in *ā* are collected by Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* p. 78. For the contrast between *Τερψιχόρῃ*, with Attic *ā*, on a rf. vase in the British Museum, ARV² p. 1039, Peleus painter no. 13 (= CVA, England 4, plate 11.1a–c) and *Τερσευχόρῃ* (gen. sing.), showing literary influence, on another, ARV² p. 1080, Clío painter no. 1 (cf. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* p. 662, no. 2401), cf. Schulze, *loc. cit. supra*.

Probably just copying errors: ΠΗΡΑ (= παρά) Π² 1629.509 (325/4) inv., cf. *ὠμολόγησε(ι)ν* in *ib.* 505 (L.); ΣΗΣΑΜΑΣΜΕΝΑ (= σεσημασμένα) Π² 1455.16 (340/39) inv.; ΗΠΙΑΣΑΣ (for *ἁπάσας*) on a defixio of the fourth c. B.C. is probably also a crude writing mistake (cf. 1.021, p. 25 *supra*. HXS[for *ἄχσιον* in Π² 10.2 (453/2) decree, can be discounted as a copying error of Fauvel's; for the date, cf. Meiggs–Lewis p. 89, no. 40).

An altogether peculiar spelling is seen in *Ἀλημεύς* (with *ηι* for *αι*), found in a sep. mon., Π² 5476 (post 350) (L.). Unless purely clerical perhaps due to assimilation (cf. 26.01 *infra*), as this text is too early for the spelling to be related to very rare cases of *η* for *αι* (= [e]) as in 15.013, p. 294.

Also without parallel is *ἐγγυατή[ν]* for *ἐγγυητή* in the locatio, Π² 2498.5 (321/0); perhaps confusion of nouns in *-ατης* and *-ητης* (?).

Always *ā* in *στοά* (← *στοῖα*, a spelling attested outside Attica) (examples in 17.021, p. 326 *infra*), but *η* in *χλόη* (← **χλόῃ*, cf. GEW 2, p. 1104) (examples in 17.021c, p. 326 *infra*) and *Ο(ῖ)η* (← **οῖα*? cf. p. 332 *infra*) (examples in 17.0213, pp. 331–332 *infra*). The *η* of *φθόη*, attested in the defixio, IG II.3, no. 98.5 (s. III a.?), is not from the origin of the word as an Ionic medical term (so Schwyzler, cf. MS³ p. 57, note 480), but is normal Attic, cf. Rabehl p. 15.

Attic spellings are:

διανεκής: cf. Π² 1666.B60 (356/5–353/2) inv.; Π² 1668.81 (347/6) inv.; Π² 1361.5 (post 350) sacred law (*orgeones*); AE 1971 p. 83, no. 4, line 43 (= Π² 1673 + new fr.) (333/2? cf. AE 1971 p. 112) inv.; Π² 1682.10 (285/4) inv. The spelling is cited as Attic by Moeris p. 195 (ed. Bekker, Berlin 1833) and is in fact a hyper-Atticism, cf. Schwyzler's description of it as "künstlich attisiert" GG 1, p. 190.

τήγανον (attested once): Π² 1491.38 (307/6) inv.

For *ἀνήλωμα*, etc. (*η* an extension of the augmented verb forms); *χρᾶσθαι* ~ *χρῆσθαι*, cf. Morphology.

Lit.: MS³ pp. 16–17, notes 74–82.

6.042 η vs. $\bar{\alpha}$ in personal names, ethnic adjectives, etc.

6.0421 Ethnic adjectives

For the fifth century the tribute lists are the best evidence for the Attic practice in spelling foreign ethnic adjectives.

a) Where the local form has $\bar{\alpha}$ in an environment where Attic would have η the tendency was to alter $\bar{\alpha}$ to η :

Σηλυμβριανός. This spelling frequent in the tribute lists (cf. 35.01a, p.435 *infra*); also *passim* in the decree, I² 116 (409/8 aut ca. 407, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.267, no.87). Σηλυμβριανός is also found in the decree, II² 43.B29 (378/7); sep. mon., II² 10261 (= LSAG p.371, no.39) (fin. s. Va.?) Σηλυμβριανά (L.). The local form in Σαλ- is retained in the sep. mon. honoring Pythagores of this city, I² 1034 (ante 450? cf. LSAG p.366), apparently in Attic dialect except for the ethnic and the man's name; cf. Σαλυπριανός II² 10261a (in text) (ca. 350–300) sep. mon. Σα-, Σαλ- on local coins, cf. HN² p.271.

Ἑσσοι/ἑσσοι. These are the spellings for the ethnic of Ἑσσοί in the tribute lists (examples in 42.0111). The spelling is hyper-Atticized; contemporary coins have ΑΣΣ-, cf. HN² p.542.

Ληγ[σαῖοι occurs once in a list of tributary states at the end of a decree, cf. I² 64.42 (= ATL 2, no.A9, col.1.152) (425/4), ethnic of a town in Ionia. This hyper-Ionized spelling also in codd. to Herodotus 1.149, in reference to the town of the same name in Aeolis; this is the Λάγ[σα of ATL 2, no.A10, col.4.19 (= I² 64.96, corrected) (422/1) and the Λ[άγισα] of no.A9, col.3.130, where the crucial vowel is not preserved (cf. Λάγισσα in codd. of Xenophon HG 3.1.7, 16). Local coins of *both* cities have only Λαγ-, cf. HN² p.555 (Aeolian Larisa, fourth-c. B.C.), p.580 (Ionian Larisa, ca. 300 B.C.). An ethnic Λαγισαῖος is frequent in later texts, e.g. II² 1956.61 (fin. s. IVa.) cat. of mercenaries; II² 9199 (s. III/IIa.), II² 9200 (init. s. Ip.), II² 9201 (s. IIIa.) all sep. monuments; probably it refers to Thessalian Larisa in all these cases.

Καλχηδόνιος is the only spelling found in tribute lists (examples in 38.02); cf. also II² 8950 (post 300) sep. mon.; Καλχηδόνα, Καλχηδόνος (masc. personal name) II² 1006.46 (bis), 131 (122/1) decree. The local Καλχαδόνιος retained on the sep. mon., II² 8949 (post 350). ΚΑΛΧΑ on local coins (after 280 B.C.), cf. HN² p.512.

Μεσσηνίος. This spelling in official documents, e.g. Μεσσε[νε] (eponymous goddess) I² 37 (ca. 446? cf. SEG 21.25; 23.13) decree fr.; Μεσσηνίος; *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p.287, no.10, line 9 (= I² 328.9) (ca. 414) inv.; Μεσσηνι-: II² 225.6 (343/2), II² 986.5, 15 (ca. 150) decrees; cf. II² 9340–II² 9345, II² 9347 (s. IVa.–s. Ip.) sep. monuments. Μεσσανίος: II² 1956.63 (fin. s. IVa.) cat. of mercenaries; II² 9346 (date?) sep. mon.; Μεσάνιος: I² 1030 (= LSAG p.206, no.14) (ca. 500 aut paulo post) sep. mon.

From the foregoing cases it seems clear that $\bar{\alpha}$ was avoided in official documents, especially in the fifth c., but that the usage of sep. monuments was less standardized, as we should expect (cf. Introduction pp.4–6 *supra*).

b) In ethnics of East Ionic areas with η in an environment in which Attic would normally have $\bar{\alpha}$, e.g. after ι as in Πιγίγη, etc., the orthography of the tribute lists is much less standardized; both the foreign spellings with η and Attic forms with $\bar{\alpha}$ are found:

Πριανεύς, Πριηνεύς. Πριανῆς is normal in the tribute lists: *ATL* 2, no. 2, col. 10.8 (= *I*² 197.12) (453/2), *I*² 195.34 (= *ATL* 2, no. 5, col. 5.22) (450/49), *I*² 196.18 (= *ATL* 2, no. 7) (448/7), *ATL* 2, no. 26, col. 4.57 (429/8). Πριενῆς occurs in one list, *I*² 202.28 (= *ATL* 2, no. 12) (443/2), and Πριην- is the spelling normal later, cf. *I*² 564–*I*² 567 (fin. s. IV a.), *I*² 693 (init. s. III a.) decrees; *I*² 1956.158 (fin. s. IV a.) cat. of mercenaries; *Hesperia* 32 (1963) p. 46, no. 65 (init. s. II a.) cat.; etc. The Πριανεύς (masc. anthroponym) of *I*² 1635.128 (post 374/3), inv. of the Delian amphiktyons, is the same individual as the Πριηνεύς of *I*² 1637.11, a similar text of somewhat later date.

Ethnic in -ιήτης, -ιάτης. Complete lack of standardization in the tribute lists:

Αύλιᾶται: *I*² 191.13 (= *ATL* 2, no. 1) (454/3), *I*² 192.13 (= *ATL* 2, no. 2, col. 6.16) (453/2), *I*² 203.3 (= *ATL* 2, no. 13) (442/1), *I*² 204.51 (= *ATL* 2, no. 14, col. 2.68) (441/0), *I*² 212.15 (= *ATL* 2, no. 22) (433/2). Also Ούλιᾶται *I*² 196.7 (= *ATL* 2, no. 7) (448/7); Αύλεᾶται *I*² 194.6 (= *ATL* 2, no. 4) (451/0).

Αύλιᾶται: *I*² 195.9 (= *ATL* 2, no. 5) (450/49), *I*² 202.2 (= *ATL* 2, no. 12, col. 4.2) (443/2).

Ἰᾶται: *I*² 191.14 (= *ATL* 2, no. 1) (454/3), *I*² 192.10 (= *ATL* 2, no. 2, col. 6.13) (453/2), *I*² 193.13 (= *ATL* 2, no. 3) (452/1), *I*² 204.74 (= *ATL* 2, no. 14, col. 2.92) (441/0).

Ἰᾶται: *I*² 195.35 (= *ATL* 2, no. 5, col. 4.23) (450/49), *I*² 200.22 (= *ATL* 2, no. 10, col. 4.27) (445/4), *ATL* 2, no. 12, col. 5.27 (= *I*² 202.27) (443/2), *I*² 212.82 (= *ATL* 2, no. 22, col. 1.87) (433/2), *I*² 223.7 (= *ATL* 2, no. 33; *Hesperia* 41 [1972] pp. 418 ff.) (418/7), *I*² 224.9 (= *ATL* 2, no. 38.8) (417/6), *ATL* 2, no. 39.20 (416/5). So also in the trib. list appended at the end of a decree, *I*² 63.77 (= *ATL* 2, no. A9) (425/4).

Κεδριᾶται: *I*² 199.24 (= *ATL* 2, no. 9, col. 3.22) (446/5), *I*² 203.5 (= *ATL* 2, no. 13) (442/1), *I*² 204.59 (= *ATL* 2, no. 14, col. 2.76) (441/0).

Κεδριᾶται: *I*² 191.17 (= *ATL* 2, no. 1) (454/3), *I*² 193.12 (= *ATL* 2, no. 3) (452/1), *I*² 202.4 (= *ATL* 2, no. 12) (443/2), *I*² 214.7 (= *ATL* 2, no. 27) (428/7).

Ναχοῦᾶται: *I*² 193.8 (= *ATL* 2, no. 3) (452/1), *I*² 196.2 (= *ATL* 2, no. 7, col. 2.2) (448/7), *I*² 204.56 (= *ATL* 2, no. 14, col. 1.73) (441/0), *I*² 213.25 (= *ATL* 2, no. 23, col. 1.32) (432/1).

Ναχοῦᾶται: *I*² 194.13 (= *ATL* 2, no. 4) (451/0), *I*² 202.23 (= *ATL* 2, no. 12) (443/2).

Rare: Βαργυλιᾶται: *I*² 205.78 (= *ATL* 2, no. 15, col. 2.81) (440/39).

Οιᾶται: *I*² 191.29 (= *ATL* 2, no. 1, col. 3.26) (454/3).

Ὅρανιᾶται: *ATL* 2, no. 2, col. 1.16 (= *I*² 192.13, corrected) (453/2), *ATL* 2, no. 4, col. 5.27 (= *I*² 194.27) (451/0), but in *ATL* 2, no. A9.117 (= *I*² 64.7, corrected) (425/4) decree (in trib. list appended at end) the reading is ambiguous: Ὅρανι[?]ται.

Where such ethnics are attested later the -ιάτης spelling has been entirely replaced by -ιήτης: Ἰήτης: *I*² 1635.13 (post 374/3), *I*² 1641.25 (ca. 350) inventories; Ἰουλιήτης: *I*² 43.B24 (378/7), *I*² 111.5, 9, etc. (363/2) decrees; *I*² 1128.25, 26, 37 (ante 350) decree (of Cean cities); *I*² 1028.147 (101/100, cf. *SEG* 24.188) decree; Βαργυλιήτης: *I*² 507.8 (302/1) decree; Κιήτης (= town in Cilicia; coins of first c. A.D. inscribed ΚΙΗΤΩΝ, cf. *HN*² p. 717) *I*² 3307.5 (132 p.) ded.; Κεραμυήτης: *I*² 3310.3 (post 138 p.) ded.

There is of course no η after e-vowels; hence always Αίνε(ι)άτης, Πελε(ι)άτης, Ποτειδεάτης, Χαλκε(ι)άτης in tribute documents, etc., cf. 16.021 c, p. 310 infra.

If ΚΥΔΟΝΙΕΤΑΣ is for Κυδωνιάτας on *I*² 529 (fin. s. V a., cf. *SEG* 13.29) ded., it is a hyperionism (cf. Κυδωνή, codd. Herodotus 3.44, 59), which is surprising alongside the Doric -τᾶς; perhaps just a graphic mistake: Κυδωνιάτης was intended but the vowels of the final two

syllables were accidentally reversed. Otherwise a case of mixture of dialects (so V. Schmidt, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Herondas* [Berlin, 1968] p. 2). For Κυδωνιάτης in Attic texts, cf. Π² 844.23, 35, etc. (181/0, cf. TAPA 95 [1964] p. 239) decree. Cf. Φλειήσιος infra.

Τηλύσιος, Τάλυσιος. The ethnic of the Rhodian city Τάλυσός is always Τελύσιοι in the tribute documents: Π² 194.2 (= ATL 2, no. 4) (451/0), Π² 195.11 (= ATL 2, no. 5) (450/49), Π² 198.27 (= ATL 2, no. 8) (447/6), Π² 202.10 (= ATL 2, no. 12) (443/2), Π² 204.49 (= ATL 2, no. 14, col. 2.66) (441/0), Π² 212.40 (= ATL 2, no. 22, col. 1.45) (433/2), Π² 213.42 (= ATL 2, no. 23, col. 1.49) (432/1), Π² 214.11 (= ATL 2, no. 27, col. 3.19) (428/7), Π² 220.30 (= ATL 2, no. 34, col. 1.100) (421/0), Π² 221.10 (= ATL 2, no. 40, col. 1.11) (415/4). So also in Π² 64.18 (= ATL 2, no. A9, col. 1.128) (425/4) in trib. list appended at end of decree. The earliest coins (sixth century B.C.) have Τελυσ- soon replaced by the Τάλυσ- normal later (cf. LSAG p. 350; HN² p. 636); Τάλυσιος twice on the Abu Simbel texts of ca. 591 (cf. LSAG p. 356, no. 4).

Παριανός, Παριηγός. The ethnic of the Mysian town Πάριον is normally Παριανός; cf. Π² 30.3 (post 446) decree; it is frequent in trib. lists, cf. Π² 191.15 (= ATL 2, no. 1) (454/3), Π² 197.8 (= ATL 2, no. 2, col. 10.4) (453/2), Π² 199.28 (= ATL 2, no. 9, col. 5.21) (446/5), Π² 204.25 (= ATL 2, no. 14, col. 2.37) (441/0), etc.; Π² 29.8 (387/6), Π² 573 (fin. s. IVa.), Π² 735.18, 20 (ante 250) decrees; Π² 10045 (ca. 350), Π² 10044 (s. Ia.) sep. monuments. Local coins have also only Παριαν-, but these are not earlier than the early second c. B.C., cf. HN² p. 531. A sep. mon. at Athens commemorating two men from this town and dating perhaps to the last decade of the fifth c. has Παριηγός twice, cf. GVI 1 p. 57, no. 218 (see commentary) (= LSAG p. 372, no. 49); really the proper local form or a hyper-Ionism?

Κιανός (← Κίος in Bithynia). Always Κιανός, often in trib. lists, e.g. Π² 191.7 (= ATL 2, no. 1) (454/3), Π² 200.22 (= ATL 2, no. 10, col. 1.27) (445/4), Π² 201.31 (= ATL 2, no. 11, col. 2.30) (444/3), etc.; sep. monuments, Π² 9016–Π² 9025 (s. IV–s. Ia.), *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p. 277, no. 130 (6 examples) (s. IVa.). Κιαν- on local coins, cf. HN² p. 513 (Hellenistic and Roman Periods).

Φλειάσιος. Usually Φλειάσιος, in agreement with local coins of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. (cf. HN² p. 408): Π² 82.15–16 (421/0), Π² 112.3 (362/1) decrees. The Φλειήσιος of Π² 10479 (init. s. IVa.) sep. mon. is a hyper-Ionism. Φλεάσιος, with the same dropping of iota seen in Θησῆα, etc. (cf. 16.021h, p. 322 infra), occurs in an agonistic ded., cf. *Deltion* 25 (1970) p. 146, no. 5, line 4 (359/8).

c) On sep. monuments of the Hellenistic Period and later ethnics in final $\bar{\alpha}$ instead of Attic-Ionic η occur rarely, e.g. Αιτωλά Π² 7987 (s. IIa.), Θεσπικά *Deltion* 25 (1970) Chronika p. 96 (date?). Cf. also Μακέτας Π² 9841 (s. II/IIIp.). Cf. (perhaps) Κυδωνιέτας cited supra. Ὀλυνθή, Αιγυπτίη as fem. anthroponyms, cf. 6.0422.

According to Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. the fem. ethnics corresponding to Μακέτης (= Μακεδών) are Μακέτις, Μάκεσσα, and Μάκεττα διὰ τι καὶ δι' ἑνός. There is one Attic sep. monument which has Μακέτις, cf. Π² 9260 (s. Ip.), but elsewhere only Μακέτα, e.g. Π² 9258 (s. IIIa.), Π² 9271 (s. IIIa.), Π² 9272 (s. IIIa.), Π² 9265 (s. II/Ia.), Π² 9268 (s. II/Ia.), all sep. monuments. This is also the only spelling found in papyri, cf. Mayser 1.3, pp. 23–24, and is confirmed by inscriptions, e.g. IG XII.1, no. 322, no. 515 (both from Rhodes); AE 1905, p. 91 (Thermon). Μακέτᾱ presumably the feminine of Μακέτᾱς; if final α were short, τ would be geminate. Cf. also Schwyzler, GG 1; p. 476.

6.0422 Names of foreign persons

Names of foreign persons naturally frequently retain an η or ā where Attic would not, cf. Ὀνάτας I² 503 (= DAA p.272, no.236) (init. s. Va.?) ded. (L.); Πυθαγόρης I² 1034 (= LSAG p.371, no.38) (ante 450?) sep. mon.; Ἀλκέτας II² 43.B 13 (378/7) decree; Ὀλυνθίη (fem. anthroponym) II² 12271 (= II² 10026) (ca. 350) sep. mon.; Αἰγυπτίη (fem. anthroponym) II² 10597 (post 350) sep. mon.; Εὐκλείδης II² 10493 (s. IVa.) sep. mon.; Ἀμφιδίη II² 10651 (s. IVa.) sep. mon.; etc. Cf. Καλχίσκα Καφυᾶθεν (in Arcadia) on a bronze ded. of the late sixth or early fifth century B.C., cf. I² 421. Sometimes foreign names are Atticised. Thus the name just cited in its non-Attic form in II² 43 occurs as Ἀλκέτες in another decree, I² 71.78 (ca. 436? cf. SEG 21.30); in this same text several other Macedonian names are left in their non-Attic forms, perhaps because they seemed more unfamiliar, e.g. Κορράτας *ib.* 83, 84, Δέριδας *ib.* 86, Βότρης *ib.* 94, etc. For Ἀμάδοκος ~ Μήδοκος cf. 35.03c. The Ἀφουνθίη on the sep. mon. *Deltion* 20 (1965) *Chronika* p.86, plate 51 (ca. 530?) was probably an Ionian, cf. G. Daux, *BCH* 92 (1968) p.740. Cf. also Μίθρη II² 3794 (s. I/IIp.) ded., alongside Μίθρη II² 5011 (date?) ded.

In the Hellenistic Period and later native-born Athenians sometimes have names which contain non-Attic ā for η, e.g. Δαμοξένα (sister of an Athenian) *Hesperia* 35 (1966) p.282, no.9 (s. IIIa.) sep. mon.; Φιλίστα (daughter of an Athenian) *Deltion* 25 (1970) p.69, no.1 (s. IIIa.) sep. mon.; Νικάδας (of the deme of Melite) II² 1008.39, 84(bis), 132 (118/7) decree; Παναρίστα (daughter of an Athenian) II² 1034d(not part of II² 1034abc).9 (s. Ia.?) cat. fr.; same woman in II² 3488 (init. s. Ia.) ded.; etc.

In the Classical Period native Athenians bear names in -δημος (from δήμος), e.g. Ἀριστόδημος (e.g. *PA* nos.1797ff.); Ἀρχέδημος (*PA* nos.2315ff.); Εὐδημος (*PA* nos.5385ff.); Εὐθύδημος (*PA* nos.5513ff.); Θεόδημος (*PA* nos.6746ff.); Κλειδημος (*PA* nos.8493ff.); Μενέδημος (*PA* nos.9890ff.); Νικόδημος (*PA* nos.10853ff.); Τιμόδημος (*PA* nos.13667ff.); Φιλόδημος (*PA* nos.14480ff.); Χαρίδημος (*PA* nos.15367ff.); etc. Exceptions occur in the Hellenistic Period, e.g. Μενέδαμος II² 896.51 (186/5) decree; Κλείδαμος II² 1008, col.3.127 (118/7) decree; Φιλόδαμος II² 6373 (bis) (s. IIa.) sep. mon.; etc. There is no evidence in Attic texts for confusion of the names Ἀρχέδημος and Ἀρχίδαμος, although in the codd. of Plutarch (cf. *PA* no.2326) a fourth-century Ἀρχέδημος known only from literary sources is called Ἀρχίδαμος. A Doric Ἀρχιδᾶμος certainly existed, cf. Ἀρχίδημος (a Spartan) in Herodotus 6.71.1, 8.131.2; but Ἀρχιδᾶμος (from δάμνημι) is the best interpretation of the name of fourth-century Athenians (*PA* nos.2484, 2487–8). For the ambiguity of names in -δαμο-, cf. Bechtel, *Personennamen* p.116, note.

It is somewhat surprising to find the fourth-century tragic poet, a native of Phaselis, called [Θεο]δέκτας in a catalog of dramatic poets inscribed about 250 B.C., cf. II² 2325.11.

6.05 Μάρκος

Examples of αα for ā in the Roman name Marcus which can be dated with reasonable certainty are earlier than ca. 50 B.C. (nos.1–11), and it is likely that the few remaining are not later than this either (nos.12–14). Μάρκος, Μάρακιος, and Μάρακελλος are found frequently elsewhere in the Greco-Roman world, but not

usually after ca. 50 B.C., cf. Eckinger p.9. An Attic text with both *Μάαρχος* and *Μᾶρχος* has been lost, and these readings could thus not be confirmed (cf. no. 14).

For a summary of the theories which try to explain αα here, cf. Eckinger p.10. Maarcus, Maarcus, etc. are found in Latin texts, and it is virtually certain the Greek spellings merely reproduce a Latin practice. As αα for ā occurs only in these words the view that it is the length of the vowel which is indicated by the double α seems untenable.

Μαρχ- is frequent in Attic texts of the first c. B.C., especially after ca. 40, e.g., *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p.166, no.98, line 11 (paulo ante 60) decree; Π² 1756.26 (ca. 50) pryt. cat.; Π² 4111.3 (ca. 45) ded.; Π² 4113 (42–40) ded. (L.); Π² 1961.69 (post 37/6, cf. SEG 22.113) eph. cat.; Π² 1043.104 (38/7) decree (L.); Π² 4114.4, 5 (34 aut 33) ded.; Π² 1757.51 (40–30, cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 [1937] p.174, no.106) pryt. cat.; Π² 4116 (ca. 30), Π² 4118.2 (bis) (ca. 27), Π² 4123 (ca. 23), Π² 4139 (s. Ia.) all dedications; Π² 1721.10 (14/13) cat.; Π² 2463.10, 14 (bis) (fin. s. Ia.) cat.; etc.

Ἰαάρχου Π² 847.21, decree of 215/4, is probably careless dittography.

Lit.: Eckinger pp. 8–11 with bibliography.

Examples (all Μάαρχος):

- 1) Π² 958.74 (154/3) decree; same man as in no. 3 infra;
- 2) Π² 2358.76 (ca. 150) cat.;
- 3) Π² 2866.1 (post 150) ded., cf. no. 1;
- 4) Π² 960.34 (ca. 142/1) decree;
- 5) Π² 1939.15 (130–120) cat.;
- 6) Π² 1006, col. 3.122 (122/1) decree;
- 7) Π² 1008, col. 3.94 (bis) (118/7) decree;
- 8) Π² 1028.156 (101/100, cf. SEG 24.188) decree;
- 9) Π² 4305 (init. s. Ia.) artist's signature;
- 10) Π² 2460.6 (bis) (ca. 95/4) cat.;
- 11) Π² 2461.97 (ca. 50/49, cf. SEG 23.92) cat. (L.);
- 12) Π² 10154 (s. Ia.?) sep. mon.;
- 13) Π² 13230 (s. Ia.?) memorial;
- 14) Π² 10156 (s. Ia.?) sep. mon.: *Μᾶρχος, Μάαρχος, Μάαρχου*. The whole text was seen only by Cyriacus of Ancona, but Pittakes saw the first few letters of *Μάαρχου*, and the part of the text seen by him reads the same as Cyriacus' copy, cf. SEG 21.986.

7.00–9.00 E-vowels

7.00 The vowel ε [ɛ]

For ε~α, cf. 6.01; ε~η (except before back vowels), 8.01; ε~ο, 11.01; ε~αι, 15.013; ε~ει/_V, 16.02; E for η, 23.00.

7.01 Confusion of ε and ι

7.011 E for ι

7.0111 In Greek words

Examples of E written for ι are very rare in all types of texts.

a) Such very few cases of E for ι as occur on stone texts are probably not best explained on phonological grounds:

1) Μελετέως *Hesperia* 9 (1940) p.343, no.43, line 344 (new fr. of II² 1628) (326/5) inv.; probably just a copying error rather than true assimilation;

2) Αὐ[λ]εῖται I² 194.6 (= *ATL* 2, no.4) (451/0) tribute list; perhaps due to confusion with numerous other ethnics in -ε(ι)ότης, and E may even be for [e'] here. Elsewhere Αὐλιῖται (5 times), Οὐλιῖται (once), and Αὐλιῖται (twice) in these texts (cf. 6.0421 supra for examples);

3) Κηφισε|έως II² 6417.1–2 (390–365) sep. mon.; probably a copying error (cf. 7.03, no.3 m, p.155 infra);

4) θαλ[αμ]έω[ς] i.e. ΘΑΛ..ΕΛ-- II² 1608.59 (373/2) inv. (now lost), has θαλαμίας *ib.* 39, 70–71;

5) Πειθέας *Hesperia* 29 (1930) p.11, no.14, line 12 (fin. s. IIIa.) pryt. cat.; the name is otherwise spelled Πειθ(ε)ας at Athens (cf. also 7.0121, p.145 infra);

Doubtful is the 'Ονίσσεμος for 'Ονήσιμος recorded by Pittakes for a sep. mon., II² 6262 (date?); if Pittakes' copy is accurate, the spelling may be due to some kind of vowel metathesis or the clumsy efforts of a semi-literate.

Cf. Χαρέτω[ν] in II² 987.3 (post 150), decree dated only on the basis of style of lettering. This stone is so worn certainty is impossible, but Χαρέτω[ν] has a somewhat better chance of being the correct reading, cf. 9.024, p.202 infra (L.).

E for ι on vases is quite rare, cf. Ὑφσπεύλε, ARV² p.15, Euphronios no.6 (= *FR* plates 61–62); here perhaps a different compounding vowel as in Καλλένικος, etc., cf. d) infra; Ἐ]πένικος ARV² p.1145, Kleophon painter no.35 (= *CVA*, Denmark 8, plate 347.1a–c). The spelling ΕΛΕΡΑ (= Ἐλέρα?), occurring twice on a vase of Meidias, cf. ARV² p.1313, no.5 (= *CVA*, England 8, plate 91.1a–d), is perhaps related to an earlier form of Ἰλαρός, whose ι would come from Ἰλάσσω, cf. Helaira in Propertius 1.2.16; if this interpretation is correct E is not for ι, but a survival of the earlier form, cf. Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* p.208.

b) In a few pre-403 texts with E for ι it is uncertain whether E represents [e'] or [ē], but the former is more likely:

βενέω (= βίνεω):]έβενετο, EBE[(= έβε[νοῦντο?] *Agora* 21, p.13, no. C14 (= *Hesperia*, suppl. 5 [1941] p.143, fig.71.35) (ca. 475–450) graffito. The spelling of such a crude text may not be significant, but]ΟΣΒΕΝ[perhaps can be interpreted as -]ος βεν[εῖ, another graffito, cf. *Agora* 21, p.12, no. C2 (init. s. VIa.?). Βινέω is frequent in Aristophanes (long vowel certain, cf. e.g. *Aves* 560, *Thesm.* 35), but not attested epigraphically. It is likely that E = [e'] in the Attic graffiti, cf. βεινεῖν in Hesychius and έβε[νε]υν, the reading of the papyrus for Hipponax fr. 6.16 (cf. p.109 of Diehl's 1952 Teubner edition). Perhaps the Attic form was βειν- in the early period. βενέω is attested at Olympia ca. 500 B.C., cf. *LSAG* p.408, no.5 (= *DGE* p.213, no.412).

Νέκαυλος, dipinto on a bf. vase of Ergotimos, cf. *ABV* p.79, Ergotimos potter no.1 (= *HBG* p.82, no.1), is probably for Νίκαυλος, unless the name is from νεῖκος. A rare case of confusion of [e'] and [i], cf. Πισοράτος, Δυνεικετυ (= Δυσνικήτου?) in 9.021 infra. The spelling Ἐρχενος on an ostrakon, cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 8 (1949) p.395, no.3 (ante 480), is probably better taken as Ἐρχέν-ε-ως, with careless omission of the E, than as Ἐρχίνος.

In Καμερεῖς, Διοσερεῖται, E is certainly for [e'], not [ē], cf. 9.0212c, p.194 infra.

Read Μιλέσιοι, not Μελέσιοι, in the tribute list, *ATL* 2, no. A9, col.1.121 (= I² 64.11) (425/4).

c) A few examples of E for ι in Roman times are almost certainly due to careless omission of the iota of EI, frequent grapheme for ι at this time:

- 6) Νεκόπολις Π² 10566 (s. 1p.) sep. mon., i.e. Νε-κόπολις;
- 7) Νεκόπολις *Deltion* 25 (1970) p. 55, no. 2, line 15 (150–200p.) eph. cat.;
- 8) μετακενοίη Π² 13198.6 (ca. 150p.) alongside μετακενήσης *ib.* 3; μετακειν- on all the other copies of these sep. curse-texts set up by Herodes Atticus;
- 9) Ἀφροδέσιος Π² 2068.95 (155/6p.) eph. cat., but Ἀφροδείσ- *ib.* 41, 118, 164 (L.);
- 10) ΜΕΛΗΣΑ (= Μελησία?) *Hesperia* 23 (1954) p. 272, no. 114 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.

Perhaps with the foregoing group also belongs the somewhat earlier:

- 11) Ἐφιστιάδου *Ta Athenaika* 21 (1962) p. 31, no. 3 (= SEG 21.865) (s. Π/1a.) sep. mon.

But in ΝΚΑΡΕΤΗΣ, Π² 1534B.198 (247/6, cf. SEG 16.118) inv., the incomplete Ε probably indicates that the mason intended to correct the letter to iota and then forgot.

In Π² 5146 (= IG III, no. 366) read Πευρα[μεῖ]; in Π² 1969.11 (= IG III, no. 1079) read Ὑγεῖ-νος. For ΕΤΙΕ (= εἰ τις, cf. 9.013 infra; for ΕΙλέθνια, cf. 18.012.

ἐσταμένον for ἰσταμένον in Π² 1368.3 (ca. 162/3p.) (L.), regulations of the Iobacchi, might also be taken as for an intended εἰσταμένον, for while the ι of ἰσταμένον is short, εἰ is used for short ε in line 141, ἐστιατορείου. This text contains many other spelling abnormalities (e.g. η for η εἰ in line 51, -σω ~ -σθω in imperatives, etc.), and it is thus impossible to exclude some other type of error here, such as confusion of two tenses of the verb. See also note *ad loc.* in SIG³ no. 1109; a contrary view, E. Maass, *Orpheus* (Munich, 1895) pp. 14ff.

The spelling ἔνατον (scanned as a dactyl) in the sep. mon., Π² 12794.5 (= GVI 1, p. 552, no. 1836) (fin. s. Πp.), may be like Νεκόπολις, etc. if the writer intended εἵνατον (familiar in epic). But ἔνατον is a frequent variant in codd., and the writer may have intended that (cf. 43.012, p. 516 infra). But in this period it is not impossible the writer intended a short vowel to be scanned as long, as sometimes happens after loss of vowel quantity (cf. 25.00, p. 386 infra).

d) The ε of Καλλένικος, Καλλετείμα, etc., illustrates use of another linking vowel in composition; so also in ἀρχι- ~ ἀρχεθέωρος, etc. Cf. Morphology.

For μελέινος, attested three times, μελίνος occurs once in another part of the same text, cf. Π² 1672.307, 308, 309 and *ib.* 155 (329/8) inv. (L.). The latter is the expected spelling; μελέινος (also in Theophrastus, cf. *LSJ* s.v.) is due either to assimilation or the influence of πετέλινος (cf. Wackernagel, *Kleine Schriften* 2, p. 1033). πετέλι(ν)ος occurs in Π² 1672 (cf. 16.0211, p. 323 infra). For Τελικράτης, Ἥγιστράτη, cf. p. 143 infra.

Attic spellings are:

τετραν- in the aorist (in two texts): ἐντετράναντι Π² 1672.176 (329/8) inv.; τετραῖναι Π² 1678.5 (ca. 350, cf. SEG 13.49) inv.

Lit.: MS³ p. 18, notes 88, 90; Lademann p. 115.

7.0112 Τεβέριος, Δομέτιος, etc.

E is frequently used to represent Latin ĭ, which was a closer vowel than the Greek ι. The majority of the examples date from the early Roman Period, i.e. Augustan times and earlier, but a few are as late as the third c. A.D. (cf. nos. 2, 4, 12, 14).

Individual lexical items (especially personal names) undergo special developments (cf. Τεβέριος and Δομέτιος). The practices of Attic texts are not significantly different from those of other parts of the Greek world.

Lit.: Dittenberger, *Hermes* 6 (1872) pp.130–144; Eckinger pp.29–38; Sturtevant p.110, no. 116e; Gignac, pp. 251, 253, 255–256.

Examples:

Most characteristic are Τεβέριος, Δομέτιος (Δομετιανός), Φλαμένιος, frequently attested and often in texts which can be precisely dated.

1) Τεβέριος: First attested on the decree, Π² 1031.5 (= Π² 1006, col.5, after 110, cf. *Hesperia* 41 [1972] pp.185ff.) dated 122/1. Six additional examples are certainly not later than 4 A.D.: Π² 3249 (ante 9a.), Π² 3243–Π² 3246, Π² 3248 (all ante 4p.) all dedications. No precise indication of date: Τεβέριος χρηστός *Hesperia*, suppl. 8 (1949) p.217, no.6 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon., known only from the notes of the early traveler Francis Vernon. No certain example of Τεβέριος can be found anywhere later than ca. 4 A.D., cf. Eckinger p.35. In Attic texts Τιβέριος occurs first in two dedications of the Augustan period, Π² 3254 (ante 4p.), Π² 3233 (ante 14p.), and is standard in numerous dedications of the reigns of Tiberius and Claudius, e.g. Π² 3261, Π² 3263, Π² 3181, Π² 3530, Π² 5173, Π² 5174, Π² 5179 (cf. *SEG* 23.130), Π² 3270, Π² 3273, Π² 3274, Π² 4174, Π² 3271, Π² 3449, etc.; cf. the contemporary catalogs, Π² 1945.3, Π² 1973.1, Π² 1975. There are many later attestations of Τι-, e.g. Π² 3538.10 (aet. Neronis), Π² 3546.11 (ca. 100p.), Π² 4209 (cf. *Hesperia* 28 [1959] pp.86ff.) (ante 128/9p.), Π² 3653 (s. IIp.), Π² 3595.5 (ante 150p.), Π² 4215 (ca. 200p.), Π² 3762 (ca. 200p.) dedications; Π² 1990.6 (61/2p.), Π² 2026.14 (116/7p.) eph. catalogs; etc.

2) Δομέτιος, Δομετιανός. Here the range of examples with ε is somewhat greater: Δομέτιος: Π² 4144 (fin. s. Ia./init. s. Ip., ante 25p.) ded.; cf. Π² 1830.2 (post 216p.) pryt. cat.: Διο[μ]ετίου(?); Δομετιανός: Π² 1996.2 (84/5–92/3p.) eph. cat. (L.); Π² 4723.4, Π² 4736.3–4 (both s. Ip.) dedications (priv.); Π² 2041.6 (128/9p.) eph. cat.; Π² 1764.66 (141/2p.) pryt. cat. (L.). The Δομυ- spelling occurs first in Π² 1344.7 (post 28/9p.), an agreement of two synodoi(?), and is well attested in the second and third centuries A.D.: e.g. Π² 4207 (s. I/IIp.), Π² 4065.3 (ca. 150p.), Π² 4074.1 (ante 160p.) dedications; Π² 2067.97 (154/5p.) eph. cat.; Π² 3592.17 (165/6–168/9p.) ded.; Π² 2122.40, 41 (paulo ante 190p.) eph. cat.; Π² 1819.13, 14 (ca. 200p.) pryt. cat.; Π² 3769.1, 5, etc. (post 243/4p.) ded.; Π² 2243.8 (post 243/4p.) eph. cat. (L.); Π² 4825 (s. IIIp.) ded. (priv.); etc.

3) Φλαμένιος: Three texts with Φλαμεν- have been assigned to early Roman times: Π² 10166 (fin. s. Ia.), Π² 10941 (s. Ia.) (L.) sep. monuments; Π² 2337.26 (init. s. Ip.) cat. No precise indication of date within the Roman Period: Φλαμένιος Π² 13008 (aet. Rom.); Φλαμένιος Π² 10146 (aet. Rom.) sep. monuments.

Of the remaining lexical items, usually only sparsely attested at Athens, it cannot be said that the spellings with ε are confined to the early Roman Period:

4) Αιμελιανός: Π² 3646.10 (fin. s. IIp.) ded.; Αιμυλιανός: Π² 4541 (aet. Rom.) ded. (priv.).

5) Ἀνθέσιος: Π² 4145 (fin. s. Ia./init. s. Ip.) ded.; Ἀντίσιος: Π² 2894 (fin. s. Ip.) ded. Here the -θ- might suggest the epsilon is due to remodeling on the analogy of Greek names like Εύεσιος, and as Ἀνθίσσιος, Εύίσσιος occur elsewhere the ε~ι may be the same type seen in έστι~ιστι- (cf. 7.012c, p. 143 infra); but cf. also p. 469 infra.

6) Κομένιος: Π² 6770 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.; Κομίνιος: Π² 1945.54 (45/6p.) cat.

- 7) λεντιάριος (= lintarius and lintearius): Π² 2097.174 (169/70 p.), Π² 2130.221 (192/3 p.), Π² 2236.14 (ca. 230 p.) eph. catalogs.
- 8) Ὀφείλλας: Π² 10161 (s. Ia.) sep. mon.; Ὀφείλλιος: Π² 2111/12.3 (182/3–190/1 p.) eph. cat.
- 9) Ποπέλλιος: Π² 3651 (s. II p.) ded.; Ποπύλλιος: *Deltion* 25 (1970) *Chronika* p. 72, plate 64 a (= BCH 96 [1972] p. 606, p. 612, fig. 52; Π² 10347 a, in text) (s. II p.) sep. mon.
- 10) Τρεβέλλιος: Π² 4481.7 (85/6–94/5 p.) ded. (priv.); Π² 4193 (85/6–94/5 p.) ded.; but Τριβέλλιος in reference to the same man in Π² 1997.1 (85/6–94/5 p.) eph. cat.; Τρεβέλλιος also occurs in Π² 12821 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon. Latin has both Trebellius and Tribellius, but the former is more frequent.

In the foregoing examples the ε~ι is followed by -C(C)ius, -C(C)iarius, -C(C)ianus. But the variation is also found in other environments:

- 11) λεγίων: *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p. 244, no. 44 (113–120 p.?) sep. mon.; Π² 3646.3 (fin. s. II p.) ded.; also in Π² 13212.4 (s. II p.) sep. mon., but L. Robert has shown this text to be Perinthian, cf. *RP* 18 (1944) p. 40. For λεγεών elsewhere in Greece, cf. Eckinger p. 30.
- 12) Ἀνβλεῖτος: Π² 6937 (s. II p.) sep. mon.; Ἀμπλιῖτος: Π² 2132.33 (ca. 192/3 p.) eph. cat.
- 13) Ἀφρεγανός: Π² 1996.269 (84/5–92/3 p.) eph. cat.; Ἀφρεγα[νός] (L.); Ἀφρικανός: Π² 4186.4, 7 (ca. 50 p.) ded.
- 14) Καπετώλεια: Π² 3163.14 (post aet. Hadriani), Π² 3169/70.13, 31 (253–257 p.) dedications; Καπιτώλεια: Π² 3161.5 (post 150 p.) ded. For the name Capito, only Καπίτων occurs in Attic inscriptions: Π² 2068.57 (155/6 p.) (L.), *AE* 1950/51 p. 48, no. 30, line 3 (= Π² 2247 + Π² 2250 + Π² 2484) (ante 192/3 p.) eph. catalogs; Π² 3199 (s. III p.) ded. (L.). Καπέτων is attested elsewhere in Greece, cf. Eckinger p. 32.
- 15) Λέπεδος: Π² 4115 (post 34), Π² 4142 (fin. s. Ia./init. s. Ip.), Π² 4242 (Λεπέδα) (ca. 50 p.) dedications. Λέπιδος attested elsewhere, cf. Eckinger p. 34.

ε was standard in Greek in Βρεταννία and derivatives (← Britannia, etc.); and in Βρεντέσιος and Βρεντήσιος for Brundisi-, Brindisi-, etc. These words were Hellenized at a date much earlier than most of the items in nos. 1–15 supra. Attic examples: Βρεταννία Π² 3707 (ca. 250 p.) ded.; Βρεντέσιος Π² 8433 (s. III a.), Π² 8432 (s. Ia.) sep. monuments.

In certain cases the Greek transcriptions merely reflect the variation in Latin itself, cf. Trebellius and Tribellius in no. 10 supra. The closer pronunciation of Latin e before a vowel produced such variants as Cerealis/Cerialis, Hordeonius/Hordionius, etc. (cf. Sturtevant p. 112, no. 117 a). Attic examples: Κερεάλι: Π² 4192 (post 50 p.?) ded.; Π² 2481.17 (ca. 200 p.) cat.; Ὀρδεώνιος: Π² 4211.4 (117–138 p.) ded.; Π² 1764.60 (141/2 p.) pryt. cat. (L.).

The spelling Σωφής in the sep. mon., Π² 12713 (s. II/III p.), is of a type not otherwise found. Either ηε is for ηι here, or there is a hesitation between Σωφή(ι)ος and Σωφέος (cf. 22.032, p. 367 infra; examples in 12.04, p. 238).

7.012 I for ě

Instances of I written for ě are rare, and usually only graphic mistakes are involved.

a) Of the examples on stone monuments the following have the best chance of not being merely graphic errors:

- 1) Ἀρρινήδο I² 1742.92 (370/69?) pryt. cat.; there is no reason to doubt the reading, but the stone is now so worn that it cannot be confirmed (L.);
- 2) Ἰγγίνο I² 6876.1 (ca. 360–350) sep. mon.;
- 3) Ἡρ[ακ[λ]ιώτ[η] *Hesperia* 8 (1939) p. 30, no. 8, line 26 (= I² 535) (318/7) decree; there is not enough space for Ἡρακλειώτ[η] to be restored. The normal Attic spelling at this time was Ἡρακλειώτης, not Ἡρακλειώτης, and this is therefore possibly ι for ε (cf. 16.021 b, p. 309 infra) (L.);
- 4) ἀριτῆς I² 4658.2 (s. IV/III a.) ded. (priv.); it is uncertain whether word is in an erasure or not: the stone does appear to have been filed down, but not deeply as for the certain erasure in line 1 (L.).

In no. 3 the preceding -κλ- may offer a phonetic reason for the ι (cf. 16.021 b, p. 310 infra); in the other three examples the ι occurs before or after the liquid rho. But these examples may be graphic mistakes like those in b) infra.

b) In the following cases it does not seem likely that I for E is anything more than a graphic mistake. In some cases there are considerations of spacing which make it certain that E was really intended or there may be other careless graphic mistakes within the text.

- 1) ΣΤΕΦΑ | ΝΟΥΝΙΤΑΙΡΟΙ = στεφανοῦσιν ἑταῖροι I² 1037.1–2 (ante 430) sep. mon.; one careless omission has already been made, and the offending I of ἑταῖροι may in fact be the forgotten I of the preceding word (cf. 28.00 b, p. 396 infra);
- 2) διαφύρονται I² 57.26 (423) decree; the I is to the left of the stoichos, which means that it could be E left incomplete, but this is not certain because I is frequently to the left of the stoichos elsewhere in this text (cf. Kern, plate 15);
- 3) Εὐνομυῖς, ἱγραμμάτευε I² 82.2 (421/0) decree (cf. IG I no. 45; SIG³ no. 85); probably also ΤΙΜΙΑΣ is for Τιμέας in *ib.* 6 (cf. 7.0121, p. 145 infra) (L.);
- 4) Περιωλῆς I² 12447/8 (ca. 400) sep. mon.; the spacing alone indicates Περιωλῆς was intended, and there appear to be faint guide-lines for the horizontal hastae of E scratched on the stone (L.);
- 5) ΙΧΕΙ (= ἐχει) I² 828.4 (fin. s. V a., cf. SEG 15.51) ded.; iota is normally at the left of the stoichos in this stoichedon text, and it is thus impossible to say that I is E left unfinished (L.);
- 6) Ἰρμαγόρας I² 11311 (fin. s. V a.) sep. mon.; the spacing makes it certain the I is for incomplete E, perhaps concealed by paint (cf. Kirchner's note in IG I²) (L.);
- 7) ἰνθάδι I² 9112.1 (ca. 350) sep. mon. (L.);
- 8) ΠΙΟΟ[.]ΣΙΟΙ = Ἀ[ρ]ι[θ]ο[ύ]σιοι(?) I² 1437.18 (ca. 354–350) inv.; probably an intended E was left incomplete, cf. O for Θ. As the letters are widely spaced in this non-stoichedon text, the location of I far enough to the left of Θ for E to have been intended is of little import (L.);
- 9) ΝΙΚΑΡΙΤΗΣ = Νικαρέτης? I² 13000.2 (365–340) sep. mon.; here the mason probably intended to complete the I to epsilon and then forgot; cf. I for rho in the same text (cf. 40.05, -ΣΤΙΑΤΗ, p. 484 infra). Both errors could have been covered up by paint. It is less likely that Νικαρόστης was intended as Koehler suggested (L.);

10) IMO[Y] for έμου II² 1183.9 (post 340) decree (deme); crude text with many copying errors (cf. 8.01 *infra*, no. 7; 41.03) (L.);

11) 'Αντικλίους IG II.5, no. 179^b, line 2 (= II² 360.2, where the spelling has been regularized) (325/4) decree; it seems safer to assume a graphic mistake rather than to consider this as a case of I for ε; this archon's name is spelled 'Αντικλέους and 'Αντικλείους elsewhere (cf. 7.03, p. 150 *infra*) (L.);

12) Ιγκτεάνυσται II² 8388.4 (= GVI 1, p. 479, no. 1601) (init. s. IIIa.) sep. mon. of a Phocian with other orthographical peculiarities (cf. 16.011, p. 302 *infra*; 41.021 a, p. 489 *infra*; 48.0211, p. 580 *infra*); for έκτεάνυσται presumably;

13) άνιθ·εσαν *Hesperia* 12 (1943) p. 51, no. 10 (s. IIIa.) ded. (priv.); the writing has a careless character, cf. O for Θ; Μυλιχίωι (cf. 14.01, no. 12, p. 262 *infra*);

14) 'Ερικεύς II² 1009, col. 1.94 (116/5) decree, but 'Ερικέα *ib.* 22; possibly due to confusion of demotic types, cf. spellings like Λαμπιτρεεύς (cf. 29.00b, p. 409 *infra*); less likely assimilation (L.).

In Τελιγράτες, I² 949.60 (423, cf. SEG 25.57) cas. list; 'Ηγιστράτη 'Ηγεμάχου, II² 11569 a (in text) (390–365) sep. mon., the ι for ε is probably a variant compounding vowel, i.e. the opposite of the phenomenon seen in Καλλένικος, cf. 7.0111 d, p. 139 *supra*. For ι of μελίνος, cf. *ibidem*.

Corrections: Read EPTON, not IPTON, in II² 1613.99 (= IG II, no. 795) (353/2) inv. (L.); 'Ατηνέως, not 'Ατηνίως, in II² 5709 (s. II/Ia.) sep. mon. (L.).

c) Non-Attic vocalization is the explanation for I = [ē] in Θιωδώρα, *Hesperia* 23 (1954) p. 278, no. 154 (s. IV/IIIa.) sep. mon. The bare name, without patronymic or ethnic, indicates a slave of foreign origin; the woman could be from one of several areas where ε→ι before o-vowels, e.g. Boeotia, Laconia, etc. (cf. Buck, *GD*² p. 22). For ω = ο, cf. 12.011, no. 36, p. 226 *infra*.

The interpretation of a late sixth-century B.C. sep. mon. found in north Attica (Ikaria) proposed by D.M. Robinson, *Hesperia* 17 (1948) p. 141, no. 1, as Βύλο τὸ σῆμα τοῦτ' 'Ελιονίδο would also involve Boeotian ι for ε (cf. the standard Greek name of the Boeotian town as 'Ελέων); but the connection with 'Ελέων should be given up in favor of Jeffery's better interpretation: τοῦτελιονίδο, i.e. τοῦ Εὔτελιονίδο, cf. *IGAA* p. 134, no. 37 (cf. 13.04, p. 260 *infra*; 34.01, p. 428 *infra*).

Ιστι- occurs occasionally for έστι-, cf. 'Ιστιαία (woman's name, doubtless a slave with a name = to her ethnic) II² 11749 (init. s. IVa.) sep. mon. (L.); 'Ιστιαιεύς (ethnic) II² 8939 (s. IVa.?) sep. mon.; but also in purely Attic contexts: Ιστιά[τορ]ες II² 1259.1 (313/2) decree (orgeones); 'Ιστιαιόθεν (Attic demotic) *Praktika* 1958, p. 35, line 34 (= SEG 21.128) (ca. 240–235) decree (troops at Rhamnus). Ιστ- for έστ- is characteristic of several dialects, notably Boeotian to the immediate north of Attic. For 'Εστιαιεύς, etc., cf. 15.0127 e, p. 281 *infra*.

Ιτὸ ἀφ' Ιστ[ί]ας μ[υ]ομένο occurs in line c5 of Face B of an extensive sacred law from the Eleusinion in Athens soon to be published in *Hesperia* by K. Clinton (= new fr. of *Hesperia* 26 [1957] p. 52, no. 9) (367–348); but perhaps only a graphic error caused by the iota in the stoichos directly above the offending iota of Ιστ[ί]ας, as suggested by Clinton.

d) The spelling $\pi\iota\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$ occurs on a defixio, *Hesperia* 6 (1937) p.389, no.3, line 13 (reading confirmed by D. Jordan) (found in a deposit of material dated s. Ip., but lettering and orthography look s. IIIp.). Ptolemaic papyri have $\pi\epsilon\pi\epsilon\rho-$, cf. Mayser-Schmoll p.31, but $\pi\iota\pi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ occurs on a papyrus of the Roman Period, cf. C. Wesseley, *Studien zur Paläographie und Papyrusurkunde* 20 (1921) p.26, no.27, line 3 (s. II/IIIp.). This word is not otherwise attested in Attic texts, but it is reasonable to suppose the earlier $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$ has already developed (because of dissimilation?) to $\pi\iota\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$ (the form in MG) by the third century A.D. The accentuation of this Attic example of $\pi\iota\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$ ($\pi\iota\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota$ or $\pi\acute{\iota}\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$) is uncertain, but probably the shift of the accent preceded the change of the vowel.

e) Examples of I for ϵ on vases are quite rare. $\text{N}\acute{\iota}\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ on a rf. vase depicting Heracles and Nettos, cf. ARV² p.174, Ambrosios painter no.20 (= Smith, *Catalogue* 3 p.67, no. E42), might be for $\text{N}\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ with non-Attic $-\sigma\sigma-$ (cf. 43.04 infra); but perhaps the painter merely confused the two similar names $\text{N}\acute{\iota}\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ and $\text{N}\acute{\epsilon}\tau\tau\omicron\varsigma/\text{N}\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\omicron\varsigma$. $\text{N}\acute{\iota}[\sigma]\omicron\varsigma$ on a vase depicting four early kings of Attica, cf. ARV² p.259, Syriskos painter no.1 (= HRF 1, p.277, no.44), is certainly not for $\text{N}\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\omicron\varsigma$, as the ι is normal in this name (cf. RE s.v. Nisos, no.1, col.759). On a bf. vase depicting Eris, cf. ABV p.333, near the Priam painter (i) no.1 (= CVA, France 9, plate 71.4, 6, 9 and Text p.51), $\text{IOI}\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ might be for $\text{I}\rho\iota\varsigma$; if I is not an E left incomplete the anomalous spelling might be due to confusion of the two names Iris and Eris, or to assimilation, or to the presence of the liquid. For $\text{K}\acute{\iota}\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ on another bf. vase cf. 7.0121, p.145 infra. The dipinto $\text{I}\Lambda\text{Ξ}\eta\text{I}\Lambda\text{X}$ on a rf. vase, cf. ARV² p.27, Euthymides no.3 (= CVA, France 8, plates 29.1–4, 6; 30.1; Text p.19), could be for $\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\tau\epsilon$, if it were certain that the TI belonged with the rest of the text. Both Beazley and Hoppin record $\text{M}\acute{\epsilon}\mu\mu\omicron\nu\omicron$, not $\text{M}\acute{\iota}\mu\mu\omicron\nu\omicron$, on a rf. vase in Naples, inv. no.81329, cf. ARV² p.57, Olto no.43 = ARV² p.112, Chelis painter no.2 (= HRF 1, p.186, no.3).

f) In several defixiones occur $\text{'}\Omega\phi\iota\lambda\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$, $\text{'}\Omega\phi\iota\lambda\acute{\iota}\mu\eta$ instead of the usual $\text{'}\Omega\phi\epsilon\lambda\iota-$, cf. $\text{'}\Omega\phi\iota\lambda\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ IG III.3, no.70.1; no.71.1, 2; Ziebarth, GGN 1899, p.117, no.18.1; $\text{'}\Omega\phi\iota\lambda\acute{\iota}\mu\eta$ IG III.3, no.71.1; Ziebarth, GGN 1899, p.117, no.18.2. The same persons are mentioned in all these tablets, dated to the first half of the fourth century B.C., and quite likely fairly early in it (cf. p.161 infra; L. Robert, *Collection Froehner* 1, p.15). $\text{'}\Omega\phi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ occurs twice on another tablet of the same group, cf. IG III.3, no.91.2, 5 (400–350?). This is also the spelling attested on stone inscriptions: e.g. $\text{I}\Pi^2$ 1951.419 (406, cf. SEG 22.53) cat.; $\text{I}\Pi^2$ 6290 (s. IVa.), $\text{I}\Pi^2$ 13084/5 (s. IV/IIIa.) sep. monuments; $\text{I}\Pi^2$ 2348.8 (fin. s. IVa.) cat.; $\text{I}\Pi^2$ 8928 (post 300), $\text{I}\Pi^2$ 8890 (s. IIa.), $\text{I}\Pi^2$ 8318, $\text{I}\Pi^2$ 8467, $\text{I}\Pi^2$ 12671 (all aet. Rom.) sep. monuments. The $\text{'}\Omega\phi\iota\lambda\iota-$ of the defixiones is an assimilation of the vernacular.

Otherwise I for ϵ is rare on defixiones. Cf. $\Delta\iota\omega\lambda\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$, IG III.3, no.94.5 (ca. 400?), an unusual text probably dating to the period when the Attic script was being given up in favor of the Ionic, as E is more frequent than H for $[\epsilon]$; note also $\Delta\iota\omega\lambda\acute{\iota}$ in *ib.* 2, $\Delta\iota\omega\lambda\acute{\iota}$ (dat. sing.) *ib.* 18; $\phi\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\mu\iota[\epsilon]\nu\alpha$ IG III.3, no.158.2 (init. s. IVa.?) (cf. a) supra). Reading and interpretation of $\text{K}\Lambda\text{I}\text{P}\text{Γ}\text{A}\text{I}\text{K}\text{E}\text{I}\text{N}\text{O}\Upsilon$ as $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} [\xi]\rho\gamma\alpha \epsilon\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\upsilon$ are quite dubious on Ziebarth, *SB Berlin* 1934, p.1032, no.6.a4 (s. IV/IIIa.?).

Cf. Μέρον ΙΣ Γαργετίον on the ostrakon, *Kerameikos* 3, p. 71, no. 120 (ca. 450), where the sense would be quite satisfactory if Peek's interpretation of ΙΣ as ἐκ could be accepted, but the Σ for κ or γ would be very strange in Attic; cf. also 9.021 *infra* (ΙΣ = εἰς).

For Δη[μ]ίαν, cf. 7.0121 *infra*.

ἔξ[εῖναι] occurs on a sherd (graffito) regarding property sales, cf. *Kerameikos* 3, p. 88, no. 168, line 9 (plate 22) (s. IV a., 350–300?), alongside συνεικιν for συνείκειν (cf. 9.022, no. 9, p. 196 *infra*); but perhaps ΙΞ = Ε, rather than ΙΞ.

Lit.: MS³ p. 18, note 91; Lademann p. 115.

7.0121 -έας ~ -ίας in masculine personal names

In most cases the Attic form of the name had either -έας or -ίας, e.g. always Δημέας, Πυθέας etc., but invariably Σμικρίας, Χαρίας, etc.; contrast Attic Ἀρχίας with Ἀρχέας of some other dialects: Ἀρχέας of *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p. 175, no. 40, a small fr. with a few names, was almost certainly foreign, cf. the non-Attic name Σπερχίας in the same text. There is scarcely any variation from the normal spellings. Τιμίας is almost certainly for Τιμέας, the Attic form of the name, in the decree, I² 82.6 (421/0) (L.), but significantly there are two other cases of I for ε in this same text; all are probably E left unfinished (cf. 7.012b, no. 3, p. 142 *supra*). Κινία may be for Κινίας on a bf. vase, *ABV* p. 332, Priam painter no. 17 (= CVA, Spain 1, plate 8.2; Text p. 4), but there is nothing to prove the person so named was Athenian; if so, perhaps Κινέας was intended; cf. the doubtful Ἡρίας (Attic form of the name was Ἡρέας), cf. *ARV*² p. 1583 (cf. 7.012e, p. 144 *supra*). The spelling Δη[μ]ίαν on a defixio is isolated, cf. Ziebarth, *SB Berlin* 1934, p. 1028, no. 3.1 (s. IV/III a.?). Πειθέας occurs for Πειθίας on a pryt. cat. of the late third century B.C. (cf. 7.0111a, no. 5, p. 138 *supra*). These few cases belong with other rare instances of confusion of ι and ε.

In a few cases, however, names in -έας and -ίας both existed in Attic, cf. e.g. Καλλέας and Καλλίας, Νικέας and Νικίας, etc. In these cases one might expect somewhat more confusion, although it would perhaps better be explained as confusion of two very similar lexical items rather than as a phonetic confusion of -έας and -ίας. But certain examples are very rare. In the sep. mon., *Hesperia* 28 (1959) p. 275, no. 3, cf. plate 54 (s. IV a.), the name Πρωτέας was first inscribed and then corrected to Πρωτίας. W. Peek's identification of the Αἰσχίας Φιληρίφου of a ded. of the demesmen of Halai, I² 2820.14 (ca. 365, cf. *SEG* 18.66) (L.), with the Αἰσχέαν Φιληρίφου Ἀλαίεα on a decree of the same deme, cf. *Deltion* 11 (1927/28) p. 40, no. 4, line 11 (where Αἰσχέαν was wrongly read; for the correction cf. *AM* 67 [1942] p. 9, no. 7) (ca. 350–300), has the greatest chance of being another example of confusion of two names of this type. But even here the existence of two brothers Αἰσχέας and Αἰσχίας is not impossible. There was a certain fondness for very similar names within the same family. It would be risky to correct the Χαίρεας Χαυρίου of the same dedication, I² 2820.8 (L.), to Χαιρέας Χαιρέου or Χαιρίας Χαιρίου, cf. e.g. Εὐθύδημος Εὐθυδόμου in a cat. of the second half of the fourth century B.C., I² 1927.4–5.

Likewise cf. the sep. mon., II² 7328 a (in add. nova) (ca. 350) (L.), of which the first two lines read:

Ἀνδρέας (corrected from Ἀνδρεος) Ἀνδροκλείδου Παμνούσιος
Ἀνδρίας Ἀνδρείου Παμνούσιος.

Here the son's name was certainly Ἀνδρίας (rare at Athens, but attested as a kalos-name on two bf. vases, cf. *ABV* p. 664) and should not be amended to the common Attic name Ἀνδρέας. As Ἀνδρέας was the final intention in line 1, it is likely that this was the father's name, and the Ἀνδρείου of line 2 would have EI for ε/___V as in βασιλείως, etc. (cf. 7.03, no. 4a, p. 156 *infra*); less likely the father's name was Ἀνδρε(ῖ)ος, and line 1 was correct before it was changed to Ἀνδρέας. Another son of Ἀνδροκλείδης named Ἀνδρομένης is mentioned in line 4 of this text.

Where an individual's name occurs in literary sources, the codd. are not always reliable in the spelling of his name. Thus the Καλλέας who was archon in 377/6 is called Καλλίας by the codd. to Diodorus 15.28, although the spelling in -έας is the only one attested in inscriptions, cf. II² 216.10 (346/5) decree; II² 1411.5 (376/5), II² 1635.118 (post 374/3) inventories; also the Marmor Parium; the Καλλίας of I² 103 (= *IG* II, no. 21) is the archon of 412/1, not the Καλλέας of 377/6, cf. Koehler, *Hermes* 31 (1896) pp. 140–141. The archon of 560/59 is called Κωμέας in Aristotle's *Athenaion Politeia* 14.1, but Κωμίας by the codd. of Plutarch, *Solon* 32.

For additional data on these names in -έας and -ίας, cf. Morphology.

Lit.: MS³ p. 115, notes 1058–1061; A. S. Henry, *CQ* 19 (1969) pp. 289–290; Mayser-Schmoll p. 42.

7.02 ε written H before α, αυ, ο, ου, ω

In about fifteen texts H occurs for ε before one of the back vowels α, ο, ω, αυ, or ου. Virtually all of these are sep. monuments, of which, however, many are those of native Athenians, and this spelling is thus largely confined to private texts. But there is one case on an eph. cat. of the late first century B.C. (no. 7), and ἡαυτό- occurs in two dedications of the first century A.D. (nos. 8–9). There is rarely any very precise evidence for the dating of these texts, but when there is (i.e. nos. 7, 8) they usually fall within the period ca. 100 B.C.–ca. 100 A.D. (but cf. nos. 1, 12).

The pronunciation of ε before vowels, especially back ones, was somewhat closer than elsewhere. In some dialects it is often or even normally represented by I, and in Attic EI is very frequent in the fourth and third centuries (cf. 7.03). The use of H here is analogous to the use of H for ει, as in Ἀρήου, Ἡδῆα, etc., with which it is contemporary (cf. 9.031); EI was no longer satisfactory because it had passed to ι [iː] in other positions.

The η of Ἡρακληώτης, etc. may be of the same type as the others here, for Ἡρακλεωτ- is the only spelling found in Attic public texts after 350 B.C. and even in the sep. monuments of non-Athenians it is overwhelmingly more frequent than Ἡρακλειωτ-. But as the Ἡρακληωτ- spellings occur in the same foreign contexts as Ἡρακλειωτ-, the sep. monuments of non-Athenians, the spellings with η may be just a later variant of those in ει, with η for ει before vowels as in 9.031 *infra*: as the town might

be called Ἡράκλεια after ca. 200 B.C., the ethnic Ἡρακλειώτης might be spelled Ἡρακληώτης (cf. 16.021 b, pp. 309–310 *infra*).

The explanation that η = ι here and is used because the ε of ἑαυτό-, etc. has been weakened to [i] or [j], i.e. [ʰa^h-tos], cannot be seriously defended (cf. 27.01, p. 393 *infra*).

The spellings in -κλη- sometimes found in metrical texts are non-Attic poetical forms, e.g. Περικλῆος *Delion* 25 (1970) p. 80, no. 53; Διόκληρα Π² 11157. The unusual Διοκλήμ in the decree, Π² 1046.19 (52/1), is perhaps due to a similar non-Attic influence (cf. p. 380 *infra*).

For Συνήθηα (= Συνήθεια or Συνήθεα?), cf. 9.031, no. 41, p. 205 *infra*.

Lit.: MS³ p. 19, note 96; Lademann p. 116; Mayser-Schmoll pp. 40–41; Mayser 1.2, p. 40 (-κλήους/-κλείους); Gignac pp. 244, 245.

Examples (all sep. monuments unless otherwise indicated):

- 1) Λυσικλήους Π² 5338 (post 350);
- 2) Ἡρακληώτισσα Π² 8595.3 (s. II a.) (L.);
- 3) Ἡρακληώτης Π² 8690 (s. II/I a.) (L.);
- 4) Τεμοκλήους *Hesperia* 16 (1947) p. 172, no. 68 (= Π² 5500, corrected) (ca. 100);
- 5) Ἀθμονήκως Π² 5354.3 (s. I a.) (L.);
- 6) Ἡρακληώτης Π² 8764.3 (s. I a.);
- 7) Μνασίου Π² 1964.4 (fin. s. I a.) eph. cat. (L.);
- 8) ἡαυτοῦ Π² 4186.7 (ca. 50 p.) ded., alongside ἱτῶν (cf. 24.01, no. 24) (L.);
- 9) ἡαυτ[ῆς] Π² 4051.3–4 (s. I p.) ded. (L.);
- 10) Ἡρακληώτης Π² 8814 (s. I p.) (L.);
- 11) Ἡαρίνη Π² 11560 (s. I/II p.) (L.);
- 12) Ἀγαθοκλή(ου) Π² 7759.1 (ca. 200 p.);
- 13) Τιμόθης Π² 6923.1 (s. II p.) (L.);
- 14) Διοκλήους Π² 8232 (aet. Rom.) (L.);

Doubtful (known only from early copies):

- 15) Ἡ[ρα]κληώτης Π² 8637 (aet. Rom.);
- 16) Ἡρακληώ[τις] Π² 8731 (aet. Rom.).

7.03 EI for ɛ before vowels

The short vowel ε is frequently written EI before the vowels α, ᾱ, ο, ου, and ω and the diphthongs αι, αῖ, αυ, οι, and ωι in Attic inscriptions from the end of the fifth century B.C. down to about the middle of the third century B.C. Examples are especially common in the fourth century, especially during the period ca. 360–320 B.C. These spellings are clearly an Attic phenomenon: of the sep. monuments, which comprise a large number of the examples, the majority are those of native Athenians, and these spellings occur in all types of texts, including decrees.

Examples often tend to cluster in certain texts, which shows that these spellings were characteristic of certain individuals. In the examples (nos. 1–5 *infra*) texts containing more than one case of EI for ε/___V are denoted by asterisks.

Note especially: Π² 1672 (329/8) inv.: ἀμφιδέαι, θειοῖν, Λειωντίδος, νειωκορίου, προσειωνήθησαν, ιερέων, Μοισοκλείους, etc.; Π² 222 (ca. 344) decree: εἰάν, εἰαυτ-; Π² 337

(333/2) decree: ἰδρύσειας, Κιτιέων; Π² 354 (328/7) decree: ἰερέως, νέται, γραμματεία(?); Π² 1576 (ca. 330–320) inv.: Ἀχαρνεία (three times), Πιθεία, Αὐτοκλεία; Π² 1183 (post 340) decree (deme): ἀξιοχρέωι, ἰερε[ι]ωμένος; Π² 1749 (341/0) pryt. cat.: Μνησιθέιου, Δημοκλείους, perhaps Πλωθεία; Π² 2491 (ca. 335–325) pactionis formulae: -οκλείους, Ἀχ[αρ-νέ]ως.

Spellings with EI for ε/—V and those with the original simple E frequently occur in close conjunction with one another in the same text (cf. examples *infra*). Although this is the period in which ει/—V is frequently spelled as E (e.g. Θησῆα for Θησεῖα, γραμματεῶν, etc.), there are not very many texts which have both E for ει/—V and EI for ε/—V. One of these is the large inv., Π² 1672, with Θησέου, ταυρέαν, προτανέας (cf. 16.021 e, nos. 22, 41, 36, pp. 315 ff. *infra*).

Cf.: Π² 1673 (333/2? cf. AE 1971 p. 112) inv.: κατειαγῶτων alongside στελεοί (cf. p. 317 *infra*, no. 39), Τιβέου (cf. p. 317, no. 43); Π² 1533 (post 338/7) inv.: ἰερέως, has γραμματεῶν (cf. p. 314, no. 12), δορκάδεοι (cf. p. 314, no. 15); Π² 1749 (341/0) pryt. cat.: Μνησιθέιου, Δημοκλείους, has Ἐρικεῖς, but by this time this is the most common spelling of this demotic (cf. 16.021 a, no. 3, p. 306 *infra*).

The earliest examples occur in the second half of the fifth century: Λαμπτρέως Π² 1063 (ca. 450) sep. mon. (no. 3 m *infra*); Κεφαλείως Π² 370.7 (421/0–416/5) inv. (no. 3 m *infra*); Φιλοκλείως Π² 11980.2–3 (fin. s. Va.) sep. mon. (no. 4 d *infra*). There are also three cases of ΠΠONEIOI in the inventories of the treasurers of Athena Polias, cf. Π² 232.6 (434/3), Π² 234.28 (432/1), Π² 250.247 (412/1), restored in others; ΠΠONEIOI also in this group of inventories, e.g. Π² 237.58 (429/8), Π² 238.69 (428/7), Π² 239.80 (427/6), etc. Here the ambiguity of the Attic script makes it difficult to evaluate the examples, and it is also uncertain whether the Attic form comes from an original πρόνηος or προνήϊο- (examples in the dialects indicate the existence of both); but the occurrence of both πρόνεω (← πρόνηος) and προνήϊω (← προνήϊο-) in this group of texts (as suggested by MS³ p. 64 and implied by the accentuation of IG I²) is most improbable. If the Attic form originally had ι, then ΠΠONEIOI = προνέωι, from προνειώι (later development of προνηο-) with loss of intervocalic ι, and ΠΠONEIOI is probably for προνειώι; as far as the Attic script is concerned, ΠΠONEIOI could also be for προνήωι, but the contemporary occurrences of προνέωι make this less likely (it seems extremely doubtful that ΠΠONEIOI = προνήωι with a loss of ι similar to that in the isolated λῆον, λῶον on p. 208 *infra*) as does the virtually universal use of -ειο- in texts in the Ionic script (cf. 10.02 a, p. 209 *infra*). But if πρόνηος was the original Attic form, as seems more likely, then ΠΠONEIOI is the dative of πρόνεως, and ΠΠONEIOI = πρόνειωι is a variant with EI for ε/—V as in Λαμπτρέως (cf. no. 3 h). An even earlier example is Φρειάριος, on an ostrakon of the 480s, *Deltion* 23 (1968) *Chronika* p. 28, plate 19 a (no. 1 m *infra*). For the problematical metrical cases προτανειον, μαντειῶν, cf. p. 151 *infra*. EI for ε/—V is lacking in the dipinti.

There is a marked decrease in the frequency of the examples after 300 B.C., and cases after 200 B.C. are very rare: ἑιαυτούς Π² 999.3 (s. II a.?) decree (small fragment with no very good evidence for date); ἑιαυῶν (cf. 24.01, no. 1, p. 383 *infra*) *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p. 166, no. 98, line 21 (paulo ante 60) decree (cf. no 1c

infra); [K]λ[ε]ιώ Π² 4696.1 (s. II/1a.) ded. (priv.) (no.3e); Ἱεροκλείους Π² 4931 (init. s. IIa.) ded. (priv.) (no.4d); and the doubtful βασιλέ|ως Π² 2316.43–44 (ca. 166/5) cat., known only from an early copy (no.3 m infra). If these examples are really this late they are the final stragglers of this type of spelling. The development of ει to [iː] in other positions may have contributed to its demise as a grapheme for ε/___V (cf. the later use of Η as in ἡαντό-, cf. 7.02 supra).

Later examples of Ἱεροκλειώτης probably do not belong with examples of EI for ε/___V, cf. 16.021b, pp.309–310 infra. Nor does the spread of ει in πλείονα, πλείονες, πλειονάμεις, etc., cf. 16.021g, pp.321 ff.

In Roman times the only case based on a certain reading is Μ|ελιτει vac. on the pryt. cat., Π² 1764.58 (mentions the archon of 141/2p.) (L.); if correctly interpreted as Μελιτέως it is perhaps comparable to a few examples of these spellings on papyri of Roman times, cf. Gignac p.256. Two other possible examples are quite doubtful, cf. Ἀχαρνείος (no.3 m infra), known only from an early copy; Δ|αμέι[ας] on a defixio (no.1, p.153 infra). The spelling τεθνεώς on the sep. mon., Π² 11491 (= AE 1939–1941 Parartema p.7, no.24) (s. IIp.), is a poetical artificiality created to serve the needs of the metre (cf. 10.04, p.213 infra).

Three principal explanations have been proposed for these spellings in EI for ε/___V:

Largely graphic phenomenon. The spellings would have their phonetic origin in the tendency for the inherited diphthong ει to lose its iota in pre-vocalic position. Thus as -εως developed to -εος, whether through development of the iota to a glide vowel, e.g. [e^hos], or though its loss altogether, e.g. [e-os], it was frequently neglected in the orthography; variants like Θησῆα, γορμισατέον, etc. are very frequent in the fourth century B.C. (cf. 16.021, pp.302 ff. infra). Persons who tended to reduce or omit such iotas would naturally frequently not know when iota was required by the orthography and when it was not: hence the spellings βασιλέως and γορμισατέον. Even if this explanation is not the reason for most of the examples it is not unlikely that in certain cases it is the reason for EI for ε/___V. The chief objections to this view are: the restriction of the EI spellings almost exclusively to the environment before back vowels, whereas the iota of inherited ει may be omitted before front vowels as well; the comparative rarity of texts which show both E for ει/___V and EI for ε/___V in conjunction with one another (the large inventory, Π² 1672 and a very few other texts are exceptions, cf. supra); the tendency for ει/___V and ε/___V to remain distinct and to undergo separate developments later on (cf. infra). A purely graphic explanation is generally accepted for rare spellings like ὀγδοίης, Βουηδορμῶνος, etc., but the very frequency of EI for ε/___V suggests that it is not a purely graphic confusion.

EI represents a closer allophone of ε/___back vowels. There is evidence for a closer pronunciation of ε before back vowels in a number of dialects. Thus in Boeotian the same grapheme is used for ε/___V as for η in the earliest texts (⋈ or E in the earliest texts; EI or I later, cf. Schwyzler, GG 1, p.242; Buck, GD² pp.18, 22, 25). In some dialects the epsilon actually passed to ι, cf. θιός, λόντος, etc., normal in Laconia and Crete by the time of the earliest texts (cf. Buck, GD² pp.21–22).

The EI of the Attic texts would thus represent a sound between ε and ι in quality. This explanation seems in general the best, and the almost exclusive use of EI before back vowels supports it strongly. The disappearance of EI for ε/___V and the occasional use of Η for ε/___V thereafter (cf. 7.02 supra) also tend to support this view, for if the earlier EI for ε/___V repre-

sented a simple vowel closer in quality than ϵ , the change in value of ϵ from $[e^-]$ to $[i^-]$ after 300 B.C. would make EI no longer a satisfactory grapheme for this closer ϵ . The EI would thus represent a sound *qualitatively* distinct from the ϵ represented graphically by E, but presumably of the same *quantity*. This latter seems certain because the later developments of $\epsilon/_\text{V}$ and $\epsilon/_\text{V}$ normally remain distinct, although a few words tend to shift from one group to the other (in a few cases $\epsilon/_\text{V}$ was permanently simplified to $\epsilon/_\text{V}$, cf. 16.021a–d, pp.304–311 *infra*, and in a few others an original $\epsilon/_\text{V}$ seems to have been replaced by $\epsilon/_\text{V}$ because of analogy, cf. $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\omicron\varsigma \rightarrow \tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$, 16.021e, no.42, p.317 *infra*; spread of ϵ in $\pi\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\alpha$, etc., 16.021g, p.322 *infra*). A great deal of weight was placed on $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$, in which EI for $\epsilon/_\text{V}$ has to be scanned as short (cf. *infra*), as evidence of the quantity of the EI, but in view of the frequency of unmetrical spellings involving intervocalic iota in this period it does not seem justified to make this example so crucial (cf. 10.04, p.212 *infra*).

The principal objection to this view is that it posits a use of EI to represent a close $[\text{ɛ}]$ although elsewhere it represents a long vowel or diphthong (as in $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\epsilon\iota$, later $\tau\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\epsilon\iota$ for $\tau\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\eta\iota$). But if many speakers were tending to drop intervocalic iota or reduce it to a glide in cases like $\Theta\eta\sigma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$ where iota was inherited, this objection may be groundless.

In favor of the theory that EI indicates a closer pronunciation of ϵ before back vowels are J. Schmidt, ZVS 27 (1885) p.295; W. Schulze, *Quaestiones epicae* pp.41 ff., p.510; F. Solmsen, ZVS 32 (1893) pp.549 ff.; Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* p.136; Brugmann, IF 9 (1898) p.345; Schwyzler, MS³ p.45, note 295; GG 1, pp.192–193, 242; *Gram. pergamenischen Inschriften* pp.44–45; Buck, GD² p.21.

Cases of I for $\epsilon/_\text{V}$ can scarcely be found in Attic texts. The spelling Ἀντικλῖους is certain in the decree, II² 360.2 (cf. 7.012b, no.11, p.143 *supra*). This is the same archon of 325/4 whose name is spelled Ἀντικλῖους in another decree, II² 361.1 (if the restoration is correct, cf. no.4d *infra*). But the spelling Ἀντικλῖους is so isolated that it seems best not to press it as evidence for the closer pronunciation of $\epsilon/_\text{V}$; the I is probably an E left unfinished or an incomplete attempt at EI.

Development of a glide vowel between ϵ and following back vowels. In this view the iota of $\beta\alpha\iota\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$, $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu$, etc. would actually represent an intervocalic iota which had developed between two vowels originally in hiatus, e.g. $[e-\text{os}] \rightarrow [e^h\text{os}] \rightarrow [e^l\text{-os}]$. The two main objections to this view are: if a true glide vowel developed in such cases one would expect a greater degree of confusion later in the treatment of $\epsilon/_\text{V}$ and $\epsilon/_\text{V}$, which normally remained distinct; the development of such a glide vowel runs directly counter to a well established trend towards simplification of $-\text{ViV-}$ to $-\text{VV-}$ (sometimes with contraction to $-\text{V-}$) in Attic of the fourth and third centuries B.C., cf. $\alpha\iota\epsilon\acute{\iota} \rightarrow \acute{\alpha}\epsilon\acute{\iota}$, $\text{Ἀθηναῖα} \rightarrow \text{Ἀθηνᾶ} \rightarrow \text{Ἀθηνᾶ}$, $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\acute{\iota}\alpha \rightarrow \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\alpha}$, $\Delta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\varsigma} \rightarrow \Delta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\varsigma}$ ($\Delta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\varsigma}$), $\text{Οἰῆθεν} \rightarrow \text{Ὀῆθεν}$, $\upsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \rightarrow \acute{\upsilon}\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, etc. This view also makes it difficult to account for later spellings like $\eta\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\omicron}$, etc. under the same general explanation as the earlier $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\omicron}$.

This explanation was favored by Dittenberger, cf. *Hermes* 17 (1882) pp.40–41; Meister, *Die griechischen Dialekte* 1, p.244; F. Blass, *Aussprache*³ p.34; W. Larfeld, *Sylloge inscriptionum boeoticarum* p. xxv; it has recently been supported again by W.S. Allen, *Word* 15 (1959) pp.249 ff. Much of the argument against it in the late nineteenth century is probably groundless, as it was based on the assumption that EI for $\epsilon/_\text{V}$ was always metrically short and that the spelling of metrical texts was reliable evidence for pronunciation, which is doubtful. The major objection to this theory is that it runs counter to the tendency of Attic to simplify $-\text{ViV-}$ to $-\text{VV-}$ in this period.

Whatever explanation be accepted, there is some doubt as to the accentuation. In this book the acute of the original form has been retained over the epsilon in all cases. Cases of EI for ε/—front vowels (ε, ει, η) are quite rare and do not seem to be the same phenomenon as the more frequent cases of EI for ε before back vowels. The examples are considered in no. 5 *infra*.

Although the use of EI for ε/—V is largely a phenomenon of prose texts, there are a few cases in metrical texts. *πρυτάνειον* occurs on an ostrakon of the 480s, cf. *AJA* 51 (1947) pp. 257ff., and the distich makes far the best sense if E. Schweigert's identification of the word as the genitive plural of *πρυτάνις* be accepted, cf. *AJA* 53 (1949) pp. 266–268. But whether this is an early example of *πρυτάνειων* like those in fourth-century prose texts may be doubted. The writer may have consciously added the iota to achieve the long syllable on the analogy of variants like *τέλεος* and *τέλειος* in epic; the short text also contains *ἀλειτηρός* (from **ἄλειτος*, cf. E. Tichy, *Glotta* 55 [1977] pp. 162–3), probably a poetical variant for *ἀλιτήριος* (*ἀλειτηρός* occurs in Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 371; *ἀλιτήριος* occurs in Thucydides and frequently in the orators). Some still prefer, however, Raubitschek's original interpretation *πρυτανεῖον* (object of *ἀδουκεῖν*), cf. Tichy, *loc. cit.*; H. Schaefer, *RE* s.v. Xanthippos, col. 1345. In *μάντειον* *φρῆσιμό-συναι*, cf. *I² 503* (init. s. V.a.) ded., the iota has been added later, perhaps to insure that the word be taken as the genitive plural of *μάντεια* rather than *μάντις* (cf. *DAA* p. 272, no. 236). If this suggestion of Raubitschek be accepted this would not be a case of EI for ε/—V, and there would remain only the unusual synizesis, in which the iota is ignored, i.e. *μαντειῶν*. This seems far more likely than that *μάντειων* with a strange synizesis *and* with EI for ε/—V was intended. But either word yields a satisfactory sense. Cf. 31.00, p. 411 *infra*.

The last part of a series of dactylic verses on a defixio, *IG* III.3, no. 108, reads as follows:

δεσμοῖς ἀργαλείοις
σύν θ' Ἐκάτει χθονίαι καὶ Ἐρινύσιν ἡλιθιώναις.

The words *καὶ Ἐρινύσιν ἡλιθιώναις* are actually on the reverse of the tablet, but they are clearly verse and will only scan if joined to the *σύν θ' Ἐκάτει χθονίαι* of the obverse; hence *δεσμοῖς ἀργαλείοις* must stand alone. But there is no doubt of the scansion *ἀργαλείοις* (cf. Allen pp. 70, 108; Kaibel no. 1136). The date of this tablet cannot be fixed, but the spelling *Ἐκάτει* would most likely occur in the period ca. 375–150 B.C. The use of EI for ε/—V in prose texts is common in only about the first 150 years of this period. But there is also the possibility that this spelling has nothing to do with the phenomenon of prose texts, but is the result of some ineptness on the part of the writer in using an unfamiliar poetical word: *ἀργαλέος* is not encountered much in literary prose writers.

The occurrence of *Κλεοβόλε* in the epigram beneath the name *Κλειόβολος*, in prose and identifying the dead man commemorated by the monument, looks at first sight like a conscious attempt to accommodate the metre, cf. *Platon* 9 (1957) pp. 155ff. (= *SEG* 16.193; no. 2b *infra*) (ca. 370) sep. mon. But that would involve the unlikely assumption that the man normally spelled his name *Κλειο-* and reverted to the original spelling to accommodate the scansion; more likely there is seen here only the same casual variation between *-ειV-* and *-εV-* found in prose texts (cf. 10.04a, p. 212 *infra*). Elsewhere in this same text the penultimate syllable of *Ἐρεχ-θέως* must be scanned as long.

For the treatment of *-ειV-* in metrical texts, cf. 10.04, p. 211 *infra*. Cf. also *CSCA* (in *Lit. infra*).

Spellings like *-κλείους*, *Τιμόθεις*, etc. are found in Ptolemaic papyri from the third century on, but are really only frequent after the mid-second century, and thus are most common after

they have ceased in Attic inscriptions. It is noteworthy that in papyri of the first and second centuries B.C. -κλείους occurs thirteen times, -κλήους three times, -κλέους not at all (cf. Mayser-Schmoll pp. 41–44).

Lit.: MS³ pp. 45–47, notes 295–351; Lademann pp. 93–96; CSCA 10 (1977) pp. 182ff.

1) Before α, ᾱ, αι, ᾱι, αυ

a) ἀμφιδέιαι: Π² 1672.191–192 (329/8) inv.*; for the normal spelling, cf. Π² 369.10, 15 (post 426/5), Π² 1424.a (in add.).16 (369/8), Π² 1673.31, 33 (333/2? cf. AE 1971 p. 112), Π² 1627.317 (330/29), Π² 1496.198 (334/3–331/0) inventories; etc.

b) εἰάν: Π² 28.17 (387/6) (L.); Π² 222.31 (ca. 334/3)*, decrees; Π² 1177.13 (ca. 350) decree (deme); Π² 1275.14 (s. III/II a., cf. Sokolowski, *Supplément* p. 210, no. 126; SEG 21.534) decree (thiasotai), has other orthographical peculiarities (cf. 46.031 infra), has εἰν = εἰάν in *ib.* 7–8, 16 (L.). Cf. εἰάν Π² 226.10 (ca. 343/2) decree (cf. infra on γραμματέα). The normal εἰάν is well attested from the fifth century on, e.g. Π² 4.6, 16 (485/4), Π² 6.26, 27, 28, 38, etc. (ante 460), Π² 14.9 (447/6? cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 121, no. 47), Π² 22.69 (450/49, cf. SEG 23.7); Π² 39.25, 30, etc. (446/5), Π² 56.14 (ca. 430?), Π² 70.17 (424/3?), Π² 71.23, 24 (ca. 436? cf. SEG 21.30), Π² 1.21, 22, etc. (403/2), Π² 24.b3, b12 (paulo ante 387/6), Π² 34.19, 22, 24 (384/3), Π² 112.9, 29 (362/1), Π² 223.9 (343/2), Π² 380.40 (320/19) decrees; etc. For other variant spellings of this word, cf. Morphology.

c) εἰαυτό: Π² 222.14–15 (ca. 344) decree*; Π² 999.3 (s. II a.?) decree; *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p. 166, no. 98, line 21 (paulo ante 60) decree (cf. p. 148 supra).

d) Εἰπαιῖος: *Polemon* 4 (1949) p. 28, no. 10, lines 1, 3 (= Π² 5999) (s. IV a.) sep. mon.

e) Ζεῖαι (toponym): Π² 1668.4 (347/6) inv. For Ζεῖα, cf. Π² 1611.327 (357/6), Π² 1627.403 (330/29), Π² 1628.557 (326/5), Π² 1629.1034 (325/4), Π² 1631.254 (323/2) inventories; Π² 835.10 (paulo post 229/8) decree.

f) Θρασείας: Π² 1926.29 (325/4) cat. (L.); for Αἰνε(ί)ας, Ἐρμε(ί)ας, etc., cf. Morphology.

g) κατειργάτων: Π² 1673.55 (333/2? cf. AE 1971 p. 112) inv.

h) Κλειάνετος Κλεομένους: Π² 1252.1 (post 350) decree (orgeones); Κλειαγόρα Peek, AG 2, p. 36, no. 124 (date ?) sep. mon.; Κλειάνωρ Π² 11850 (s. IV a.) sep. mon.; Κλειαρίστη *Deltion* 19 (1964) *Chronika* p. 36, plate 30a (= BCH 90 [1966] p. 727, p. 730, fig. 13; SEG 23.132) (s. IV a.) sep. mon.*

i) Νεμείας: Π² 2354.5 (fin. s. III a.) cat.; elsewhere Νεμεάς (cf. 16.021 e, no. 33, p. 316 infra, for examples).

j) νέιος (← νέος): ἔνηι καὶ νέιαι Π² 354.5 (328/7) decree*; but in Π² 1640.30 (= IG II no. 818) read: τάδε: λ[υχ]νεία, not τα δελ[τία]νεία.

k) Accusative sing. in -εία, -κλεία:

βασιλεία: Π² 495.15 (303/2), Π² 743.10 (init. s. III a.), Π² 654.36 (285/4) decrees.

γραμματέα: Π² 339b.11–12 (333/2) decree: τ[ὸν γραμ][μ]ατέα; *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p. 208, no. 3, line 14 (fin. s. IV a.) decree: γρα[μ]ματέα; Π² 530.3 (fin. s. IV a.) decree; Π² 2943.15–16 (s. III a.) ded.; restored in Π² 354.26 (328/7) decree* (stoich.); cf. γραμματέα, Π² 226.19 (ca. 343/2) decree (cf. on εἰάν supra).

Ἀχαρνεία: Π² 1576.11, 48, 64 (ca. 330–320) inv.*; Πιθεία in *ib.* 72, Αὐτοκλεία in *ib.* 71, but Κηφισεία in *ib.* 31, Χ[ο]λαργεία in *ib.* 28.

Φαληρέα: Π² 410.19 (ca. 330) decree, alongside Φαληρέα in *ib.* 18; also Εὐωνυμέα in *ib.* 47 (at bottom).

Εὐκλεία: Π² 2976.13 (333/2, cf. Reinmuth p. 21, no. 8) ded., Παιανεία, Ἐπειοκλεία *al.*

Αὐτοκλεία: Π² 1576.71*, cf. supra.

Perhaps also Πλωθία, Π² 1749.82 (341/0) pryt. cat., = Πλωθία (← Πλωθεύς, cf. Πλωθεῖς in *ib.* 42) rather than Πλωθειᾶ (← Πλωθειεύς) (cf. 16.021 a, no. 4, p. 306 *infra* and for the ambiguity, cf. p. 304) (L.). So almost certainly because of the late date, Τρινεμεῖα in a decree of 256/5, cf. Π² 678.9 (cf. SEG 21.377), is Τρινεμεῖα (← Τρινεμεεύς) with EI for ε/—α rather than Τρινεμεῖα (← Τρινεμεεύς) (cf. 16.021 a, no. 5, p. 307 *infra*).

m) Accusative plural in -έας: τοὺς ἀναγραφείας Π² 1670.22 (ca. 330) inv.

Such spellings are frequent in defixiones, cf. Κινέαν IG III.3, no. 103.a 6 (400–350); Κλέαν-δρος IG III.3, no. 9.24 (s. IV/III a.); Πυθίας Ziebarth, GGN 1899, p. 107, no. 4, line 4* (init. s. III a.). Cf. Φρεϊάριος on an ostrakon of Themistocles, *Deltion* 23 (1968) *Chronika* p. 28 and plate 19 a (480s). The Δ[αμεί]ας on a defixio of Roman times is dubious, cf. IG III.3, no. 31, l. 8.

2) Before ο, ου

a) θεοῖν: Π² 1672.2, 213 (329/8) inv.*, cf. θεῖ{ν}οῖν *ib.* 138, 141, alongside θεοῖν *ib.* 1, 2, 3, 137, 138, 225, 242, etc.

b) Κλειόβολος: *Platon* 9 (1957) pp. 155 ff. (= BCH 82 [1958] pp. 364–366, fig. 3; SEG 16.193) (ca. 370) sep. mon.; this is the spelling identifying the dead man at the top of the stele, but Κλεόβολε occurs in the epigram beneath (where the metre demands Κλεόβ^οβ^ολε), to which perhaps not too much significance should be attached (cf. p. 151 *supra* and 10.04, p. 212 *infra*).

Κλειοκράτεια: Π² 6124.1 (init. s. IV a.) sep. mon.

Κλειομβρότου: Π² 2793.2 (post 350) ded.

c) Names in Θεο-:

Θειόδωρος: *Neon Athenaiion* 3 (1958–1960) p. 8, no. 3 (= SEG 18.106) (init. s. III a.) sep. mon.

Θειόκριτος: Π² 11645 (ante 350) sep. mon.

Θειοφάνης: Π² 5804.1 (s. IV a.) sep. mon.

Θειοφάντη: Π² 5678.1874.1 (ca. 350) sep. mon., Θεοφάντη on the other text belonging to the same tomb, Π² 5678.1873.

Θειοφίλη: Π² 12504.3 (ca. 350) sep. mon.

Θειοφίλος: Π² 11667.1 (post 350) sep. mon.

In Π² 9721 (= IG III, no. 2172) read Θεοτείμου.

d) Names in -θεος:

Τιμόθεος: Π² 5279.1 (s. IV a.) sep. mon.

Cf. Θείοφραστος on a fourth-century Panathenaic vase, CVA, USA 1, p. 6, plate 6 (340/39); Θείοδοτος, Δωρόθειος on a defixio, Ziebarth, GGN 1899, p. 107, no. 4, lines 4, 5 (init. s. III a.)*; Θειοδοσία, graffito from the Agora, cf. *Agora* 21, p. 15, no. C33 (ca. 350). Another of these graffiti has Θειοδωρόδου, cf. *Agora* 21, p. 46, no. F259; it was found in a context of s. I p., but in view of the Θειο- spelling it must be earlier in date.

e) ἀργαλείς: δεσμοῖς ἀργαλείς IG III.3, no. 108.5 (uncertain; in the period ca. 375–150 B.C.) defixio. Cf. p. 151 *supra* and 10.04, p. 212 *infra*.

For Ναυκλέως (probably = Ναυκλέδης) on a third-century sep. mon. of a Spartan, Π² 9153, cf. p. 257 *infra* and Morphology. In πλειονάκις, spread of EI of πλείω, etc. may be seen, cf. 16.021 g, p. 322 *infra*.

3) Before ω, ωι

a) ἀξιοχρεῖται: Π² 1183.28 (post 340) decree (deme)*, crude text (cf. 8.01, no. 7).

b) γεωργός: γεωργ(ός) Π² 1566.22 (ca. 330–320) inv., alongside γ|εωργό[ν *ib.* 40; γεω[ργός] *Hesperia* 28 (1959) pp. 208 ff., line 392 (p. 217) (= Π² 1557.19) (ca. 330–320) inv.

c) δέωνται: Π² 235.14 (340/39) decree.

For δέωνται, cf. Π² 57.56 (423), Π² 97.9 (416), Π² 101.18 (412/1), Π² 1.50 (403/2), Π² 448.81 (318/7), Π² 505.59 (302/1) decrees; etc. Cf. δέονται (indicative) Π² 96.11 (375/4) decree. For δέιται, cf. no. 5 *infra*.

d) λερω-:

Occasional cases of λερω- in λερωσύνη, λερωσθαι probably belong here (so Schulze, *Quaestiones epicae* p. 144, note 2):

λερωσύνη: *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p. 293, no. 1, line 6 (400–350) sacred calendar, alongside λερωσυνα *ib.* 11.

λερωσυνα: Π² 1359.2 (init. s. IV a.) sacred calendar.

λε[ρ]|ει[ωσ]ύνη: Π² 1316.8–9 (272/1) decree (orgeones).

λερε[ι]ωμένος: Π² 1183.32 (post 340) decree (deme)*.

For the usual λερω-, cf. λερωσυνα: e.g. Π² 1237.4 (396/5) decree (phratry); Π² 1356.10, 12, 20 (paulo post 403/2); *Hesperia* 4 (1935) pp. 19 ff., no. 2, lines 39, 52 + Π² 1357.b6 (paulo post 403/2); Π² 1361.6 (post 350), Π² 1363.12 (cf. SEG 23.80) (fin. s. IV a. aut init. s. III a.) sacred laws, calendars; etc.; *Hesperia* 7 (1938) pp. 1 ff., no. 1, lines 29, 34 (363/2) decree (genos); *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p. 293, no. 1, line 11 (cf. *supra*). λερωσύνη: Π² 1326.9–10 (176/5) decree (dionysiastai); *Hesperia* 7 (1938) pp. 1 ff., no. 1, lines 8–9, 63–64 (363/2) decree (genos); Π² 1235.8 (ca. 248/7) decree (genos). λερεδ[σθαι] Sokolowski, *Supplément* p. 20, no. 6, line 15 (= SEG 10.64; 21.52) (413/2?) decree; λερωμένης Π² 4616.2 (fin. s. IV a.) ded. (priv.); λερωσύντο *Hesperia* 7, pp. 1 ff., no. 1, lines 15–16 (363/2) decree (genos), λερωσθαι *ib.* 40–41, λερωσθαι *ib.* 15; λερε[ω]σαστο Π² 1271.13–14 (299/8?) decree (thiasotai), alongside λερωσύνη in *ib.* 13; etc.

There are also contracted forms (cf. Schulze, *op. cit.* p. 145) in λερωσυν-, e.g. λερωσυνα: Π² 1358.12, 15, 16, 22, 28 (bis), 31, 32, 33, 36, 37, 42, 44–45, 46, 47, 49, 50, 52 (375–350) sacred calendar; λερωσύνη: Π² 1271.13 (299/8?) decree (thiasotai), alongside λερωσαστο (cf. *supra*); Π² 975.3 (post 150) decree; Π² 1334.7 (fin. s. II a.) decree (orgeones); Π² 1338.42 (78/7) decree (synodos of technitai); etc.

e) Κλειώ: Π² 6679.1 (s. IV a.?) sep. mon., known only from Ross; [Κ]λ[ε]ι[ω] Π² 4696.1 (s. II/I a.) ded. (priv.).

For Κλειώ, cf. Π² 424 (fin. s. VI a./init. s. V a.) ded. (bronze); Κλειώ (scanned υ-) *Maia* 20 (1968) p. 371, no. 5 (= SEG 25.299) (s. IV a.) sep. mon.; Π² 1514.18 (post 344/3) inv.; Π² 1034 d (not part of Π² 1034 abc).19 (s. Ia.?) cat. fr.; Π² 4037.2 (aet. Augusti), Π² 2879.4 (ca. 50 p.) dedications; etc.; cf. Κλειούς Π² 2332.56 (183/2) cat.

f) Λειωγόρῳ: Π² 1138.22 (390–380, cf. SEG 16.105) decree (tribe), seen only by Chandler.

g) Λειωντ[ίδος]: Π² 1672.7 (329/8) inv.*

h) νεωκ|ορίου: Π² 1672.164–165 (329/8) inv.*, alongside νεωκορ- *ib.* 181, 201, 208, etc.

ΠΟΝΕΙΟΙ probably is for *προνειοι* in I² 232.6 (434/3) (L.), I² 234.28 (432/1), I² 250.247 (412/1), restored in others (cf. p. 148 *supra*). But it is uncertain whether this spelling is an example of EI for ε/___V (cf. also 10.02 a, p. 209 *infra*).

νειωι also occurs on a document of Athenian cleruchs on Samos of 346/5, cf. AM 7 (1882) p. 368, line 38.

i) *ὀργειων-*:

ὀργειῶνων: I² 1253.6 (post 350) decree (*orgeones*).

ὀργειῶνας: I² 1284.9 (ca. 250) decree (*orgeones*), but *ὀργεω- ib.* 1, 7, 11, 15, etc.

j) *Πανταλέων*: I² 12400 (ca. 350) sep. mon.

k) *προσεωνήθησαν*: I² 1672.209 (329/8) inv.*

Cf. *Λυρικλέων IG III.3, no. 9.20 (s. IV/III a.?) defixio* *.

It is doubtful that the spelling *κείωνται* in I² 1176.21 (ca. 360, cf. SEG 21.516) decree (deme) has εi for ε/___V.

m) Genitive sing. in *-ειως*:

Κε]φαλειος I² 370.7 (421/0–416/5) inv., almost certainly = *Κεφαλέως*.

Λαμπτρέως: I² 1063.2 (ca. 450) sep. mon. (cf. p. 295 *infra*) (L.).

Fourth-century texts:

Decrees:

ιδρύσεως: I² 337.10, 21–22 (333/2)*.

ιερέως: I² 354.2 (328/7)*.

Inv.:

ιερέι[ως]: I² 1533.18 (post 338/7).

Pactionis formulae:

**Αχ[|αρνέ]ως*: I² 2491.6 (ca. 335–325)*.

Horos:

**Τ]καριέως*: I² 2661.6 (s. IV a.?).

Sep. monuments:

Κηφισιέως: I² 6421.3 (365–340), has *Ἐρικειῶς* (gen. of *Ἐρικειεύς*?), cf. 16.021 a, no. 3, p. 306 and p. 304 *infra*.

**Ἀλαιέως*: I² 5733.6 (ca. 350), *-κλέους ib.* 2.

Λαμπτρέως: AE 1937, Part 2, p. 555, no. 4 and fig. 6 (= I² 6693 a, in add., which needs correction, cf. photograph in AE 1937) (ca. 350).

Μελιτέως: I² 6834.2 (ca. 350).

Πλαταιέως: I² 10090.3 (ca. 350).

Περγασέως: I² 6972.2 (post 350).

Μελιτέως: AAA 2 (1969) p. 329, no. 1, line 3 (= BCH 94 [1970] p. 912, no. 1, fig. 57; SEG 25.255) (fin. s. IV a.), has *Μελιτέως*, *Ἀλαιέως al.*, *Ἀριστοκλέιους ib.* 6.

**Ἀλαιέως*: I² 7269.6 (s. IV a.).

Αἰξωνέως: I² 5848.11 (s. IV a.).

**Ατηνέως*: I² 5701.2 (s. IV a.).

**Ἐρχιέως*: I² 6135.6 (s. IV a.), *-κλέους ib.* 5.

[*Σου*]νιέως: I² 7440.3 (s. IV a.).

Cf. *Κηφισιέως* I² 6417.1–2 (390–360) (cf. 7.0111 a, no. 3, p. 138 *supra*).

Παιωνιεύς: AE 1961 Chronika p.15, no.45 (= SEG 21.900) (fin. s. IV a.) sep. mon., with peculiar -ος (cf. 12.011, p.224 infra and Morphology).

The ΣΟΥΝΙΕΙΑΣ of Π² 7434.3 (ca. 350) sep. mon. is best taken as an example of careless rendering of letters by the stone-cutter (or his copy, but ΙΑ for Ω looks like a misreading of Ω by the mason, cf. 12.02, no. 2, p.233 infra), i. e. Σουνιέως.

Doubtful: βασιλέως Π² 2316.43–44 (= IG II, no.968) (ca. 166/5) cat.; this text is known only from Peyssonel's copy of 1741 (cf. p. 149 supra).

Μελίται (= Μελιτέ(ως)?) Π² 1764.58 (141/2 p.) pryt. cat. (L.). Doubtful: Ἀχαρνείος in the ded., Π² 3015.1 (210–220 p.) (cf. 12.012, no. 61, p.232 infra). Cf. p. 149 supra.

n) Genitive plural in -ειων:

πρωτάτειον in a metrical text on an ostrakon of the 480s, cf. AJA 53 (1949) pp.266–268; 51 (1947) pp.257ff. (cf. p.151 supra). But μαντειῶν in the ded., Π² 503 (init. s. V a.), probably comes from μαντεία, not μάντις (cf. DAA p.272, no.236; p.151 supra).

ἐκ Κεραμείων: Π² 6341.1 (init. s. IV a.) sep. mon.

Κιτιέων: Π² 337.21 (333/2) decree*, alongside Κιτιέων ib. 40.

Ιερέων: Π² 1672.290 (329/8) inv.*

πρόβειων: Π² 653.49 (285/4) decree.

Εἰκαδέων: Π² 2631.2 (s. III a.?), Π² 2632.2 (s. III a.?) horoi (deme).

But in *Hesperia* 7 (1938) pp.1 ff., no. 1, line 31 (363/2) decree (genos), τῶν δὲ ἱερῶν is not for ἱερέων (= 'priests'), but is the genitive of the neuter plural ἱερεῖα (= 'sacrificial victims'), cf. the translation, *Hesperia* 7, p. 6.

4) Before O, OY (= [uː])

a) Ἀνδρείου: Π² 7328 a (in add. nova).2 (ca. 350) sep. mon., probably the same man as Ἀνδρέ[α]ς in ib. 1 (cf. 7.0121, p.146 supra).

b) ῥέιουσα: Π² 1444.22 (ca. 344/3) inv., alongside ῥέουσα ib. 1, 3, 4.

c) Μνησιθέιου: Π² 1749.65 (341/0) pryt. cat.* (L.).

d) Genitive singular in -κλείους:

Decree:

Ἀντικλείους: Π² 361.1 (325/4). Cf. Ἀντικλείους (7.012 b, no. 11, p.143 supra).

Decree (deme):

Ἀντικλείους: Π² 1203.3, 8 (324/3).

Inventories:

Δημοκλείους: Π² 1749.56 (341/0)*, -κλείους ib. 12 (L.).

Θεμιστοκλέ[ι]ους: Π² 1443.104 (344/3), alongside Θεμιστοκλ[έ]ο[υ]ς ib. 216.

Ἀριστοκλείους: Π² 1623.5 (333/2), -κλείους ib. 124, 179, etc.

Σοφοκλείους: Π² 1672.191 (329/8)*, Μοιροκλείους ib. 210.

Catalogs:

Ἀντικλείους: Π² 1927.16 (post 350), -κλείους ib. 86, 91, 94, 96, 113, 122, 152.

Πασικλείου: Π² 2401.13 (post 350).

Pactionis formulae:

-οκλείους: Π² 2491.5 (ca. 335–325)*.

Horos:

Ἡρακλείου: Π² 2611.2 (s. IIIa.?).

Ded.:

Ἱεροκλείους: Π² 4931 (init. s. II a.) ded. (priv.).

Sep. monuments:

Φιλοκλέ|ιδος: Π² 11980.2–3 (fin. s. V a.).

Μετακλείδος: Π² 8491 (fin. s. V a./init. s. IV a.) (L.).

Ἱεροκλείδος: Π² 7614.2 (ante 350), known from Fourmont's copy only.

*Ἀριστοκλέ|ιους: BCH 94 (1970) p. 912, no. 2, lines 1–2, and fig. 58 (p. 914) (= SEG 25.256) (ca. 350).

*Ἀρχικλείους: Π² 7836.1 (ca. 350).

Διοκλείους: Π² 6932.1 (ca. 350).

Εὐκλείους: Π² 12292.2 (ca. 350).

Χαρικλείους: Π² 6261.1 (ca. 350).

-κ|λείους: Π² 5854.2 (post 350).

*Ἀγαθοκλείους: Π² 8550.2 (post 340), *Ἀγαθοκλέους bis in Π² 8551, sep. mon. for the same man (with his brother).

Δημοκλείους: AE 1961 Chronika p. 14, no. 44 (= SEG 21.830) (fin. s. IV a.).

*Ἀρχικλείους: Π² 7350.2 (s. IV a.).

Πεισικλείους: Π² 5655.2 (s. IV a.), Πεισικλέους on Π² 5654, probably sep. mon. for the same man.

Στρατοκλείους: Π² 12177 (s. IV a.).

Ἀριστοκλείους: AAA 2 (1969) p. 329, no. 1, line 6 (= BCH 94 [1970] p. 912, no. 1, and fig. 57; SEG 25.255) (fin. s. IV a.).

Cf. Δεισιθέου IG III.3, no. 55.a7 (325/4? cf. Wilhelm, JOAI 7 [1904] pp. 107ff.) defixio.

5) Before ε, ει, η

The spellings δέιηται in Π² 110.16 (the IG Π² text is wrong) (363/2) decree (L.), and δέιηται, προσδέιηται in Π² 463.43, 48–49 (307/6) decree (L.) (alongside δεηθ[|]ῃ ib. 50–51, δέηται ib. 88; δ]έωνται ib. 111; ἐάν ib. 43, 48; ἀμφ|ιδέας ib. 77–78; ποήσας ib. 73) remain isolated, and are particularly surprising in these texts with no other cases of EI for ε/___V. Iota was certainly not normal in this word, cf. ἐάν τι δέε[ι] I² 92.46 (434/3, cf. SEG 22.7; 24.3); δέεται (probably = δέηται) I² 113.b15 (ca. 410), δέηι Π² 1.22 (403/2) decrees; Π² 1237.47 (396/5) decree (phratry); δέηται Π² 79.13 (ante 378/7), Π² 109.b15 (363/2), Π² 141.9 (376–360), Π² 226.14 (ca. 343/2), Π² 463 (cf. supra), προσδέηι Π² 204.66 (352/1) decrees; δέηι *Hesperia* 7 (1938) pp. 1ff., no. 1, line 54 (363/2) decree (genos); etc. Perhaps δέιηται arose on the analogy of δέιωνται; for an example of δέιωνται, cf. no. 3 c supra.

Other cases of EI for ε/___ε, η occur in certain demotics in -εϋς, usually in the nominative plural. Many of these demotics are variants for other more frequent types (e.g. in -ῆθεν), and there are often very few attestations in the nominative plural, making evaluation of the cases difficult. It seems certain that there was some confusion in these demotic types not caused by purely phonological factors (cf. Mor-

phology). Where the demotic normally ended in -εύς, the appearance of forms in -ειεύς is probably not EI for ε/___V, but due to an extension of the -ειεύς suffix normal in Δεκελειεύς, etc. Thus Θημακειεύς in Π² 338.6 (333/2) decree, is a rare variant in -ειεύς for Θημακεύς (Θημακεεύς is not known); so also Βατειῆς in *Hesperia* 30 (1961) pp. 30ff., line 103 (336/5) cat., for the usual Βατεύς (e.g. Βατῆς, Βατεῖς), and Ἐκαλειῆς Π² 1742.87 (370/69?) pryt. cat., but usually Ἐκαλεύς. These examples seem too late in date to be cases of an uncontracted nominative plural in -εης with EI for ε/___η, especially in view of the comparative rarity of EI for ε/___η. (For Θημακεύς, Βατεύς, Ἐκαλεύς, cf. 16.021 a, no. 6, p. 308 *infra*).

We may now turn to demotics like Ἀλωπεκειεύς, which clearly does not have EI for ε/___V, because it is normally spelled -ειεύς in the fifth century; rarely it appears as Ἀλοπεκεεύς (with loss of intervocalic ι as in Δεκελεεύς, etc.). Ἀμαξαντειεύς is a rare variant for Ἀμαξαντεύς (Ἀμαξαντεεύς happens not to be attested), whose nominative plural Ἀμαξαντειεῖς occurs in a catalog dated ca. 360–340, cf. Π² 2377.27 (cf. p. 307 *infra*). Ἀγρυλειῆς in *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p. 231, no. 43, line 28 (367/6) pryt. cat. is probably not Ἀγρυλεῖς with EI for ε/___η, but the same type of nom. plural from a rare variant in -ειεύς (usually Ἀγρυλῆθεν like Ἀλωπεκῆθεν, Βατῆθεν, etc., cf. Indices to *IG* I² p. 325; to *IG* II p. 74; to *IG* II.5 p. 331). Ἀγρυλεῖς in Π² 398.3 (408/7) pryt. cat. does not weaken these arguments, for it might be, because of the early date, an uncontracted nominative plural from Ἀγρυλεύς, or it could be like Δεκελεῖς for Δεκελειῆς, i.e. from Ἀγρυλειεύς. It is easier to take Ἀγγελειῆς in Π² 1751.30 (post 350) pryt. cat. as the nom. plural of Ἀγγελειεύς; and Ἀγγελεες (= Ἀγγελεεῖς, less likely Ἀγγελέξ, but certainly not Ἀγγελεῖς) in REG 73 (1960) p. 88, line 28 (cf. SEG 23.87) (ca. 390–375) pryt. cat. as related to Ἀγγελειῆς in the same way as Δεκελεῖς to Δεκελειῆς or Πλωθεῖς to Πλωθειῆς, etc. (the usual form of the demotic is Ἀγγελῆθεν, for which Ἀγγελε(ι)εύς and Ἀγγελεύς were rare variants) than to assume Ἀγγελειῆς is for Ἀγγελεῖς with EI for ε. (For Ἀλωπεκε(ι)εύς, Ἀμαξαντ(ει)εύς, Ἀγγελ(ει)εύς, Ἀγρυλ(ει)εύς, cf. 16.021 a, no. 6, p. 307 *infra*).

There are left two possible cases of EI for ε/___V in these demotics. The nom. plural ΙΚΑΠΙΕΙΕΣ occurs in a cat. of diaitetai dated by the name of the archon to 325/4 B.C., cf. Π² 1926.38 (L.). In this text the final syllable is almost certainly -ῆς and there are several demotics with -ΕΣ as nom. plural of -εύς, e.g. Λαμπτρέες, Ἐρχιῆες, Κολλυτέες, Ἀχαρνῆες, etc., which look like formations in -ῆες back from the accusative plural in -έας (cf. Morphology). A variant Ἰκαριεεύς almost certainly did not exist (cf. 16.021 a, p. 308 *infra*), and -ΕΙΕΣ is probably for -ΕΕΣ here. Whether it is a true case of EI for ε/___V or just due to confusion of demotic types is uncertain: there are no other cases of EI for ε/___V in this text and in it nearby are Διομειες (not from Διομεύς, which is too rare, but from Διομε(ι)εύς? cf. 16.021 a, no. 2, p. 305 *infra*) and Πλωθέες (line 45, probably from Πλωθεύς with -ῆες as in Λαμπτρέες, etc., or from Πλωθεεύς, cf. 16.021 a, no. 4, p. 306 *infra*). The other case is ΚΟΛΛΥΤΕΙΕΣ, occurring in a pryt. cat. dated by the name of the archon to 341/0 B.C., cf. Π² 1749.38. There are no demotics of the Λαμπτρέες type in this text,

which has late instances of E for [eː] (cf. *πρυτάνες*, *Ἔστιαις*, *Ὀτρυνῆς*, cf. 9.013, no.2, p.189 *infra*), and the spelling should probably be interpreted as *Κόλλυταιεύς*. For EI for ε/___V to be involved one would have to assume a variant *Κόλλυταιεύς*; in view of the rarity of EI for ε/___e-vowel it is easier to assume a variant *Κόλλυταιειεύς* (like the rare *Θημακειεύς*, *Βαταιεύς*, etc., cf. 16.021 a, no.6, pp.307–308 *infra*) or to explain the form as due to confusion of demotic types (note *Ἐρικεῖς* *ib.* 46, *Διομεῖς* *ib.* 70), although EI for ε/___V does occur in the text (cf. *Μνησιθέιου*, *Δημοκλείου*, cf. nos.4c, 4d *supra*; perhaps *Πλωθεία* is for *Πλωθέα*, cf. no.1k *supra*) (L., all readings in Π² 1749). For these demotics in -εύς, cf. Morphology.

8.00 The vowel η

For η ~ *ā*, cf. 6.04; η for ει/___V, 9.031; η ~ υ, 14.04; η for ε/___back vowel, 7.02; η ~ ηι, 22.00; EI ~ HI, 23.00; H = [h] ~ H = [eː] in Attic script, cf. 1.021.

8.01 Confusion of η and ε

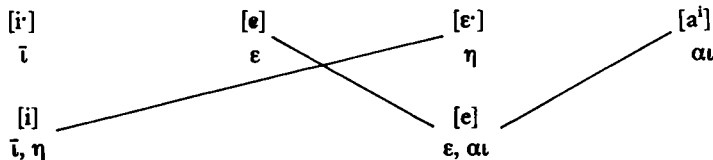
Spellings in which H appears for ε, or E for η, occur sporadically in Attic inscriptions at all periods. The evaluation of the examples is not always an easy matter. The relationship of η and ε is more complicated than that of ο and ω, for whereas ο and ω fell together by Roman times, η and ε underwent separate developments.

The first period of examples comprises the late fifth and early fourth centuries B.C. when the Ionic script was introduced into Attica. Such instances of H for ε and E for η as occur in this period might naturally be referred to hesitation about the use of the Ionic alphabet. In fact there are scarcely any examples in this period in public texts. What one does find is an incursion of H = [eː] in texts in the Attic script from ca. 450 B.C. on (cf. 2.021 *supra*) and a few cases of EI = ηι in texts in Ionic script, probably to be explained on phonetic grounds (cf. 23.00, pp.368–369 *infra*). In the first texts after 403 there are scarcely any cases of E for η: a phratry decree with *τῆς* and a few dedications are the only exceptions (cf. 2.04, nos.1–6, p.51 *supra*). In the private texts there is trace of a greater confusion before and after 403 B.C., but these can rarely be dated, and this very hesitation between H and E = [eː] is often the only criterion used for assigning them to the later fifth century or to the period ca. 410–390. To judge from the dipinti the period of the greatest confusion about the values of H and E in the Ionic script is ca. 460–430. Quite arbitrarily the date ca. 370 B.C. has been chosen as the cut-off point for this period of alphabetic confusion, which would of course make it impossible to isolate any cases of true phonetic confusion of the two sounds; thus cases of H ~ E in texts which are likely to be earlier than ca. 370 will be found in 2.04, p.49 *supra*.

In the period after ca. 370 examples of confusion of H and E remain rare and are normally confined to fairly crude texts such as sep. monuments and defixiones. The reason for this rarity is presumably the open quality of the η in comparison to the closer quality of ει [eː] and the short vowel ε. Thus we find that the name of epsilon

in the alphabet at this time is $\epsilon\iota$, cf. II² 1496.223 (334/3–331/0) inv. and Plato's *Cratylus* 426c, 437a (in 393d E represents the actual letter, not its name). Thus if there was to be confusion of long and short e-vowels, the confusion to be expected would be E and EI, $\epsilon\iota$ being the long equivalent of ϵ . The widespread confusion of $\epsilon\iota$ and $\eta\iota$ after 350 B.C. is a development separate from that of simple ϵ and η (cf. 23.00, pp.368 ff. *infra*).

But as η eventually became identical with ι [i], i.e. became closer (in some environments an [i] pronunciation of η was probably in existence in Attica by the later Roman Period, at least as substandard, cf. 8.02), while the short e-vowel and monophthongized $\alpha\iota$ fell together (in the Roman Period, cf. 15.013), i.e. ϵ probably became more open in quality, the two sounds ϵ and η probably came to be more like each other in quality in the course of these developments. Sturtevant (p. 39) has diagrammed this process as follows:



The scattered examples of $\epsilon\sim\eta$ of the Hellenistic Period, chiefly on private texts, probably indicate the beginning of these developments, and are comparable to those of $o\sim\omega$ in the same period (cf. 12.011). Examples also occur on public documents, but there are usually special circumstances. The text may exhibit many orthographical anomalies, the possibility of morphological confusion may be present, or the example may be of a type like ἀνέθηκην, ἄλωπεκῆθεν, etc., when it is difficult to decide if true vowel assimilation is involved or mere graphic errors. A good example of actual hesitation about quantity can be seen in a decree of 140/39, with both E for η , and O for ω (no. 31 *infra*). Cf. also nos. 9–11, 14–15, 17, 27, and 28.

In early Roman times further developments are taking place. There is first the development of vowel isochrony (cf. 25.00 *infra*), and η and ϵ must have become very similar at this time. Such similarity probably explains the occasional confusion of the two letters in Roman times (cf. nos. 35–51 *infra*). In nos. 50–51 may be seen the use of H for Latin \check{e} , where it was a rare variant for E in most lexical items. But no complete identity of η and ϵ like that of o and ω was reached, for η was already becoming closer and eventually became identical with ι . Examples of H for $\epsilon\iota$ /—V and for ϵ /—back vowel are largely confined to earlier Roman times (cf. 9.031 *infra*; 7.02 *supra*), and after ca. 150 A.D. cases of confusion of ι and η become increasingly frequent (cf. 8.02 *infra*). The latter are never very common and are usually in fairly crude texts, which may indicate such a pronunciation of eta as [i] was substandard. There are still a few cases of confusion of ϵ and η in later Roman times (cf. nos. 35,

37–38, 42–43, 45, 50 *infra*), which presumably indicates that some persons maintained η as an e-vowel. There is a similar overlap in the date of η~ε and η~ι in the papyri (cf. Gignac, pp. 242–243).

For ē in Latin *lētus* (cf. A. Ernout, *Morphologie historique du Latin* [Paris, 1953] p. 224) H is normal, cf. ληκτός in II² 8358 a (in add.) (s. II/III p.) sep. mon.

With the identity of ε and αι (cf. 15.013), the possibility of a confusion between αι (= ε) and η arose. This phenomenon remained rare in Attic inscriptions; there are some three examples (nos. 52–54 *infra*).

For ἡτέρα (← ἡ ἑτέρα), etc. cf. 33.02. The η of ἡβουλῆσθην, etc. is a special type of augment, cf. Morphology.

A frequent confusion of H and E is characteristic of a number of fourth-century defixiones, cf. remarks of W. Peek in *Kerameikos* 3, p. 99. It is only rarely that there is much evidence for the date of such texts, and such spellings as E for ει and O for ου only place a text in the period ca. 400–350. It is thus not easy to tell whether H~E in defixiones is due to semi-literacy and even confusion of two similar sounds, or if it is due to unfamiliarity with the Ionic alphabet. The latter may be suspected when a text is of the early fourth century, as in the case of E used twice for ἡ (H = η 6 times *al.*) in a defixio dated ca. 400 on the basis of stratigraphy, cf. AM 73 (1958) p. 97, no. 2 (= SEG 21.1093) (cf. p. 50 *supra*), especially as it also has μετ' ἐκένων for μετ' ἐκένων (cf. p. 358 *infra*). So also probably γέν, μετέρα in GGN 1899, p. 117, no. 18 (s. IV a., probably ante 350, cf. p. 25 *supra*). The fairly consistent use of E, O for EI, OY in the group of IG III.3, nos. 70–71, 91 (cf. Robert, *Collection Froehner* 1, p. 15) might allow these texts to be put fairly early in the fourth century; καταδήω occurs at least three times in IG III.3, no. 70 and Ἡρμῆν in IG III.3, no. 91 (η~ι and η~ει also occur in one of these texts, cf. p. 165 *infra*). There is also consistent use of O for ου in IG III.3, no. 94, which has several cases of H for E and E for H; ἈθENAῖος occurs three times in Ziebarth, GGN 1899, p. 109, no. 8, which has O for OY; so also τήρη[ν], πω[λ]ετῶ in IG III.3, no. 110.10, 6–7, with consistent use of O for OY (not Attic?). But the many cases of confusion of E and H in the lengthy text published in *Kerameikos* 3, p. 97, no. 9 must be due to semi-literacy or carelessness, not difficulties with the new Ionic script, if this text is really as late as ca. 350: cf. Ἐρμῆν, Ἐρμῆν, τήν, τέν, κηραμοδῆτεν, etc. So also later defixiones, cf. e.g. Ἐρμῆ IG III.3, no. 93.a2, a3 (s. IV a.?). Φιλομένεν IG III.3, no. 116.6 (s. IV a.?). κηδησταί IG III.3, no. 65.6 (s. IV a.?). Ἐδύλην IG III.3, no. 54.a4; αὐτῆς *ib.* no. 79.4; ἐφ'γάζηται, αὐτέν, γίνησθαι *ib.* no. 90.a2, a3, a6; κατάδησμος *ib.* no. 123.2; Τηλέσιππος, [E]ύαφήτη *ib.* no. 117.3, 4; κατήδησθην *ib.* no. 46.4; (all dated loosely s. IV/III a.); etc. Cf. Τελήσιος, BCH 91 (1967) p. 515, no. II (= SEG 24.263) (ca. 350).

Comparable to the later examples of H~E on defixiones are ὀβηλῖαι, *Agora* 21, p. 10, no. B 14 (ca. 300) graffito; perhaps πιη κακοδαιμων is for πῖε κακοδαιμων on another graffito, *Agora* 21, p. 54, no. G 15 (s. III a.), although Lang now interprets πῖη as subjunctive. Note also on lead cavalry pinakia from the Ceramicus: Θρασυμέδου AM 85 (1970) p. 216, no. 231 (the correct -μήδου on two others, AM 85, p. 216, nos. 229–230); Κεφισι(έως), Κεφισι(έως) AM 85, p. 232, no. 530; all these pinakia are of the third century B. C.

The reading Κυδ[α]θενεύς stamped on an amphora handle, *Deltion* 20 (1965) *Chronika* p. 47 (= BCH 92 [1968] p. 733), must be corrected to Κυδ[οσ]θένεύς, as seen by L. Robert, who recognized the object as Cnidian, cf. REG 82 (1969) p. 451, no. 195.

The spelling ἐπιθήμα (= 'cover') is attested on inventories of the fourth century B. C.: II² 1408.15 (post 385/4), II² 1424 a (in add.) 142 (369/8), II² 1440.50 (350/49). Cf. the graffito, *Agora* 21, p. 10, no. B 13 (350–300), with ἐπιθήμα(τα). In Roman times, however, six of the

copies of the sepulchral curse-text set up by Herodes Atticus about 150 A.D. have ἐπίθημα: Π² 13188, Π² 13191, Π² 13194–Π² 13196, Π² 13206; only a single copy has ἐπίθημα: Π² 13193. A decree (orgeones) of the Hellenistic Period has ἀνάθημα, ἀναθέματι cf. Π² 1324.26, 30 (ca. 200?). The spellings in -θημ- are probably due to the influence of the noun θέμα, as suggested by A. S. Henry, cf. CQ n. s. 17 (1967) p. 257.

As the name of the Delian month the spelling Πάνημος is attested in an inv., Π² 1635.59 (post 374/3); Πάνεμος is not found.

Lit.: MS³ p. 19, note 96; p. 34, note 184; Lademann p. 116; Sturtevant pp. 33–41; Mayser-Schmoll pp. 39–41; Gignac pp. 242–249; Strohschein pp. 94 ff.

Examples (pre-Roman): E for H:

- 1) ἀργυρᾶ ἄστατος ἔγ Κλ[--- Π² 1425.295 (368/7) inv. (L.);
- 2) Ἀθενοδώρα Π² 7515.3 (ante 350) sep. mon. (L.);
- 3) Ἐλίκε, alongside Δημαγόρα Π² 5495 a (in add.) (ca. 350?) sep. mon.;
- 4) Δεμοστράτη Π² 5475 (post 350) sep. mon.;
- 5) χρεσ[τός] Π² 12809 (post 350) sep. mon. (L.);
- 6) Δημετρία Deltion 23 (1968) Chronika p. 33 (350–300) sep. mon.;
- 7) [Δ]ήμετρα Π² 1183.12 (post 340) decree (deme), μέ (= μή) ib. 22, συνεγορήσειν ib. 15, μεν[ός] ib. 36; all certainly copying errors of the stone-cutter, cf. 11.041, 41.03, 42.012 infra and Kirchner's note in IG II² (L.);
- 8) Κεφίς: Π² 1569.71 (ca. 330–320) inv. (L.);
- 9) τό[δε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν] στέ[λ]λῃ Π² 1203.18–19 (324/3) decree (deme) (L.);
- 10) Κυδαθε[ναίεός] Π² 486.9 (304/3) decree (L.);
- 11) Β[ή]ρησαι (for Βήρησαι) Π² 1588.13 (ca. 325–300) inv.; the context makes the restoration virtually certain, cf. *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p. 279, no. 32;
- 12) Μοιρογένης Π² 11646 (s. IV a.) sep. mon.;
- 13)]ς Σφέτ[τος] Π² 1546.7 (init. s. III a.) inv. (L.);
- 14) Ἀθенаίων Π² 793.8 (post 255) decree (L.);
- 15) Ἀλωπεκεῖθεν *Hesperia* 33 (1964) p. 186, no. 37, line 9 (ca. 150) decree;
- 16) Νικομεδεύς *Polemon* 5 (1952–53) p. 26, no. 7 (= SEG 12.201; Π² 10015) (s. II a.) sep. mon.;

Doubtful:

- 17) Ἀθенаίων Π² 537.3 (fin. s. IV a.?) decree; seen only by Pittakes;
- 18) ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΕΙ[...]ΘΩΣΙΝ = εἶναι τήν[] [μίσ]θωσιν Π² 2501.18–19 (cf. IG II, no. 1061) (fin. s. IV a.) loc.; seen only by Pittakes.

For ἐχένια in Π² 1455.25, cf. Notes and Corrections below.

H for E:

- 19) ἐνεπησκήψατο *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p. 14, no. 1, line 18 (367/6) inv. (L.);
- 20) Ἐργαμήνης Π² 5962 (ca. 350?) sep. mon.;
- 21) Λήσβιος Π² 9203.2 (ca. 346) sep. mon.;
- 22) ἐμπεδορχοῖην (= ἐμπεδορχοῖεν) Robert, *Etudes* (1938) pp. 296ff., line 49 (= Siewert pp. 5–7) (paulo post 350? cf. *Charisterion Orlandou* A, pp. 79–87) oath (ephebes); almost certainly only a graphic mistake caused by the correctly used ἐμπεδορχοῖην in line 39;
- 23) ἐπηγ[έγρα]πτο *Hesperia* 25 (1956) p. 101, no. II, lines 15–16 (= *Hesperia* 17 [1948] p. 33, no. 16) (346/5–336/5) inv.;

- 24) Χαιρεστράτῃ χιτώνιον ἡμ]υφής (must be acc. sing.) Π² 1514.59 (post 344/3) inv.; probably a graphic mistake, as this text is carelessly inscribed;
- 25) λήβητες Π² 1544.65 (333/2) inv., perhaps a graphic mistake, cf. λέβητες *ib.* 63 (L.);
- 26) ἀνέθηκην Π² 4633.3 (s. IV a.) ded. (priv.);
- 27) ἐπεμλήθη Π² 1263.8 (300/299) decree (thiasotai);
- 28) προ]ηδρίαν *Hesperia* 23 (1954) p. 287, no. 182, lines 30–31 (271/0) decree;
- 29) ἀνέθηκη *AJA* 66 (1962) p. 275 (= *SEG* 22.165) (s. III a.) ded. (priv.);
- 30) Δηκελέως, Ε]ὐμήνῃ *Hesperia*, suppl. 9 (1951) p. 26, add. IIb (164/3? an earlier date of 260 B. C. has also been suggested, cf. *Hesperia* 12 [1943] p. 163) horos;
- 31) ἦν (= ἐν) *Hesperia* 17 (1948) p. 17, no. 9, line 16 (140/39) decree (L.); also has ὄν for ὄν, cf. 12.011, no. 14, p. 225 *infra*;
- 32) Ἐκαλήθην Π² 1960.21 (= *Hesperia* 24 [1955] pp. 220ff., line 185) (127/6) decree (L.);
- 33) ἀνέθηκην Π² 4926 a(in add.) (s. II a.) ded. (priv.).

Doubtful:

- 34) ΤΕΡΗΝ ΗΝ = τέρεν' ἐν *Hesperia* 16 (1947) p. 287, no. 1, line 3 (= Π² 4321 + new fr.) (ante 350) ded. (priv.); perhaps a misreading of Wheeler, the only witness to this part of the text.

Notes and Corrections:

In Π² 7875 (= *IG* II, no. 2731) read ἰσοτελής, not ἰσοτηλής (Kirchner). The very worn condition of the stone makes verification of the reading EXENIA for ἐχίνια impossible in the inv., Π² 1455.25 (340/39), perhaps: ΕΧ[Η]ΝΙΑ (L.); this same text has the clumsy metathesis ΣΗΣΕΜΑΣΜΕΝΟΝ for σεση- in *ib.* 7 (L.), clearly a graphic mistake; another is *ib.* 16, cf. ΣΗΣΛΜΑΣΜΕΝΑ (now illegible). In Π² 1424 a(in add.).44 read [εἰ]λικτήρες, not [εἰ]λικτέρες (L.).

In Π² 1428.208 (in add.; = Π² 1428.172 in text) read πέλ[τη, not πέλ[ηξ] for πήληξ, cf. Π² 1424 a(in add.).328. The spelling ΥΠΕΡΓΥΡΩΜΕΝΟΣ (ἐπεργυρωμένος?), in Π² 1652.14 (334/3) inv., may be due to conflation of ἐπαργ- and ὑπαργ-, if the reading is right (known only from Fourmont); ὑπαργυρῶ would, however, also be possible, although it remains uncertain whether Fourmont's ΥΠΕΡ- is correct or his misreading of ΥΠΗΡ-. The spelling ΗΛΘΟΝΤΕΣ in the inv., Π² 1672.297 (329/8), is due to conflation of οἱ ἐλθόντες and οἱ ἦλθον.

Roman Period:

E for H:

- 35) Μετροφάνης Π² 1799.18 (ca. 198 p.) pryt. cat.;
- 36) Λεναίου Π² 7649 (s. II p.) sep. mon. (L.);
- 37) Μάγνης Π² 2226.62 (ca. 218/9 p.) eph. cat. (L.);
- 38) Ἀσκληπιάδης *Hesperia* 40 (1971) p. 321, no. 13, line 27 (ca. 205 p.) pryt. cat.;
- 39) Μιλέσιος Π² 9752 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon. (L.);
- 40) Μειλεσία Π² 9483 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon. (L.).

Doubtful:

- 41) Εὐφέμου Π² 2053.1 (145/6 p.) eph. cat.;
- 42) Μενογένης Π² 2118.4 (180/1–191/2 p.) eph. cat.;
- 43) Εἰρεναῖος Π² 2111/12.50 (182/3–190/1 p.) eph. cat.;

- 44) ἐδέ, σοφίεν, τρῳάσιον Π² 10193 (s. Π p.?) sep. mon. in verse (metre demands η in all three places) known only from a very poor copy;
 45) τοῖνεκα δὲ καὶ Π² 3669.18 (ca. 269–70 p.) ded., sense and metre demand δή;
 46) Ἐρακλεῶτις Π² 8685.3 (date?) sep. mon.;
 47) Τεμνίτης Π² 10445.3 (date? not much later than the destruction of Τῆμνος in the first century A.D., cf. Pausanias 5.13.7) sep. mon.; has I for η in Ἀπελλίς cf. 8.02, no. 18, p. 168 infra. For Τημνίτης, cf. Π² 1031.8 (= part of Π² 1006, cf. *Hesperia* 41 [1972] pp. 185 ff.) (122/1).

H for E:

- 48) Δηλῶς Π² 11052 (fin. s. Ia.) sep. mon. (L.);
 49) χαῖρη for χαῖρε Π² 12408 (fin. s. Ia./init. s. Ip.) sep. mon. (L.);
 50) Νουμήριος (P is certain; definitely not Νουμήγιος) Π² 1832.25 (ca. 231/2 p.) pryt. cat. (L.).

Doubtful:

- 51) Βαλῆριος Π² 6852 (aet. Rom.?) sep. mon.

H for AI (= [e]):

- 52) Εὐκῆρος Π² 1073.16 (ca. 120 p.) (cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 [1937] p. 193, no. 121; *AJP* 70 [1949] pp. 299 ff.) decree (L.); for Εὐκαιρος, cf. e.g. Π² 2017.37;
 53) γυνῆ Π² 13218.7 (s. II/III p.) sep. mon. (a search for this text in the apotheke of the Piraeus museum in summer 1970 proved fruitless);

Doubtful:

- 54) Ἀνακῆς Π² 5643 (date?) sep. mon.

For a possible case of Φαῖστος for Φῆστος, cf. 19.00e, p. 345 infra. For an isolated case of Θυμητάδης for Θυματάδης in the second century B. C., cf. p. 296 infra.

Notes and Corrections:

Π² 844/845 B dates either to the end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth century B. C., and thus belongs with the examples in 2.04, pp. 49–51 supra; ἈθENAΐAI occurs in line 11.

In Π² 2068.14 (= IG III, no. 1122) read: Ἐκλεκτος (L.); in Π² 2044.66 (= IG III, no. 1112) read: Ἡγεμῶν (Kirchner); in Π² 2090.4 (= IG III, no. 1132) read: Φαληρέως (L.), cf. BCH 51 (1927) p. 310; in Π² 9828 (= IG III, no. 2775) read: Μιλησία (Kirchner), I could read only Μι[λη]σία (L.); in Π² 5388 (= IG III, no. 1524) read: Ἡροδότου (cf. IG II²); in Π² 1075.16 (= IG III, no. 7) στήλης is genitive singular, not dative plural; in Π² 8395.8 (= IG III, no. 1379) EN should be interpreted as ἐν, not as ἄν (cf. IG II²); in Π² 2105.15 (= IG III, no. 1141) read: Ἡγεμῶν (L.).

The variation Τερμησεύς ~ Τερμεσεύς (codd. have Τερμησ-) occurs in inscriptions. The local form was clearly Τερμησεύς: cf. many examples on inscriptions from this district, TAM 3.1, Indices p. 341 (only one case of Τερμεσεύς); cf. also SEG 17.634 (Pamphylia); 18.570 (Lycia). But in Attica Τερμεσεύς was apparently normal, cf. Π² 1028.146 (101/100, cf. SEG 24.188) decree; Π² 8734 (s. Ia.), Π² 10440 (aet. Rom.) sep. monuments; Τερμησεύς once, cf. Π² 10441 (s. I/II p.) sep. mon. The Τερμεσεύς spelling seems also to have been preferred at Rhodes, e.g. IG XII.1, no. 385; no. 544; C. Blinkenberg, *Lindos, Fouilles et Recherches* 1902–14, 2 (Berlin/Copenhagen, 1941) p. 56, no. 89; p. 490, no. 143; etc. (After references of V. Schmidt).

8.02 Confusion of η and ι

For H for ει before vowels, cf. 9.031.

Examples of η ~ ι are exceedingly rare in Attic inscriptions before ca. 150 A.D., and the cases on stone monuments are largely found in sepulchral texts. That [iː] and [eː] could be confused by the semi-literate is reasonable enough, and H ~ I is found in other crude texts. Thus I for η occurs on a number of unpublished slates found in Plato's Academy, probably those of school-boys, e.g. 'Αθινᾶ, Ἄρις, Διμοσθένης, cf. *BCH* 83 (1959) pp. 579, 582, plate 14 (p. 581) (= *AJA* 63 [1959] pp. 279–280; *SEG* 19.37) (fin. s. Va.). The best explanation for these spellings is the boys' incomplete mastery of the alphabet. The sounds of η and ι may have been close enough to confuse them in using the letters for them (E, I) or they may not even have mastered the technique of writing the letter in question.

A few cases of I for [eː] on vases are probably a letter left incomplete, where the I is even the correct reading. Cf. ΓΡΑΠΙ for Γαργέτιος, scratched on an ostrakon of the 440s B.C., *Hesperia*, suppl. 5 (1941) p. 144, no. 39 (cf. fig. 71, p. 143).

Convincing examples of η ~ ι are absent from the defixiones for the most part, but the occurrence side by side on one text of κατηλιον (3 times), κατηλιᾶ, κατηλιῶν shows that I = [iː] and H = [eː] were not too far apart to be confused by the ignorant, cf. Robert, *Collection Froehner* 1, p. 14 (400–350? probably init. s. IV a.; cf. p. 170 infra; p. 161 supra). Here the correct spelling is κατηλειον (cf. Robert, *op. cit.* p. 15, note 2 with lit.), and there is thus confusion of EI = [eː] with H and I. For κατηλειον in these texts, cf. *IG* III.3, no. 87 (400–350?), which shows an unusually high standard of orthography for a defixio. Cf. Ἀρηστο[έ]λης, graffito on a late fifth-century sherd, *Agora* 21, p. 21, no. D 42.

Confusion of η and ι in inscriptions on stone is extremely rare before ca. 150 A.D. Of the three public texts in which the instances of η ~ ι are certain two involve cases in which the adjacent syllable has the same vowel, e.g. Νουμινῖαι for Νουμηνῖαι, Ἰσητητήρια for Ἰσιτητήρια (nos. 2, 6 infra), where it is hard to say if true vowel assimilation is involved or mere copying mistakes; this type of thing also accounts for three of the certain instances on private texts (nos. 3, 8–9). The third public text probably shows influence of ἐπιμέλεια on ἐπιμελητεία to produce ἐπιμελειτειῶν (no. 5 infra). Three sep. monuments of foreign persons show feminine ethnics in -ης instead of -ις, a spelling found later, but certainly not Attic in the Hellenistic Period. The remaining examples are all quite doubtful, depending either on early copies or doubtful readings and restorations (nos. 10–18).

On a sep. monument of the second century B.C. on which are depicted a seated woman and two men the text reads:]ΕΒΙΣ Δ[ί]ωνος ἐκ Θ[ε]ο[...], cf. *Polemon* 6 (1956–57) *Symmeikta* p. 41, no. 10 (= *SEG* 17.99). This has been read as Κέβις (i.e. Κέβης) etc., but the figures depicted and especially the form of the demotic ἐκ Θ[ε]ο[...], suggest that]ΕΒΙΣ is the end of a woman's name: perhaps a feminine name Εὐσεβίς corresponding to the masculine name Εὐσεβης is not impossible. The ἐκ in the text makes it fairly certain that the demotic is the correct restoration and not some ethnic in Θ[ε]ο[...].

About the middle of the second century A.D. there is more evidence for η pronounced as \bar{i} [iː] (by this time spelled I or EI, cf. 9.023). Thus the masc. personal name earlier spelled $\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$, e.g. II² 1951.19, 20 (406, cf. SEG 22.53) cat.; II² 1926.7 (325/4) cat., appears in eph. catalogs as $\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\eta}\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ (nos. 23, 27) or $\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$, e.g. II² 2065.119 (150/1 p.), II² 2067.173 (154/5 p.), II² 2132.66 (ca. 192/3 p.); II² 1774.14 (167/8 p.) pryt. cat. (L.). For the conjunction η two copies of the sep. curse-text set up by Herodes Atticus ca. 150 A.D. have \bar{i} ; another has $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ for $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu\eta\sigma\eta\varsigma$, which may also be evidence for $\eta = [\bar{i}]$ (nos. 19–21). It is possible that the spelling η for η $\epsilon\iota$ in the regulations of the Iobacchi, II² 1368.51 (ca. 162/3 p.), is additional evidence for $\eta = \bar{i}$, for the omission of the $\epsilon\iota$ would be easier to explain if it were homophonous with η . The use of H for $\epsilon\iota$ before vowels largely ceases by the end of the first c. A.D., and occasional examples of I for $\epsilon\iota$ here indicate that $\epsilon\iota$ had gone to [iː] in this environment also by this time; thus a ded. of the mid-third c. A.D. with festivals in $-\eta\alpha$ and $-\epsilon\iota\alpha$ alongside each other may be evidence of $\eta = \bar{i}$ (no. 32, cf. 9.031).

Examples, however, of $\eta \sim \bar{i}/\epsilon\iota$ remain very rare and are usually found only on sep. monuments, often those of very late date and exhibiting crude orthography (cf. nos. 22, 36–37/8, 49; also nos. 29–30, defixiones). On eph. catalogs the only other certain case besides the two examples of $\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\eta}\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ cited supra is $\nu\iota\kappa\omega\phi\acute{o}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ (no. 31). A high proportion of the examples are known only from early copies and are thus doubtful. In four instances $-\eta\varsigma$ occurs for $-\iota\varsigma$ in fem. ethnics or personal names (nos. 25, 45–47), also attested three times in pre-Roman texts (nos. 1, 4, 7), all sep. monuments of foreigners. This use of $-\eta\varsigma$ is hard to account for; probably it is just a simple confusion of e.g. $\eta\rho\alpha\kappa\lambda\epsilon\acute{\omega}\tau\eta\varsigma$ and $\eta\rho\alpha\kappa\lambda\epsilon\acute{\omega}\tau\iota\varsigma$ due to carelessness. There is one certain Attic example: $\epsilon\bar{\xi}\omega\nu\eta\varsigma$ (no. 26). A case of $\beta\epsilon\rho\nu\eta\chi\eta\delta\eta\varsigma$ on a pryt. cat. is doubtful (no. 39).

Ptolemaic papyri, often offering evidence of sound changes well in advance of Attic texts, offer very few examples of interchanges between η and ι or $\epsilon\iota$; such examples as do occur do not look as though they are due to the development of η to \bar{i} , cf. Mayser-Schmoll, pp. 49–53. Even in the period after 150 A.D. the paucity of examples and the type of monument on which they occur make it not impossible that the pronunciation of η as [iː] was substandard at Athens, although the conservatism of the orthography must be taken into account. There is evidence that in the speech of the educated at Constantinople η and \bar{i} were still distinguished in the fourth c. A.D.; at least in the Gothic translation of the Bible η and \bar{i} are distinguished in foreign words like *Israel*. In some environments the distinction between the two vowels has been maintained until the present day in Pontic Greek. Cf. Sturtevant p. 38. Occasional confusion of η and ϵ even in later Roman times also suggests that η was maintained as an e -vowel by some speakers (cf. 8.01 supra). η and ι or $\epsilon\iota$ are frequently confused in papyri of Roman times, cf. Gignac (in Lit. infra).

Attic spellings are:

$\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\bar{\xi}\eta\pi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$: II² 1673.42 (333/2? cf. AE 1971 p. 112) inv.

$\gamma\epsilon\iota\sigma\eta\pi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, $\gamma\epsilon\iota\sigma\eta\pi\acute{o}\delta\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$: II² 463.51, 63, 114 (307/6) decree.

$\mu\epsilon\lambda\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\delta\omicron\varsigma$: II² 1619.28 (post 358/7) inv.

συβήνη: I² 280.86 (422/1), I² 282.122–123 (420/19), I² 283.139 (419/8), II² 1388.75 (398/7), II² 1394.10 (init. s. IV a.), II² 1424 a (in add.).337 (369/8), II² 1425.270 (368/7), II² 1428 (in add.).139 (367/6) inventories; etc.

Σικινῆται: Cf. Σικινῆται I² 63.90 (= ATL 2, no. A9) (425/4) decree (in trib. list appended at end); Σικινῆται I² 223.11 (= ATL 2, no. 33; *Hesperia* 41 [1972] pp. 418ff.) (418/7) trib. list; Σικινῆται II² 43.B31 (378/7) decree. So also in Solon fr. 2, cf. critical note to fr. 2, M.L. West, *Iambi et elegi graeci* 2 (Oxford, 1972), p. 120.

Attic texts keep τήθη and τίθη distinct. A crude sep. monument of the fourth century B.C. has ΤΠΤΘΗ with no trace of a crossbar between the second and third letters, cf. II² 12816 (L.); probably an inept dittography: τ(ι)τθη.

τήθη: e.g. II² 1534B.229 (247/6, cf. SEG 16.118) inv; II² 2363.35 (ca. 100) cat. Cf. θεθε on vases (cf. 38.0211 a infra).

τίθη: e.g. II² 12387 (init. s. IV a.), II² 12812 (390–365), II² 12815, II² 12813, II² 9112 (all ca. 350), II² 12996 (365–340), II² 7873, II² 10843, II² 12242 (all post 350), II² 13065 (340–317), II² 9271 (s. III a.), II² 12330 (s. III/II a.), II² 11084 (s. II/1 a.), II² 9079 (s. II/1 a.), II² 12682 (s. 1 a.), II² 5514 (s. 1 p.) sep. monuments; etc. For τέτθη, cf. 9.022, no. 11, p. 196 infra. For -τθ-, cf. p. 545 infra.

For the demotic Ἰφιστιάδης a variant Ἡφαιστιάδης (due to false etymological connection with Ἡφαιστος) is attested as early as the fourth century B.C. and continues to occur into the Roman Period. The original spelling is always more frequent and also appears in the catalog of deme names, II² 2362 (ca. 200). Ἰφιστιάδης (sometimes Εἰφιστιάδης with EI for [i]): I² 1063 (ca. 450) sep. mon.; I² 343.77 (443/2); [I]φιστιάδες I² 370.3 (421/0–416/5); II² 1436.7 (349/8), inventories; II² 2409.63 (330/29, cf. SEG 16.145) cat.; II² 6300 (s. IV a.), II² 6296 (post 300) Ἰφ[ιστ]ιάδης, sep. monuments; II² 1304.52 (post 211/0) decree (troops); II² 2362.59 (ca. 200) cat.; II² 6301 (init. s. II a.) sep. mon.; II² 1940.36 (130–120) cat.; II² 1009.102–106 (116/5), II² 1011.93, 94 (106/5) decrees; II² 6298 (s. II a.) sep. mon.; II² 2338.42 (27/6–18/7) cat.; II² 2049.77 (142/3 p.) (L.), II² 2050.91 (143/4 p., cf. SEG 24.191) eph. catalogs; II² 6299 (ante 150 p.) sep. mon.; II² 2107.28, 29 (paulo ante 180 p.), II² 2122.31, 33 (paulo ante 190 p.), II² 2272.13 (date?) eph. catalogs; [I]φιστιάδης II² 6297 (date?) sep. mon.; Ἰφεισ(τιάδης) II² 2068.28 (155/6 p.) eph. cat. (L.); Ἡφιστιάδης (probably for Εἰφιστιάδης, with EI for ι with careless omission of the I, cf. 7.0111c, no. 11, p. 139 supra) *Ta Athenaika* 21 (1962) p. 31, no. 3 (= SEG 21.865) (s. II/1 a.) sep. mon. Ἡφαιστιάδης: II² 1558.61 (ca. 330–320) inv. (L.); cf. Ἡφ[αιστιάδων] II² 1570.82 (ca. 330–320) inv.; II² 2193.83, 84 (198/9–205/6 p., cf. Graindor, *Album* p. 55) eph. cat. (L.); Ἡφ(αιστιάδης): II² 2194.26 (ca. 200 p.) eph. cat., Ἡ[φ] ib. 25. Ἡ[φ]ιστιάδης (conflation of the two spellings): II² 2292.43 (post 45/6 p.) cat.

The spelling Σκιπίωνος is found in the ded., II² 3303.6 (132 p.); the other Greek transcriptions of Scipio (Σκηπίων, Σκειπίων) are not attested in Attica. Normally Latin ē was transcribed as η, e.g. δηνάριον, Φήλιξ, Κορνήλιος, etc. (cf. Indices to *IG III*); exceptional are nos. 28 (δαινάρια) and 42 (Διονυλιτιανός) infra; cf. also ληκτός, p. 161 supra.

For Εἰρεσίδης ~ Ἡρεσίδης, cf. 8.03 infra.

Lit.: MS³ p. 19, note 94; Lademann p. 115; Mayser-Schmoll pp. 49–53; Sturtevant p. 38; Gignac pp. 235–242; Strohschein pp. 105 ff.

Examples: Before 150 A.D.:

- 1) Ἐπίχαρις (= Ἐπιχαρίς) Μιλησία II² 9579 (post 317/6) sep. mon.;
- 2) Νουμινίαι II² 2499.24 (306/5) loc. (orgeones), alongside Νουμηνίαι *ib.* 22; these are the readings of all early observers of the stone, now too worn to permit any confirmation (L.);

- 3) Διοσκουρίδης Π² 11196 (s. II a.) sep. mon.; probably graphic mistake, cf. ΧΑΙΡΣ for χαῖρε in *ib.* 3 (L.);
- 4) Ἀβρυλλίς... Ἡρακλεῶτης Π² 8548 a (in add. nova) (s. II/I a.) sep. mon. (L.);
- 5) ἐπιμελειτεῶν Π² 1338.30 (78/7) decree (synodos of technitai), the normal ἐπιμελητείας *ib.* 42; ἐπιμελειτεῶν probably shows influence of ἐπιμέλεια on ἐπιμελητεία (L.);
- 6) Ἰσητητήρια Π² 1043.8 (38/7) decree; the spelling is due to a sort of crude assimilation; for another example cf. *Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library at Manchester* no. 77.37 (s. II p.): Ἰσητήριον (L.);
- 7) Ἡρατῆς Ἀνκυρανῆ Π² 7903 a (in add. nova) (s. I a.) sep. mon.;
- 8) Μηλήσιος Π² 9843.3 (s. I a./s. I p.) sep. mon.;
- 9) Ἐπαφρόδητος Π² 10370.1 (s. I p.) sep. mon.;

Doubtful:

- 10) τῆμ φυλὴν Π² 1141.9 (376/5) decree (tribe); seen only by Fourmont;
- 11) ΑΡΑΦΙΝΙΟΙ (= Ἀραφίνιοι) Π² 1747.30 (cf. *IG* II no. 870) (343/2?) pryt. cat.; ΜΕΓΑΛΙΣ (= Μεγαλῆς) *ib.* 36; seen only by Fourmont;
- 12) ΘΥΑΙΝΙ Π² 1514.13 (post 344/3) inv.; some sort of a copying error for Θυαίνη? cf. ΛΑΡΗΝ (= λαβήν) *ib.* 23; cf. no. 13;
- 13) ΟΥΑ[.]ΝΙ Π² 1515.7 (post 345/4) inv., for Θυαίνη?; cf. no. 12 (L.);
- 14) Φύλῃστου Π² 6767.1 (s. IV a.) sep. mon.; has Μαραθονίου *ibid.*; seen only by Fourmont;
- 15) ἈΘΗΝ[.]ΣΙΝ doubtfully restored as Ἀθῆν[.]σιον Π² 435.14 (post 336/5) decree; if interpretation is correct, probably just a copying error, cf. ΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ for πολιτῶν in *ib.* 3;
- 16) Μνισιφῶν Π² 12168 (s. IV a.) sep. mon.;
- 17) Παλλινεύς Π² 7124.5 (late Hellenistic?) sep. mon.; seen only by Pittakes;
- 18) Ἀπελλίς Π² 10445 (date? not much later than the destruction of Τῆμος in the first century A.D., cf. Pausanias 5.13.7) sep. mon.; has E for H in Τεμνίτης cf. 8.01, no. 47, p. 164 supra; seen only by Fourmont.

Notes and Corrections:

ΧΡΙΜΑΤΑ in Π² 10.35 (453/2, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 89, no. 40) decree, occurs in a text with so many oddities it can only be due to Fauvel's inability to decipher the very worn stone.

The feminine personal name Ἡρήνη in Π² 11494.2 (410–390) sep. mon., is probably not for Εἰρήνη, cf. 8.03, p. 171 *infra*.

The Π of Διῦ has been accidentally crossed to make ΔΗ in a lex sacra, Π² 844/845 B.9 (= Sokolowski, *Lois*² p. 32, no. 16) (fin. s. V a./init. s. IV a.); a purely graphic error. In Π² 11375.2 (= *IG* II, no. 3682) read ΧΡΗΣ[, not ΧΡΙΣ[(L.); in Π² 1191.24 (= *IG* II.5, no. 574e) read διαχειρίζας, not διαχειρήσας; in Π² 2501.15 (= *IG* II, no. 1061)]ΙΟΠΠΙΟΙΣΗ[is not likely to be for Δ]ιοπειθήση[; in Π² 5501.7 (= *IG* II, no. 1791) read [Μ]νησα[ρ]χίδη, not [Μ]νησα[ρ]χίδι; in *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p. 287, no. 56, line 23 (= Π² 791 + new fr.) read: στήλει (L.); in Π² 10279.1 (= *IG* II, no. 3322) it is preferable to follow Pittakes and read Ἐπικρατίς, rather than Lolling, who reads Ἐπικρατής; in Π² 2498.9 (= *IG* II, no. 1059) ΥΑΙΝ was carved for ἱλόν, not ὕλην, cf. 26.03, p. 391 *infra*; in Π² 2318.205 (= *IG* II, no. 971.c12) read: Εὐηγέτης Παλλή: ἔχο[ρ]ήγει; in Π² 1996.130 (= *IG* III, no. 1091) read: Δημήτριος (L.); in Π² 11316 (= *Hesperia* 3 [1934] p. 110, no. 171) read: Ἐρμαῖσκος (cf. 15.0128g, p. 289 *infra*) (L.). The ΚΙΑΗΚΑΣ or ΚΙΑΪΗΚΑΣ on a sep. mon., *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p. 279, no. 138 (s. IV/III a.), is too uncertain to be taken as an instance of Η = ι. In Π² 3548 a (in add.).7 (= *Hesperia* 3 [1934] p. 72, no. 70) (s. I p.) ded., THB is probably for Τηβανός (Tebanus), not Τιβήριος (Tiberius) or Τεβέριος (cf. 7.0112, no. 1, p. 140 supra).

Ca. 150 A.D. and later:

- 19)–20) I (= η) Π² 13195.26, Π² 13202.8 (L.) (ca. 150p.) sep. curse-texts set up by Herodes Atticus. The full context is actually: ΕΤΕΡΩΙΝΩΜΗΣ i.e. ἐτέρῳ ἢ γνώμῃς. Thus the iota could be interpreted as going with ω, with an accidental omission of η: ἐτέρῳ ἢ γνώμῃς. But this seems much less likely than taking the iota as for η, since these two texts, as well as this whole group of texts (Π² 13188–Π² 13208), virtually always avoid the use of iota in ηι, ωι (cf. 22.022, p. 364 *infra*). Cf. the next item;
- 21) μετα[κρινή]σεις Π² 13196.5–6 (ca. 150p.) sep. curse-text set up by Herodes Atticus; the correct μετακρινήσης in all the other copies (cf. Π² 13188 ff.). This is less likely to be due to morphological confusion of -ης and -εις than to confusion of the sounds of η and ι (cf. nos. 19–20 *supra*);
- 22) H (= εΙ) Π² 13216.C1 (ca. s. IIp.) sep. curses;
- 23) Χαρήσιος Π² 2097.207 (169/70p.) eph. cat. (L.);
- 24) Σηληνός Π² 7083 (ca. 200p., cf. AM 67 [1942] p. 226, no. 34) sep. mon.; perhaps a kind of assimilation. The stone is lost, but the text is known from two independent early copies which agree in the reading;
- 25) Ἀντιωχῆς Agora 17, p. 95, no. 415 (= Π² 8132) (s. II/IIIp.) sep. mon.; Ἀντιωχιάς is certainly a fem. name of the -ιάς type, hence Ἀντιωχῆς = Ἀντιωχίς;
- 26) Ἐξωνῆς (i.e. Αἰξωνίς) Π² 5428.3 (s. II/IIIp.) sep. mon. (L.);
- 27) Χαρησίῳ Π² 2199.58 (ca. 200p.) eph. cat. (L.);
- 28) δεινάρια Π² 13220.2 (s. IIIp.) sep. mon.; δηνάριον would be expected, cf. e.g. *Hesperia* 21 (1952) pp. 381 ff., line 40 (= Π² 1092B.21) (ca. 165p.) decree; Agora 21, p. 89, no. K 16 (1–50p.) graffito;
- 29) τὰς πέψης αὐτοῦ *Hesperia* 5 (1936) pp. 43 ff. (ca. s. IIIp.) defixio;
- 30) Ἐρμεῖ *Hesperia* 6 (1937) p. 389, no. 3, line 8 (found in a deposit of s. Ip. material, but orthography and writing style look s. IIIp.) defixio (reading confirmed by D. Jordan); in this case, however, morphological confusion may be involved, if the dative singular has been taken over from the -ους, -ει, -η inflectional type (cf. 23.012 a, p. 380 *infra*);
- 31) Νικηφόρος *Neon Athenaion* 3 (1958–60) p. 6, no. 2.b 4 (= SEG 18.58) (s. IIIp.) eph. (?) cat.;
- 32) Βαρβόλλα Π² 3169/70.25 (253–257p.) ded., Ἀττάλλα *ib.* 31, alongside Ἀδριάνεια, Αὐγούστεια, etc. (L.). For discussion of this text, cf. 9.031, no. 29, p. 204 *infra*; 9.032, no. 9, p. 206 *infra*; for Βαρβύλλεια, cf. Π² 3162.20 (post 131/2p.) ded.;
- 33) Σηνωπεύς Π² 10328 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon. (lost);
- 34) Δηραδιώτης Π² 5966 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.;
- 35) Μελίσσιος Π² 9384 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon. (lost);

Of very late date:

- 36) καταβαλῆτε (= καταβαλεῖται) Π² 13224.8 (s. III/IVp.) sep. mon. (lost);
- 37/38) ἡσελεύσονται (= εἰσελεύσονται) Π² 5207 (s. III–Vp.) entrance sign;

Doubtful:

- 39) Βερνηκῆδης Π² 1794.28 (180/1p.) pryt. cat. (now illegible at this point, L.);
- 40) Ἡμερο[ς] Π² 2281.11 (aet. Rom.) eph. cat., Ὀνίσπιος *ib.* 2;
- 41) ΣΦΙΤ = Σφή(τι)ος? Π² 2274.10 (cf. IG III, no. 1240) (aet. Rom.) cat. (eph.?)
- 42) Διοκλιτιανῶ Π² 3421 (286–305p.) ded.;
- 43) [Ἐπ]ικηφῆσιος Π² 6064.2 (date?) sep. mon.;

- 44) Μελητεύς II² 6854.3 (date?) sep. mon.;
 45) Ἡρακλεώτης (feminine) II² 8599 (date?) sep. mon.;
 46) Ἀντιοχίης (feminine) II² 8099 (date?) sep. mon.;
 47) Βερενικίης (= Βερενικίς?) II² 8138 (date?) sep. mon.;
 48) Νικιφόρου II² 9643 (date?) sep. mon.;
 49) Ἀζινεύς (= Ἀζηνιεύς?) II² 4349.2 (date?) ded. (priv.).

Notes and Corrections:

Ἰσόλειτος (= ἰσόκλητος) Peek, AG 2, p. 51, no. 184 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.; reading and interpretation of Peek in AG 2 not likely (I can read only ἸΣΟΛΕΪΤΟ); in II² 11606 a (in add.) read not οἰκίς, but οἰκί (= οἰκεῖ) τις, cf. M.N.Tod, *Hermathena* 77 (1951) p. 21; in *Deltion* 20 (1965) *Chronika* p. 122 (aet. infimae) sep. mon., read ἵ τις ἔν (i.e. εἰ, cf. L. Rademacher, *Neutestamentliche Grammatik*² [Tübingen, 1925] p. 199), following REG 81 (1968) p. 456, no. 240, not ἵ τις (= ἦ τις); II² 2059.19 (= IG III, no. 1119): Λυκομήδης (L.); II² 2201.73 (= IG III, no. 1175): Ἀφροδοί (Graindor, *Album* p. 59, no. 91); II² 1104.3 (= IG III, no. 39): ἐξήκογτα ἡμ[ερῶν] (not ἦτα for εἶτα) (J.H. Oliver, *SEG* 24.150); II² 3592.21: πόλι (not πόλη) (L.); II² 2128.10 (= IG III, no. 1163): Κηφ, not Κηφή (Graindor, *Album* p. 52, no. 80); II² 7559 (= IG III, no. 2045): ΤΡΗΚΟΡΒΣΙΟΣ (HK either a misreading of Fourmont or a ligature for IK). In *Hesperia* 29 (1960) p. 63, no. 108 the correct reading is εὐχὴν (not εὐχείν, optical illusion on the photograph, *Hesperia loc. cit.* plate 20) (L.). Read Εἰρήνη, not Ἡρήνη, on the sep. mon., II² 9531 (= IG III, no. 2167) (now dated s. II a.), cf. *Hesperia* 17 (1948) p. 49, no. 50.

8.03 Confusion of η and ε [e']

For η for ει/___V, cf. 9.031.

There are a very few cases of E (= EI) for ηι in the fourth century B.C. (22.011, p. 355 infra), but examples of η~εἰ in the period before εἰ passed to ι [i'], i.e. earlier than ca. 200 B.C. (cf. 9.022) can scarcely be found in stone texts:

- 1) ΕΓΚΗΡ (= ἐν Κεῖραδῶν) II² 1558.69 (ca. 330–320) inv., alongside the expected ἐγ Κε(ι)ρ-ib. 72, 74, 76; cf. also *Hesperia* 28 (1959) p. 223, line B 115 (L.);
- 2) Ἡτηρῶτις II² 8537 (s. III a.) sep. mon. (L.);
- 3) Πολύκλητος II² 7079 (ca. 250) sep. mon., names in -κλητος are common enough in areas where η is the only long e-vowel, but this man is Athenian (Παιανιεύς).

The three long front vowels were certainly similar enough in sound to confuse the semi-literate, as can be seen from the occurrence of καπηλῆον (3 times), καπηλῆα, and καπηλῖον (3 times), all within a few lines of one another on a defixio where the context demands καπηλεῖον, cf. Robert, *Collection Froehner* 1, p. 14 (400–350; probably early in the fourth century, cf. 8.02, p. 165 supra); χῆρας (= χεῖρας) occurs on another such text, one exhibiting a particularly low standard of spelling, cf. IG III.3, no. 90.a6 (s. III a.). Significantly, no. 1 supra also shows very crude orthography, and D.M. Lewis designated the writer as “near illiterate” (cf. *Hesperia* 28 [1959] p. 208, note 2). For no. 2 assimilation might be the explanation, although it might be only a graphic mistake.

Later examples of εἰ~η like πέψης, Δηραδιώτης, ἦ (= εἰ) are of the Roman Period and are thus really cases of η~[i'], for εἰ=ι by that time (examples in 8.02, p. 169 supra). Before

vowels ει did not change to [i:] until later and in the late Hellenistic and early Roman Periods Η is a frequent variant for it (examples in 9.031, pp.202 ff. infra).

The feminine personal name Ἡρόνη in the sep. mon., Π² 11494.2 (410–390), is perhaps best not taken as Εἰρόνη (involving two peculiarities), but as related to the rare name Ἐάρινος, with ἦρ- (for ἦρ-←ἔαρ- in Attic and several dialects, cf. *LSJ* s.v. ἔαρ). The person so-named was probably a slave of non-Athenian origin.

The spelling σωτήραι in the decree, Π² 1008.22 (118/7) (L.), is due to the influence of σωτήρ. Elsewhere occur: σώτειρα, e.g. Π² 3483.4 (s. IIa.) ded.; Π² 1076.7 (cf. *HSCP*, suppl. 1 [1940] pp.521ff.) (196–217p.) decree; σώτηρα (looks like conflation of σώτειρα and σωτήρ, unless it is σωτήρα with Η written for η as in the examples in 22.031, p.365 infra), cf. Π² 2869.4 (100/99) ded. The σωτειρας of Π² 5063 (aet. Rom.) label on a theatre-seat, might be for σωτείρας or σωτήρας, as this text contains an archaizing use of Ε for η (cf. σωτέρ, Ἀθηνᾶς).

In a decree dated ca. 235 B.C., cf. *Hellenika* 3 (1930) pp.153 ff., line 19 (cf. *Glotta* 45 [1967] pp.195 ff.), the spelling ὑπεκτεθημένος is evidence for η in the perfect middle of this verb as in the active τέθηκα, cf. Morphology.

Both Θηβαῖος and Θειβῆος (the Boeotian spelling) are found on fourth-century monuments of Thebans, cf. Π² 8855 ff., sep. monuments, and the agonistic dedications, *Deltion* 25 (1970) p.143, no.1 (363/2); p.147, no.7 (352/1). Cf. Buck, *GD*² p.153; Sturtevant p.35.

The demotic ΕΙρεσιδης is normally spelled Ἡρεσιδης in the Roman Period; likewise eta is usual in the official called the ἥρεσιδωνης (all the examples are of the Roman Period), although there is one instance in a metrical text of Roman date of the spelling ειρεσιδωνης, which shows the ει familiar in the related noun ειρεσιδωνη when it occurs in the codd. to literary texts. It is hard to account for the apparent change to eta in the demotic. One would most naturally assume that the selection of η in Roman times is similar to that seen in Ἀρήου, etc., i.e. an indication that ει in ΕΙρεσιδης, etc. has not passed to ι as elsewhere, although why this should have been the case in this particular group of words is not apparent. There is, moreover, a gap in the examples from ca. 100 B.C. to ca. 100 A.D., but presumably the spelling in eta was adopted in the early Roman Period and never altered thereafter. The etymological connection of the word with εἶρος is uncertain; it is accepted by Chantraine, *DEG* 2, p.324. Cf. also remarks of J.S. Traill, *Hesperia* 40 (1971) pp.317–8.

ΕΙρεσιδης: cf. e.g. Π² 104.8 (368/7), Π² 220.28 (344/3) uncertain example, decrees; Π² 1672.276 (329/8) inv.; Π² 4397 (350–300), Π² 4440 (ca. 250) private dedications; Π² 1958.67 (post 250) cat. (Ἐρ-); Π² 2699 (350–300) horos (mortgage); Π² 1534B.268 (247/6, cf. *SEG* 16.118) inv.; Π² 5994 (s. IIIa.) sep. mon.; Π² 896.44 (ca. 186/5) decree; Π² 1938.45 (152/1) cat.; Π² 5998 (s. IIa.) sep. mon.; Π² 3876.2 (ca. 100) ded.; Π² 5993, Π² 5995/6 (s. Ia.) sep. monuments.

Ἡρεσιδης: Π² 2042.2 (ca. 135 p.), Π² 2067.202 (154/5 p.), Π² 2086.86 (163/4 p.) eph. catalogs; Π² 1774.39 (167/8 p.) (L.), Π² 1775.65 (168/9 p.) pryt. catalogs; Π² 5997.2 (s. IIp.) sep. mon.; Π² 2128.51 (190–200 p.) eph. cat.; Π² 1821.10 (ca. 200 p.) pryt. cat.; *Hesperia* 32 (1963) p.48, no.71, line 6 (186/7 p.) ded.; Π² 2208.40 (212/3 p. aut paulo post), Π² 2237.13 (230–235 p.) eph. catalogs;

ἥρεσιδωνης: *Hesperia* 40 (1971) p.315, no.12, line 5 (178/9–179/80 p.) ded.; Π² 1825.71 (post ca. 217 p.) pryt. cat.; read ἡ[ρεσιδωνην in Π² 3680.11–12 (init. s. IIIp.) ded., cf. *Hesperia* 40 (1971) p.317, note 14.

ειρεσιδωνην: Π² 11674.9 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon. (metrical).

Lit.: MS³ p.48, note 353; Lademann p.118; Mayser-Schmoll pp.49–51; Gignac pp.239–242.

9.00 The more recent ē-vowel [eː], E or EI

The compensatory lengthening (as in e.g. ἔναι ← *ἔσσαι) and vowel contraction (e.g. ε + ε in ἐποίησε, etc.) which produced a second long e-vowel in Greek have already taken place in Attic by the time of the earliest inscriptions, and there is no trace of any distinction between the long vowel resulting from these two sources. Both are represented in the Attic script by E, and they are kept rigorously distinct from the inherited diphthong [eʰ], represented by EI. As the Attic script also employed E for η [eː] it is only the first texts in the Ionic script which show that Attic did not share the tendency to simplify the vowel system by loss of the distinction between the newer [eː] and the inherited η [eː]: there is scarcely any confusion between H and EI in Attic inscriptions (cf. 8.03 *supra*). But the tendency to equate [eː] with the inherited diphthong ει developed rapidly, and the two sounds were identical by the end of the fifth century.

In texts of the later Hellenistic Period and early Roman times H was employed for a time as a grapheme for ει/___V, where it lagged behind ει elsewhere in the development to [iː] (cf. 9.031 *infra*).

9.01 E and EI as graphemes for [eː]

In the earliest texts the distinction between the inherited diphthong [eʰ], represented by EI, and [eː], represented by E, is rigorously maintained.

The principal examples on earlier Attic inscriptions are: παῖζει I² 919 (= *LSAG* p. 76, no. 1; *SEG* 24.71) (earliest Attic text, ca. 725?) graffito; Κλεδύχο I² 467 (= *LSAG* p. 77, no. 12) (ca. 600–575?) ded.; εἶτε, νεοθε I² 976 (= *IGAA* p. 133, no. 34) (ca. 560–550?); ἐπ[εῖ], μένει I² 972 (= *IGAA* p. 120, no. 8) (ca. 540–530?); ἰδέν I² 1012.3 (= *IGAA* p. 137, no. 44) (ca. 550–540?); Κλετο I² 996 (= *IGAA* p. 131, no. 27) (ca. 550–540?); Φρασικλείας, αἰεί I² 1014 (= *IGAA* p. 138, no. 46) (ca. 540?); στεῖχεις I² 971 (= *IGAA* p. 132, no. 33) (550–540, cf. *AM* 78 [1963] p. 119); Πεισιάνναχος I² 1022 (= *IGAA* p. 144, no. 58) (ca. 540–530?) sep. monuments; ἀνάκειμαι I² 498 (= *DAA* p. 279, no. 244) (ca. 520); Θαῖρελίδες, Θεοπέδης I² 596 (= *DAA* p. 365, no. 331) (ca. 520); Πεισιστρατος, τεμένει I² 761 (= *LSAG* p. 78, no. 37) (ca. 520–510?); Ἀμεινίας I² 489 (= *DAA* p. 9, no. 5) (525–500); κρατῶν I² 662 (= *DAA* p. 367, no. 332) (525–500?) dedications; Δεινίο, ἐποίη I² 1002 (= *IGAA* p. 131, no. 28) (ca. 510–500) (L.); ἔχει, ἰδέν I² 987 (= *IGAA* p. 132, no. 31) (ca. 500?) sep. monuments; ἐποίη I² 540 (= *DAA* p. 33, no. 31) (ca. 500?) ded.; ὀκῶν, τελέων I² 1.2, 3 (fin. s. VIa., cf. *Meiggs-Lewis* p. 25, no. 14) decree; etc. For the only apparently exceptional εἰμ, cf. 9.0111 *infra*.

The use of EI as the grapheme for [eː] before the fifth century is quite exceptional, but eventually [eː] and [eʰ] fell together with the result that in the fifth century, especially after ca. 450 B.C., there is an increasing use of EI as the grapheme for [eː] accompanied by rare instances of the grapheme E for the inherited diphthong (cf. 16.01 *infra*).

9.011 EI for [e'] before 400 B.C.

The first public text on stone with EI for [e'] is a large decree dated just before 460 B.C. (no. 5 *infra*), already showing a typical mixture of E and EI for [e']. It is about a century before the new orthography is entirely established and the use of E for [e'] dies out altogether. The mixture of graphemes in no. 5 suggests that [e'] and [e^h] have already fallen together, and a few examples on private texts of the last quarter of the sixth century (nos. 1–4 *infra*) testify to an earlier confusion of the two sounds. Tenacious retention of E for [e'] into the fourth century and occasional use of E for [e^h] support the view that the diphthong was monophthongized to [e'] rather than that the long vowel became a diphthong [e^h] in Attic.

Where enough text is preserved for several instances to occur there is no consistent use of EI for [e'], but a mixture of E and EI. The extension of EI for [e'] is paralleled by the use of OY for [o'], the more recent long o-vowel, but the spread of OY is later than that of EI, and there is rarely any overlap between the two (nos. 26a and 29 are exceptional in this respect, cf. 13.01, nos. 16a and 17, p. 241 *infra*). There is also no apparent connection between the spread of EI for [e'] and the use of Ionic script. In the rare cases in which the use of EI for [e'] does occur in texts in Ionic script, the Ionic letters are usually used consistently, but there is the same mixture of E and EI for [e'] as in texts in Attic script (cf. nos. 8, 16, 21, 25, 34 and 35 *infra*; also no. 26a, not in Ionic but has H for [e']; cf. 2.011 *supra*). Exceptional in this respect are nos. 16 and 29 (= 2.011, nos. 5 and 11, p. 31 *supra*); no. 16 is such a small fragment that E for [e'] might have occurred on a missing part, and the consistent use of EI, OY, and Ionic script of no. 29 is unique and makes the pre-403 date suspect. It is also clear that the adoption of the Ionic script in 403 B.C. did not affect the practices regarding use of E and EI for [e'], as the same mixture of E and EI continues in the first texts in Ionic (cf. nos. 37–40 *infra* and 9.012).

Many parts of Ionia do not make consistent use of EI for [e'] in this period either, e.g. *DGE* p. 340, no. 693 (s. V/IVa.) (Chios); p. 342, no. 702 (init. s. IVa.) (Erythrae); p. 342, no. 703 (357/6) (Erythrae); etc.; cf. the somewhat earlier texts from Miletus, *DGE* p. 352, no. 726, with EI for [e'] virtually everywhere, but scarcely any use of it in p. 354, no. 727 (both ca. 450).

Worthy of special notice is the assignment of more than a single stoichos to E for [e'] in three places in the decree, I² 22 (cf. *ATL* 2, no. D11) (450/49, cf. *SEG* 23.7): ἐναί in line 31, προερε- μένους in *ib.* 40, and ἐσφορῶς on the new fr., cf. *ATL* 2, no. D11, line 58; these cause an irregularity in the stoichedon order (cf. p. 63 *supra*). Perhaps originally EI for [e'] had been planned, although no case of its use occurs on this text; the change to E was made before actual carving, as no erasures are involved (cf. the apparent last minute insertion of H = [h] in the same text, cf. p. 494 *infra*) (L.). Cf. Bradeen-McGregor pp. 30–33.

The dating of the defixio published *Kerameikos* 3, p. 91, no. 3 to ca. 450 B.C. is rather doubtful (cf. Introduction, p. 8 *supra*); it contains consistent use of EI and OY, Ionic script, and both EI and HI for η, all features which tie it to writing of the mid-fourth century. If the date is correct it is a remarkable example of the precocity of private texts in adoption of orthographical practices. For the spread of EI in priv. texts, cf. Κλεῖνιο on ostraca of the younger Alcibiades (ca. 414) (assigned to the younger man because of the Ionic script), whereas Κλινίο

(cf. 9.0211) had appeared on the ostraca of the elder Alcibiades (ca. 460), cf. Vanderpool, *Ostracism* p. 23.

Lit.: MS³ p. 6, note 21; pp. 20–21, notes 104–110; pp. 35–36, notes 192–193.

Examples:

- 1) Κλείμαχος μ' ἐποίησε κέμι κένο ABV p. 85, Eleusis no. 4267 fr. (new no. 280) dipinto on a bf. vase; for [e] of Κλείμαχος, cf. 9.0211; for κέμι, cf. 9.0111;
- 2) ἐποίη IGAA p. 127, no. 19 (= I² 983, corrected; cf. GVI 1, p. 25, no. 72) (ca. 525?) sep. mon., but ἐποίη in the sculptor's signature in the next line;
- 3) κἀκείνοι IGAA p. 130, no. 26 (ca. 500) sep. mon.;
- 4) Κλεινίας ARV² p. 788, Oxford 309, by a follower of Douris (= CVA, England 3, plate 3.8) (cf. 9.0211, p. 193 *infra*) dipinto;
- 5) I² 6 = *Hesperia* 14 (1945) pp. 61 ff., no. 1 = *Hesperia* 15 (1946) p. 249, no. 78 (ante 460) decree.
 εἶναι *Hesperia* 14, p. 79, line B 41 (= I² 6.79);
 ὀλεῖσσι *ib.* lines B 38–39 (= I² 6.76–77);
 εἶναι *ib.* line B 31 (= I² 6.69);
 ἐχ[σε]ῖναι *Hesperia* 15, p. 253, line C 33 (= I² 6.116, corrected);
 μ[ε]ῖ[σο]ν *Hesperia* 14, p. 77, line C 12 (= I² 6.95, corrected);
 but ὀ[λ]έ[σο]σι *ib.* lines C 10–11 (= I² 6.93–94, corrected);
 in I² 6.42, read ἈθENAΐ[o], not ἔναι, cf. *Hesperia* 15, p. 250, line A 50;
 in I² 6.107, read με ἐνε[ῖ]ναι?, not ἔναι, cf. *Hesperia* 15, p. 253, line C 24;
 in I² 6.113, read μ[ε]ν δὲ [hoi], not μ[ε]ν δ' ἔν[αι], cf. *ib.* line C 30.
 (Readings given here have been confirmed by K. Clinton on the stone);
- 6) ὀφεί[ε]τ- I² 189.8 (ca. 460) law of a deme, now reads: ὀ[φ]ε[ι]λλετ- (L.);
- 7) εἰσίν I² 18.5 (457–445, cf. SEG 21.7) decree (L.);
- 8) ἐπεστ[ά]τε I² 16.4 (469–450, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 66, no. 31) decree (in Ionic script), but ἔναι *ib.* 14, ἀφελ[ε]ν *ib.* 15;
- 9) εἶναι I² 52.17 (433/2) decree, ἐπεστ[ά]τε *ib.* 15 (L.);
- 10) περ[ί]εισι I² 74.18 (ante 430) decree, εἰσ[ί] *ib.* 15;
- 11) ἀνείλεν I² 78.4 (ca. 430) decree, ἐχσε[λ]εν *ib.* 5, ἐς *ib.* 9, ἐπεστ[ά]τε *ib.* 3 (L.);
- 12) ἐπεστ[ά]τε I² 128.3 (432/1? cf. SEG 21.37) decree;
- 13) εἰσ- I² 57.20 (inscribed 423) decree, ὀφείλοντες *ib.* 11, ὀφειλεμάτων *ib.* 14, εἶναι *ib.* 35, 49, ἐχειροτόνησεν *ib.* 29, but E for [e] many times, including ἐς *ib.* 25, 50, ἔναι *ib.* 9, 19, 20; etc. (L.);
- 14) εἶναι I² 59.17 (ca. 427/6) decree, ἔναι *ib.* 20 (L.);
- 15) α[ἰ] ἄλλαι πόλει[ς] (stoch.) *Hesperia* 13 (1944) p. 211, no. 2, lines 7–8 (= II² 55 + new fr.; cf. ATL 2, no. D 21) (428/7, cf. SEG 24.6) decree (in Ionic script), ἐ[σ]ί[v] *ib.* 15;
- 16) εἶναι *Hesperia* 14 (1945) p. 115, no. 10, lines 5, 9 (425/4) decree (in Ionic script);
- 17) [Κ]λεισθέν[ες] *Hesperia* 8 (1939) p. 59, no. 21, line 5 (cf. *Hesperia* 32 [1963] pp. 187 ff.) (ca. 425) cat. of archons;
- 18) ὀλεῖσο I² 76.8 (435–414, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 222) decree; E for [e] many times in this lengthy text (L.);
- 19) πό[λ]ει[ς] (stoch.) I² 71.31 (ca. 436? cf. SEG 21.30) decree, E for [e] often (L.);
- 20) εἶναι I² 49.14 (post 442/1) decree, ἐς *ib.* 15 (L.);
- 21) ὀφείλεν SEG 10.99 (= II² 38) (ca. 420) very small decree fr. (in Ionic script) (L.);

- 22) εἴναι I² 154.15 (ca. 420, cf. SEG 10.98) decree (L.);
- 23) ἐπεσάται I² 94.3 (418/7) decree, εἶναι *ib.* 9, εἰρημένα *ib.* 10–11, κρατῆν *ib.* 34, ἔρχου *ib.* 30 (L.);
- 24) Πειραιεῖ I² 302.53 (418–414, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 229, no. 77) inv. (L.). For [e] of Πειραιεύς, cf. I² 335.59–60 (ca. 450), I² 293.14 (440/39), I² 234.27 (432/1) (L.), I² 359.20 (447/6–445/4, cf. SEG 24.48) inventories; I² 106.17, 23 (409/8, cf. SEG 24.16) decree; *Hesperia* 32 (1963) p. 144, no. 1 (404/3?) inv. (in Ionic script); I² 897 (post 450) horos; *Hesperia* 29 (1960) p. 24, no. 31, line 2 (394–391) inv.; etc.;
- 25) εἰσὶν I² 103.7 (412/1) decree (in Ionic script), ποιεῖσθαι *ib.* 17, εἰσὶν *ib.* 12, εἶναι *ib.* 14, [έ]πε[σ]άτε *ib.* 4–5 (L.);
- 26 a) εἶναι I² 108 I.15 (410/9) decree, has OY, H for η, but not otherwise in Ionic script; εἰσ[ι] *ib.* 24, ἀφειληφότας *ib.* 20, but ποιῆν *ib.* 21, ἐς *ib.* 37 (cf. 2.021, no. 13, p. 43 supra; 13.01, no. 16 a, p. 241 infra) (L.);
- 26 b) εἶναι I² 108 II.43 (410/9, inscribed by a different hand from I² 108 I) decree, in Attic script; εἰσὶ *ib.* 52, ἐς *ib.* 40, 49, ποιῆν *ib.* 46, 52 (L.);
- 27) ὀφειλομένον I² 109.9 (410/9) decree, ἐς *ib.* 8 (L.);
- 28) εἶναι I² 110.15, 30 (410/9) decree, κολάζεν *ib.* 42, ἐς *ib.* 43, ἀποφαίνεν *ib.* 45 (L.);
- 29) ἐπεσάται I² 110 a.4 (= I² 142) (410/9) decree, in Ionic script and always OY for [o]; εἰσὶ *ib.* 13 (cf. 2.011, no. 11, p. 31 supra; 13.01, no. 17, p. 241 infra); for the evidence for the date, cf. p. 31 supra (L.);
- 30) εἰσὶ I² 107.6 (409/8, cf. SEG 21.54) decree, also E = εἰ in οἱ ἐν τέλει *ib.* 2, unless a careless omission (cf. 16.01, no. 9, p. 300 infra) (L.);
- 31) εἶναι I² 117.5 (407, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 270, no. 88) decree, ἐπεσάτε *ib.* 3 (L.);
- 32) Πειραιεύς (cf. no. 24 supra) I² 374.12, 13, 18, 215, 216 (408–406) inv.; εἰς *ib.* 58, 253, etc.; εἶχε *ib.* 266, but ἐς *ib.* 279, δεκατρεῖς *ib.* 264 (L.);
- 33) Πειραιεύς I² 313.2 (408/7) inv., σπε[ι]ραι *ib.* 105, extensive text with frequent E for [e], note σπέρας *ib.* 158; I² 372.64 (L.);
- 34) ἀπ[ε]ίων I² 1383.4 (406/5? cf. SEG 10.200) inv., small fr. in Ionic script, has O for [o];
- 35) Πειραιεύς I² 1951.266 (406, cf. SEG 22.53) cat., Πιραια *ib.* 452, but some of the cases of Πειρ- elsewhere are probably for Πειραιεύς (e.g. line 200), Στερ(ιεύς) *ib.* 327, Στε(ριεύς) *ib.* 314 (in Ionic script, cf. 2.011, no. 28, p. 32 supra);
- 36) ἐπαγγελῶ[μενος *Hesperia* 39 (1970) p. 111, line 16 (= I² 174 + new fr.) (405/4) decree, εἶναι *ib.* 21, but ἐς *ib.* 11, 20, ἐπεσάτ[ε] *ib.* 5 (in Ionic script, cf. 2.011, no. 17, p. 32 supra);
- 37) ἐπεσάται I² 1 (= I² 126).6, 42, 57 (403/2) decree, E for [e] many times (L.);
- 38) ἐπιμελεῖσθ[I² 5.4 (ca. 403/2) decree, πρ[ο]υτάνας *ib.* 5;
- 39) Κυδαθηναίης *Hesperia* 40 (1971) p. 280, no. 7, lines 34–35 (403/2 aut paulo post) decree, ἐς *ib.* 7;
- 40) Κλείσοφος I² 1371.4 (403/2, cf. SEG 23.81) inv., called Κλέσοφος elsewhere, cf. 9.0211, p. 193 infra;
- 41) Πειραιεύς I² 1065 (fin. s. V a.?) sep. mon. (in Ionic script, cf. 2.0121, no. 32, p. 36 supra);
- 42) Κλεισθένης I² 770 (fin. s. V a., non ante 415) ded. (in mixed Ionic script, cf. 2.02, no. 13, p. 42 supra) (L.);

Doubtful:

- 43) δ' ἐκεῖ[ν]ο I² 14/15.6 (= ATL 2, no. D 15, line 15) (447/6? cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 121, no. 47) decree; spacing favors reading δ' ἐκεῖ[ν]ο rather than δ' ἐκεῖ[ν]ο but damage to the stone makes it impossible to decide (cf. ATL 2, plate 8) (L.);

44) -]ο Κλεισθ[- SEG 15.28.F6 (405/4) inv., but]οκλει Σθ[- is also possible, cf. *Hesperia* 25 (1956) p. 114.

Notes and Corrections:

In IGAA p. 136, no. 42 (= SEG 3.56) (ca. 540) sep. mon., ἀρχει τδ·ν· σεμάτων is a better interpretation than ἀρχεῖτο σεμάτων. The correct reading of *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p. 240, no. 1, line 12 (ca. 414) is Κλενίο (cf. *Hesperia* 22 plate 67). The reading ἐποίει given by IGAA p. 131, no. 28 (= I² 1002) is a printer's error; there is no trace of final iota on the stone (L.).

9.0111 εἰμί

The spelling εἰμί is found as early as the seventh century in graffiti, and is virtually the only spelling found in the numerous Attic attestations. In the sep.mon. of Phano-dikos from Sigeion, cf. DGE p. 356, no. 731 (ca. 550? cf. AAG² pp. 165 ff.; LSAG pp. 366–367, p. 371, nos. 43–44), it is significant that the Attic copy of the text has εἰμί alongside ἐς, μελεδαίνεν, but ἐμί appears in the Ionic copy. The early date and frequency of εἰμί can only indicate that the word contained the diphthong ει in Attic. Note also ἐναι alongside two instances of εἰμί on a terracotta ball, as well as exclusive use of the spelling εἰμί in sep. monuments of the Archaic Period, although they rigorously maintain the distinction between E for [e] and EI for the inherited diphthong (cf. 9.01 supra).

The expected spelling would be ἐμί, with [e] from ἐσμί. Sturtevant (p. 34) plausibly suggested that either influence of the second person singular εἶ or confusion with εἶμι might be the cause of the unexpected ει of εἰμί; note that the first person plural in Attic is also irregular (cf. Morphology).

The spelling ἐμί is actually quite rare in Attic texts: cf. κέμι κένο, also Κλεμᾶχος ABV p. 85, Eleusis no. 4267 fr. (new no. 280) dipinto (9.011, no. 1, p. 174 supra); ἄθλον: ἐμί, dipinto on the Burgon amphora, ABV p. 89, Burgon group no. 1 (= Smith, *Catalogue* 2, p. 98, no. B 130); ἐμί Agora 21, p. 34, no. F 63 (475–450) graffito; Αἰσχέιο ἐμί (almost certainly a Boeotian text) Agora 21, p. 34, no. F 65 (475–450) graffito.

Examples of εἰμί in Attic texts before 400 B. C.:

Graffiti: *Hesperia*, suppl. 2 (1939) p. 151 no. C 39 (= LSAG p. 76, no. 5 d) (ca. 675–650); *Hesperia*, suppl. 16 (1976) p. 15, no. 6; p. 20, no. 29 b, no. 29 c; p. 22, no. 41 (all s. VIIa.); *Agora* 21, p. 30, no. F 3 (= *Hesperia*, suppl. 2 [1939] p. 124, no. B 55; LSAG p. 76, no. 4) (ca. 650); *Agora* 21, p. 31, no. F 12, no. F 13 (both ca. 550); p. 33, no. F 56, no. F 58 (both init. s. Va.); I² 1086 (init. s. Va.); BCH 82 (1958) p. 678, p. 677, fig. 14 (init. s. Va.); IGAA p. 145, no. 59 a (= SEG 10.398) (graffito on a discus of marble) (fin. s. VIa.); *Agora* 21, p. 37, no. F 107 (475–450); p. 38, no. F 115 (s. Va.); I² 460 (s. VIa.?) εἰμί on three frr. of bronze vases; E. Kunze, VII Bericht über die Ausgrabungen von Olympia (1961) pp. 16–17, Φειδίο εἰμί (ca. 430) on a vase fr. found in Phidias' workshop at Olympia; cf. also the terracotta ball under Dipinti infra.

Dipinti: ABV p. 96, Tyrrhenian Group no. 14 (= *Imagines*² plate 3, no. 6) (ca. 570); LSAG p. 77, no. 10 f, plate 2 (ca. 600?); ABV p. 162, Eucheiros no. 1; ABV p. 175, Taleides painter no. 8 (= AJA 58 [1954] p. 187, no. 4; SEG 14.30 d) (ca. 540); GRBS 8 (1967) pp. 255 ff. (= SEG 24.73) (ca. 500) bf. terracotta ball with εἰμί twice (once dipinto, once graffito), also ἐναι (graffito); Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* p. 1018, no. 4017, late bf. kothon in Berlin (fin. s. VIa.).

Stone inscriptions: Sep. monuments: AAG² p.155, no.1 (= IGAA p.146, no.62; SEG 10.450) (init. s. VIa.); *Kerameikos* 3, p.41, no.31 (= IGAA p.119, no.6; SEG 10.442) (ca. 540–530?) made in an Attic workshop; I² 1009 (= IGAA p.142, no.54) (ca. 525–500?); I² 993 (= IGAA p.133, no.35) (ca. 510–500); I² 1001 (= IGAA p.132, no.32) (fin. s. VIa.); *Hesperia* 5 (1936) p.230 (= IGAA p.134, no.36; SEG 10.463) (ca. 500); I² 1027 (= IGAA p.136, no.40) (s. VI/Va.); I² 920.7 (= GVI 1, p.660, no.2042) (ca. 500) has εἰμί, νείκεα, -μεῖ-χσ[ῆν?], but ἐρα[σ]θίς (cf. 9.021, no.4) (L.); I² 10444.1 (= IGAA p.128, no.21) (ca. 525) sep. mon. of a non-Athenian from Teos, in Ionic script (L.); *Horoi: Hesperia*, suppl. 4 (1940) p.107 (ca. 500) (L.); *Hesperia* 37 (1968) p.61, p.62, fig.9 (ca. 500) (L.); *Dedication: DAA* p.31, no.28 (= I² 585, which needs correction) (490–480).

Doubtful: MO⁴-TPATEΣEIMIC *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p.298, no.186, fig.44 (bf. sherd); EIM[I *Hesperia* 9 (1940) p.248, no.303, graffito; --ς εἰμ'α-- I² 726 (500–480?) ded., stone now reads]EIMA--, cf. DAA p.36, no.35. For SEG 22.87 the best interpretation is probably that of LSAG p.78, no.33: ἡερμεῖ μ'ἄγαλμα (*scil. ἀνέθηκεν*); less likely: ἡερμ' εἰμ' ἄγαλμα as proposed in *Hesperia* 8 (1939) p.258, no.9 (cf. *Agora* 21, p.53, no. G 1) (L.).

9.012 Establishment of the standard orthography EI = [e'] (403/2–ca. 350 B.C.)

Because they contain fairly substantial amounts of text and often can be dated with considerable exactitude, the decrees (both of the state and a few large decrees of other types) and the numerous inventories, catalogs, etc. (largely published in *IG* II² pars 2, fasc. 1) provide the best material for a study of the establishment of EI as the normal grapheme for [e']. The following analyses have thus largely been restricted to public documents of these types. The numerous contemporary private dedications, sep. monuments, etc., are often very short and can only rarely be precisely dated; such texts cannot be shown to differ significantly in practice from the public documents of the same period.

Lit.: cf. 9.011.

9.0121 403/2–376/5 B.C.

Both E and EI are common for [e'] in this period. In the state decrees a development can be seen between II² 1 (403/2), which in 75 lines of text has E for [e'] everywhere except for ἐπεστάται three times (cf. 9.011, no.37), and II² 43 (378/7), which has E for [e'] only twice in more than 100 lines of text. Most substantial decree texts have a mixture of E and EI, but about ten have only E (note especially II² 40, II² 1172); the inventories, etc., are about equally divided between those with both E and EI and those with just E, but the really large texts of this type (e.g. II² 1388, II² 1400) have both E and EI. Texts which have only EI for [e'] in this period are very small fragments with the exception of the naval cat. II² 1604–5, which dates to the very end of this period, and has more in common with the similar lists of the next few years (cf. II² 1606, II² 1607–8 in Table B.2 *infra*).

The use of E for the inherited diphthong εἰ remains exceedingly rare in all types of texts in this period (cf. 16.01 for examples). The only examples in public documents of

the types considered here are $\kappa\epsilon\tau\alpha$ in Π^2 1237.69, a phratry decree of 396/5 with both E and EI for [e], $\epsilon\lambda\pi\epsilon\nu$, $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\psi\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega$, $\acute{\omicron}\kappa$, $\tau\omicron\tau$ - and $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau$ -; and $\tau\epsilon\chi\omicron\pi[\omicron\iota\omicron\iota\acute{\iota}]$ in a small fr. of a building inv. of ca. 394–391, Π^2 1658.1, but $\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\tau\omega\nu$ in line 9 of the same text. The avoidance of E for the inherited diphthong cannot be accidental, as it is very well attested in decrees, e.g. $\epsilon\lambda\pi\epsilon$, $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\eta}$, $\epsilon\iota$, $\delta\epsilon\iota\pi\nu\omicron\nu$, $\delta\iota\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$, verbs in $-\epsilon\iota$ in third person singular, etc. For E for $\epsilon\iota$ in prevocalic position as in $\sigma\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omicron$, $\lambda\upsilon\chi\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu$, etc., cf. 16.021e *infra*.

The use of OY as grapheme for the more recent long o-vowel remains rare in this period (cf. 13.02 *infra*), and is not necessarily correlated with the use of EI. Thus Π^2 16, precocious in its use of OY, has E three times, EI only once, but Π^2 28 does have both OY and EI more often than O and E. In general the use of EI is more advanced than that of OY; OY is largely lacking in the inventories, accounts, etc., where EI is well established; it occurs only very rarely in Π^2 43, with EI almost universally; not at all in Π^2 1237, with E and EI in roughly equal frequency.

In the following tables only fairly substantial texts with secure evidence for dating have been included; numerals give frequencies.

Table A.1 Texts 403/2–376/5 with E and EI for [e]

Table A.2 Texts 403/2–376/5 with only E for [e]

Table A.3 Texts 403/2–376/5 with only EI for [e]

Not included as examples of E and EI for [e] are cases like $-\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota\upsilon\varsigma$, etc. (cf. 7.03) or $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\gamma\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu$ vs. $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\gamma\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu$, where EI is due to influence of $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha\iota$, cf. Frisk GEW 1 p. 512.

Examples of $\epsilon\epsilon$ are counted as cases of $E = [e]$. It is doubtful if $\epsilon\zeta$ existed in fifth- or fourth-century Attic. The pre-403 script is ambiguous, but $\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ already occurs in prose texts of the last decades of the fifth century (cf. 9.011, nos. 13, 32), and Π^2 17, a decree of 394/3 with both $\epsilon\epsilon$ and $\epsilon\iota\epsilon$, militates against assuming $\epsilon\epsilon = [\epsilon\zeta]$ in this period, especially as there is no logic to the use of $\epsilon\epsilon \sim \epsilon\iota\epsilon$. Both $\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ and $\epsilon\epsilon$ occur before consonants, whereas if there were really two forms it might be expected that $\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ would be used before vowels, $\epsilon\epsilon$ before consonants (as $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\varsigma$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\zeta$ in Cretan, cf. Buck GD² p. 68). $\epsilon\epsilon$ is among the few cases of $E = [e]$ which occur after 350 B.C., but always in texts which also contain $\epsilon\iota\epsilon$, and $\epsilon\epsilon$ is not here any more than a late instance of E for [e] like ΑΠΙΟΔΩΣΕΝ for $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\acute{\omega}\sigma\epsilon\iota\nu$ (cf. 9.013, nos. 1, 5).

$\epsilon\epsilon$ is found in several verse texts of the Archaic Period, but always in circumstances which make it unlikely that the spelling is an accurate reflection of Attic speech. Thus $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\omicron\alpha\alpha\delta\omicron\nu$ of Π^2 982 (= IGAA p. 147, no. 67) (ca. 500?) sep. mon. occurs alongside such an obviously epic form as $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\theta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\omicron$, and may be safely regarded as taken from epic practices. The same can be said for $\acute{\epsilon}\zeta$ Ἀθῆνας alongside $\acute{\epsilon}\zeta$ Ἀῖδα in the sep. mon. set up by three Athenian tribes for Pythion of Megara, Π^2 1085.6, 8 (446, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 137, no. 51); the diction is a hodge-podge of Dorisms (cf. $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$) and epic forms (e.g. $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota$). So also $\acute{\epsilon}\zeta$ Ἀῖδω in another sep. mon., Π^2 980 (= IGAA p. 130, no. 25) of ca. 500 B.C. For $\iota\varsigma$ $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\upsilon\nu$ cf. 9.021, no. 6. For use of $\acute{\epsilon}\zeta$ in later metrical texts cf. 9.013.

The unexpected [e] of $\epsilon\lambda\iota\kappa\tau\eta\rho$ seems confirmed by the late example in Π^2 1436.55 (349/8) inv.; it is restored with virtual certainty in Π^2 1400.52 (Table A.1 *infra*), Π^2 1425.39 (9.0122, Table B.1), and Π^2 1424a.44 (Table B.2). $\epsilon\lambda\iota\kappa\tau\eta\rho$ occurs in similar inventories (cf. Table B.1), where it could represent either $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\kappa$ - or $\epsilon\lambda\iota\kappa$ -; in these inventories it seems impossible to tell whether ΕΛΙΚ - is the original form $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\kappa$ -, or represents $\epsilon\lambda\iota\kappa$ -, with E for [e].

For $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\mu\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ vs. $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$, cf. p. 184 *infra*.

Table A.1 Texts with E and EI for [eː]

Date	Text	E	EI	O and/or OY	EI (Inherited Diphthong)
<i>State Decrees:</i>					
403/2	Π ² 1 (L.)	many (75 lines)	ἐπεσάττει (3 times)	O	ει, ἐπειδάν, δείπνον, σύγριμται εἴπε
403/2 or shortly thereafter	<i>Hesperia</i> 40 (1971) p. 280, no. 7	ἐς	Κυδαθηναεῖς	O	
399/8	Π ² 13 (L.)	ἐς	εἰσὶ	O	εἴπε
394/3	Π ² 16 (L.)	ἐπεσάττει, πρέσβεις, ὑπάρχεν	εἶ[ναι]	O, OY	
394/3	Π ² 17 (L.) + <i>Hesperia</i> 26 (1957) p. 51, no. 8	ποῦν, ἐς, ἔναι	εἰσὶ, εἰς (3 times)	O	εἴπε
394/3	Π ² 19	πρυτάνεις, ἔναι	ἐπιεσάττει	O	δείπνον
387/6	Π ² 28 (L.)	ἐς	εἶναι (3 times), ἐπεσάττει, κατὰγειν, χειρ-	O, OY	εἴπε, εἰκοστ-
387/6	Π ² 29	ἐς, ἔναι	τρῆρεις, εἰς (3 times)	O, (OY?)	εἴπε, ἐπειδὴ
387/6	Π ² 30 + <i>Hesperia</i> 40 (1971) p. 162, no. 23	ἐσόντα, ἐξῆναι, ἐς (4 times), ὀφελ-	τρῆς, εἰσ-	O	συνενέμην
386/5	Π ² 31 (L.)	ἐς, ἔναι, τρέξ, πρέσβεις	ἐπεσάττει	O	εἴπεν
384/3	Π ² 34 (L.)	ἐς (bis), ἐρήνη (bis), πρέσβεις, βοηθῆν (bis)	ποιεῖσθαι, πρέσβεις	O	πειθ-
378/7	Π ² 42 (L.)	ἐπεσάττει	εἰσὶν (bis), πρέσβεις	O	εἴπε, ἐπειδὴ

Date	Text	E	EI	O and/or OY	EI (Inherited Diphthong)
<i>State Decrees (continued):</i>					
378/7	Π ² 43	Διῆς, Καρθαιῆς	EI 21 times: εἰς, ἄγειν, εἶναι, etc. εἶναι	O, OY	εἶπε
378/7	Π ² 44	προσαγαγῆν, ἐς (restored <i>al.</i>)		O	εἶπε
<i>Phratry Decree:</i>					
396/5	Π ² 1237 (113 lines)	E 24 times: ἐς, ἔναι, ὀφελέτω, τρεῖς, inf. in -ῆν, etc.	EI 21 times: εἰς, εἶναι, ὀφελέτω, etc.	O (τότο ~ τούτο-)	κῆται line 69, εἶπε, ἀλειψάτω
<i>Tribal Decrees:</i>					
390–380, cf. SEG 16.105	Π ² 1138	ἀναγράφειν	εἰς	O	εἶπε, Φειδίππο
376/5	Π ² 1141	οὐδές	μεῖζονα	O, OY	εἶπε
<i>Inventories:</i>					
ca. 400	Π ² 1376 (L.)	χλερός	μεῖζων	O	ἔχει
ca. 400	Π ² 1386 (L.)	χερός, τρεῖς	ἀπείρων	O	ἔχει
398/7	Π ² 1388	ἀπείρων, χερός, ἀλύσεῖς	Κλειτώ, Πειραιεῖ	O	ἔχει, διερείσματα, σύμ-μεικτός
390/89	Π ² 1400 (L.)	χέρ (bis), τρεῖς (4 times)	χερός, Πειραιεῖ, [εἰ]λυτ[ῆ]ρες	O	διερείσματα, εἰκοστός, σύμμεικτός, etc.
384/3	Π ² 1407	τρεῖς	χερός	O	διερείσματα, εἰκοστός, etc.

Table A.2 Texts with only E for [eː]

Date	Text	Number of cases of E = [eː]	O and/or OY	EI (Inherited Diphthong)
<i>State Decrees:</i>				
just after 403/2	Π² 6	3	O	
just after 403/2, cf. SEG 19.16; 24.9	Π² 8	2	O	
401/0	Π² 10	1	O	
just before 387/6	Π² 24	3, restored <i>al.</i> and <i>ei</i> restored once	O, OY	είκοστήν <i>passim</i>
just before 387/6	Π² 25	2	O	
394–387	Π² 26	1	O	ἐπειδή
394–387	Π² 27	3	O	
378/7	Π² 40	7	O, OY	εἶπε
378/7	Π² 41	3 + παρέσθε[ς]	O	
<i>Decree (deme):</i>				
ca. 400	Π² 1172	at least 21 (restored <i>al.</i>)	O	πλείστον, δονεῖζω, etc.
<i>Sacred Law:</i>				
just after 403	Π² 1357 + <i>Hesperia</i> 4 (1935) p. 19, no. 2	1 (ἐς)	O	λεπτο-

Date	Text	Number of cases of E = [e']	O and/or OY	EI (Inherited Diphthong)
<i>Inventories, catalogs:</i>				
402/1 (cf. SEG 23.82)	Π² 1372 (with Π² 1402)	1 (Κλέσσοπος, cf. p. 193 <i>infra</i>)	O (in Π² 1402)	Αι-γλυεῖ
399/8	Π² 1377 (L.)	3		εἴκοσι
ca. 390	Π² 1401	3	O	εἰκοστός, σύμμετρος
just after 403/2	Π² 1502	3	O	
ca. 394–391	Π² 1656–Π² 1664 <i>Hesperia</i> 29 (1960) p. 24, no. 31 (cf. SEG 19.136–144)	3	O	τεχον[οι]οί? elsewhere τεργο- (cf. 16.01, no. 13); σημείο (cf. 16.021e, no. 38); Εὐγέτων
ca. 390–380	Π² 2366	2 (Κηφισιεύς in line 1, [Κ]λέσσοπος <i>ib.</i> 15, both corrected by S. Dow; for Κλέσσοπος, cf. p. 193 <i>infra</i>)	O	Τε[ισ]μαχος

Table A.3 Texts with only EI for [e]

Date	Text	EI	O and/or OY	EI (Inherited Diphthong)
<i>State Decrees:</i>				
390/89	Π² 21.18	εις	O	πόλει
388/7	Π² 23.5, 8	ἐπεσάται, εις	?	
383?	Π² 36.10	ἐπεσάται	?	
after 383	Π² 37.c4	ἰσσελεῖς	O	γαμματεῖ, -ειος
378/7	Π² 45.11	εἶναι	O	
<i>Inventories, Catalogs:</i>				
403/2 (cf. SEG 23.81)	Π² 1371.4 (with Π² 1370)	Κλεισοφος (cf. p. 193 infra)	O (in Π² 1370.3)	Αἰξονεῖ
389/8	Π² 1634.35	εἶχον	O, OY	
383/2	Π² 1930.1	Κλειδημος	O	
383/2	Π² 1931.2	Κλειδημος	?	
ca. 376?	Π² 1604 + Π² 1605 (cf. SEG 24.160)	παρορθεῖναι Π² 1604.10, 18, 30, 37 εἶχε Π² 1604.18, 79 τρεῖς Π² 1605.9, 27, 34 ὄφελ- Π² 1605.32, 39 etc.	O, OY, τότων ~ τούτων	δεῖ, ἔχει, -αλείδης, παρόρκειται, etc.

9.0122 375/4–351/0

In this period the use of E is decidedly reduced. No text has only E for [e'] except two small fragments of 375/4 and a sacred calendar dated vaguely 375–350, with only four examples of E for [e']. More texts have EI only than a mixture of EI and E, and of the latter group almost all have EI far more frequently (Π² 120 exceptional here).

The use of E for the inherited diphthong ει scarcely ever occurs in public documents of this period; note συμμέκτου in Π² 1453.3, a small fragment of an inv. of uncertain date and thus omitted from the tables below. The δῆ (= δεῖ) and ἔχε of Π² 1609, ἔχε of Π² 1424, πόλε of Π² 111, etc. are all abbreviatory shortenings. So also probably Ἀλικαρνασσέ ἐπί in Π² 136.3–4 (cf. 16.01, nos. 19–20 and p. 301 *infra*).

Spellings like κλές, αὐτέ, χαλκοθήκε (both dative singular), where E is for EI ~ HI = ηι, are of a different type, cf. 22.011, pp. 354ff. *infra*. For spellings like λυχνέον, etc., cf. 16.021e *infra*.

The use of OY has by now greatly increased, and there is some correlation between the frequency of OY and EI, although OY is still not as well established in this period as EI, so that texts with EI only normally have both O and OY, some even O more frequently (e.g. Π² 116). Most of the major texts with only OY have also only EI (cf. Π² 107, Π² 126, Π² 133, Π² 1541), but Π² 125 is an exception. Note also Π² 1428 with EI more frequent than E but only O; *Hesperia* 7 (1938) p. 1, no. 1, with EI much more frequent than E, but usually O, rarely OY.

Table B.1 Texts 375/4–351/0 with E and EI for [e']

Table B.2 Texts 375/4–351/0 with only EI for [e']

Table B.3 Texts 375/4–351/0 with only E for [e']

Spellings like ἐπιμελίσθων (Table B.1) are ambiguous, as they could be referred either to ἐπιμέλομαι or ἐπιμελοῦμαι; but as the latter is fairly well attested in the first half of the fourth century (e.g. Π² 5.4, Π² 77.16, Π² 109.b 13, Π² 110.14, Π² 123.15, Π² 204.16, etc.), it seems justified to interpret such spellings as having E for [e'], i.e. ἐπιμελίσθων. But στερέσθων (Table B.1) must remain ambiguous; it could be from στέρομαι or στεροῦμαι.

Table B.1 Texts with E and EI for [e']

Date	Text	EI	E	O and/or OY	Notes
<i>State Decrees:</i>					
375/4	Π ² 96 (L.)	2 εἰς, εἰσίν	1 ἐς	O, OY	
363/2	Π ² 109 (L.)	12 εἰς, ὠφειλετο, inf. in -ειν, -εἰσθα, εἶναι, nom. in -εις	2 ἐς	O, OY	
363/2	Π ² 111 (L.)	21 including εἰς, -ειν, ἐπεσάται, εἰρημένος, etc.	7 ἐς, πόλες, -ἐν	O, OY	πόλε, cf. 16.01, p. 301 infra
362/1	Π ² 114 (L.)	1 ἐπεσάται	1 ἐς	O (OY?)	
361/0	Π ² 117 (L.)	3 εἰς, πρόφεις	1 -εν	O, OY	
353/2 (cf. <i>Hesperia</i> 7 [1938] p. 286)	Π ² 120 (L.)	7 εἰς, inf. in -ειν, nom. in -εις, πρυτάν[ε]ις[ς], πρυτάνει[ς]	9 inf. in -εν, -ἐν, nom. in -εις, ἐς	O, OY	
357/6	Π ² 124 (L.)	6 εἰς	3 πρόφεις, ἐς	O, OY	
357/6	Π ² 125 (L.)	6 εἰς, μηδεις, ὀφειλῆς, εἶν[αι], inf. in -εἶν	1 ἐ[ς]	OY	
357/6	<i>Hesperia</i> 8 (1939) p. 12, no. 4	1 εἰς	1 inf. in -ἐν	O, OY	
362–355	<i>Hesperia</i> 26 (1957) p. 231, no. 87	1 εἶ[ναι]	1 μηδεις	O (once)	
356/5	Π ² 127 (L.)	4 εἰς, εἰσίν, εἶναι	2 ἐς	O, OY	

Date	Text	EI	E	O and/or OY	Notes
376–360	Π ² 141	4 nom. in -εις, εἶναι	3 εἰς	O, OY	
<i>Decree (nomothetai):</i>					
375/4	<i>Hesperia</i> 43 (1974) p. 157	10 + inf. in -ειν, εἰς, εἴρηται, εἶναι, θεῖναι, Πειραιεύς	εἰς (8 times), χρόν[ov ἔνα]ι (stoch.), στερέσθω (?), ἐπιμελέ[σ]θω[ν]	O, OY	Cf. p. 184 supra
<i>Decree of Genos of Salaminioi:</i>					
363/2	<i>Hesperia</i> 7 (1938) p. 1, no. 1	25 + θύειν, etc.	4 θύειν, ἐπισκευάζειν, εἰς	O, OY	
<i>Inventories:</i>					
before 370/69	Π ² 1609 (L.)	23 εἰσήγγενον, ὀφθαλμοῖν, etc.	1 τμήρες	O, OY	ἐγες, δέ, etc. (in all 10 times), cf. 16.01 infra
374/3 (cf. SEG 21.549)	Π ² 1421 + Π ² 1424	2 ὑγίεις (Π ² 1421), χεῖ[ρ] (Π ² 1424)	4 [ἐ]λακτῆρες, τρές, Μύησιοργές	O, OY	ἐγε (in Π ² 1424), cf. 16.01 infra; cf. p. 178 supra
368/7	Π ² 1425 (L.)	4 [ἐ]λακτῆρες, χεῖρ	3 τρές, ὑγίεις, Μύησιοργές	O, OY	Frequently omits ι of ει/—V, as in λυγνέων, ὀλκῆς, cf. 16.021e infra
367/6	Π ² 1428 (in add.) (L.)	4 χεῖρ	1 ἐλακτῆρες	O	In line 155 read ΣΕΣΗ[μιασμέν-
367/6	<i>Hesperia</i> 10 (1941) p. 14, no. 1	9 εἶναι, ὀφθαλ- μοποιεῖν, Πειραιεύς	2 εἰς	O, OY	
356/5–353/2	Π ² 1666AB	40 + μετίζουσι, ὑγίεις, τεμεῖν, εἰργασμένα etc.	4 ὑγίεις, τεμεῖν, ἐργασμένα, [ἀγα]γῆν	O, OY	

There is also a mixture of EI and E on the extensive sacred law soon to be published by K. Clinton in *Hesperia* (= new fr. of *Hesperia* 26 [1957] p. 52, no. 9), dated on external grounds to 367–348; there are 20 cases of E and 22 cases of EI.

Table B.2 Texts with only EI for [e]

Date	Text	Number of cases of EI = [e]	O and/or OY	Notes
<i>State Decrees:</i>				
375/4	Π ² 97 (L.)	8	O, OY	EI restored <i>al.</i>
ca. 370	Π ² 102 (L.)	4	O, OY	stone now largely illegible; is
369/8	Π ² 103 (L.)	6?	O, OY	χρ[η]ματ[ε]ς[ε]ν of line 16 (i. e.
				χρηματ[ε]ν) correctly restored?
368/7	Π ² 105 + Π ² 523 (cf. <i>Hesperia</i> 7 [1938] p. 627, no. 2)	2	O, OY	EI restored <i>al.</i> , ες once in restoration
368/7	Π ² 106 (L.)	3	O, OY	EI restored <i>al.</i> , ες once in restoration
368/7	Π ² 107 (L.)	19	OY	
363/2	Π ² 110 (L.)	10	O, OY	
362/1	Π ² 112 (L.)	3	O, OY	
361/0	Π ² 116 (L.)	13	O, OY	
357/6	Π ² 123 (L.)	3	O, OY	EI restored <i>al.</i>
357/6	Π ² 126 (L.)	3	OY	EI restored <i>al.</i>
355/4	Π ² 130	1	O, OY	πóλες restored in line 11
before 355	Π ² 149	3	O, OY	EI restored <i>al.</i>
				EI restored <i>al.</i> , ες restored in line 14
355/4	Π ² 132	3	O, OY	
355/4	Π ² 133 (L.)	1	OY	EI restored <i>al.</i>
353/2	Π ² 140 (L.)	2	O, OY	EI restored <i>al.</i>
352/1	Π ² 204	25	O, OY	

Date	Text	Number of cases of EI = [e·]	O and/or OY	Notes
<i>Decree (deme):</i>				
ca. 360 (cf. SEG 21.516)	Π ² 1176 + <i>Hesperia</i> 29 (1960) p. 1. no. 1	16	O, OY	
<i>Decree of Cean Cities:</i>				
ante 350	Π ² 1128	15	O, OY	
<i>Sacred Calendar:</i>				
375–350	Π ² 1358	2	O, OY	
<i>Inventories, etc.:</i>				
374/3	Π ² 1606	2	O, OY	
after 374/3	Π ² 1635	17	O	
373/2	Π ² 1607–Π ² 1608 (cf. SEG 24.160) (L.)	10 + 1	O, OY	
369/8	Π ² 1424 a (in add.) (L.)	16	O, OY	
367/6	<i>Hesperia</i> 11 (1942) p. 231, no. 43	2	O	pryt. cat.
ca. 367/6	Π ² 1432	1	OY	Very small
357/6	Π ² 1611 (L.)	7 + ΕΙ _{QV} , ΕΙ _{QΔ} (?)	O, OY	
356/5	Π ² 1541 (L.)	4	OY	
356/5	Π ² 1612	19	O, OY	
353/2	Π ² 1613–Π ² 1614 (L.)	6	O, OY	
after 358/7	Π ² 1615–Π ² 1619 (SEG 24.160)	14	O, OY	
352/1 or 351/0, cf. <i>Hesperia</i> 7, p. 288	Π ² 1438 + <i>Hesperia</i> 7 (1938) p. 281, no. 16	2	O, OY	

Table B.3 Texts with only E for [e']

State decrees:

Π² 98.19 (374/3): τρεῖς (only instance; βοηθεῖν is restored *ib.* 7), small fragment.

Inventories:

Π² 1445.27 (375/4): ὑγιεῖς (only possible case), only O for [o'], very small fragment.

Cf. BCH 87 (1963) pp. 603 ff. (= SEG 21.541; Sokolowski, *Lois*² p. 36, no. 18) (375–350?) sacred calendar: μέζων in the heading; λαμβάνεν *ib.* E 56; ἐς *ib.* Γ 4, Γ 8 (all the possible cases of E or EI), has O and OY.

9.013 Last examples of E = [e']

The use of E instead of EI for [e'] is already unusual by the decade 360–350, as can be seen from Tables B.1 and B.3 in the preceding section. A few examples of E for [e'] in the period ca. 350–320 may be regarded as the last survivals of the practice:

- 1) ἐς αἰθιον Π² 226.28, 31 (ca. 343/2) decree, but εἰς *ib.* 30, etc.; EI for [e'] elsewhere (L.);
- 2) πρυτάνες Π² 1749.73 (341/0) pryt. cat.; Ὀτρυνεῖς *ib.* 44, Ἐστιαεῖς *ib.* 31; (cf. Morphology); probably also Κολλυττειεῖς is the best interpretation of Κολλυττειεῖς in line 38, cf. 16.021 a, no. 6, p. 308 *infra*; 7.03, no. 5, p. 158 *supra*; has genitives in -κλέος, cf. 13.023 b, p. 257 *infra* (L.);
- 3) εἶναι Π² 232.12 (340/39) decree, alongside εἶναι *ib.* 14; elsewhere EI for [e'] (L.);
- 4) Περαι[εῖ] *Hesperia* 9 (1940) pp. 59 ff., no. 8, col. 2.9 (333/2) decree (tribe); EI for [e'] elsewhere;
- 5) ἀποδώσεν Π² 1623.33 (333/2) inv., but ἀποδώσειν *ib.* 8, etc.; ἐς *ib.* 94, but εἰς *ib.* 88, etc.; elsewhere EI for [e'] (L.);
- 6) Περαιῶς Π² 1672.173 (329/8) inv., alongside Πειραιῶς *ib.* 146 (now illegible); EI for [e'] elsewhere in this very extensive text (L.);
- 7) Περαιεῖ Π² 1569.13 (ca. 330–320) inv., but Πειρα- in *ib.* 9, 24 (lines 9, 13 only, L.);
- 8) ἐμ Περ(αιεῖ) Π² 1570.48, 66 (ca. 330–320) inv., but Πειρ(αιεῖ) *ib.* 20, 24; that this could be some deme like that seen in Περρασιῶθεν or Περραιοῖδος seems virtually impossible (lines 24, 48, 66 only, L.).

The correct reading of Π² 1196.B 11 (ca. 335–330) decree (deme) is εἰς, not ἐς (L.); in Π² 2318.7 (fin. s. IV a.) cat., the spelling ἐχορήγε is an abbreviatory shortening (cf. ἐχορή *ib.* 10, ἐχορήγγ *ib.* 27) like those in 5.011, pp. 100 ff. *supra*.

A few later examples of E for εἰ (whether originally the diphthong or [e']) are probably just due to careless omission: ἐμ πίστε ὦν Π² 646.11 (295/4) decree (L.); ἐκοστ[ε]ῖ Π² 654.6 (285/4) decree (L.); Στερι(εύς) Π² 791.d 24 (247/6) decree (L.); Περαιεῶς Π² 1225.8 (ca. 250) decree (Salaminian cleruchs), but Πειραιεῶς *ib.* 9 (carelessly written text, cf. 17.01 b, no. 2 *infra*); Ἐρεσι(δης) Π² 1958.67 (post 250) cat. (L.); πρυτάνες *Hesperia* 9 (1940) p. 126, no. 26, line 16 (135/4) decree.

Doubtful:

Ἡπερώτις Π² 8541 (date?, perhaps earlier than 350) sep. mon.; τρεῖς Π² 840.20 (= IG II, no. 404) (s. II a.?) decree; the reading is doubtful: the stone was originally described as badly worn and its condition is now such that only Σ can be read and the traces to the left cannot be de-

ciphered as E (L.); οἱ ἐς χάος II² 1211.B5 (s. III a.?) decree (deme), reading and interpretation very dubious (L.); ἔχων ἐς Ἀθήμνον ΑΙΣ II² 1065.11 (s. Ia.?) looks like a fourth-century fr.) decree, date and interpretation dubious (stone now lost).

In *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p. 212, no. 59, line 11 (172/1) ded., read not Περαῖα, but Π[ε]ραῖα (L.). The Δεραδωτήν (Attic demotic) cited by Lademann p. 131 occurs on a text from the island of Imbros, cf. *IG XII.8*, no. 53.12 (= *BCH* 7 [1883] pp. 162 ff.) (s. II a.) decree.

Examples of E for ι in the Roman Period when ει = [i] are probably an intended EI with accidental omission of the iota (examples in 7.0111c, p. 139 supra). A similar careless omission may be seen in ETIS for εἰ τις in the crude sep. mon., II² 13224 (s. III/IV p.); Κυδαθηναεῦς (space has been left for the omitted iota), *Hesperia* 34 (1965) p. 96, no. 6, line 15 and plate 27 (aet. Rom.) pryt. cat.

Where poetical variants with ε for ει existed, they were freely used in metrical texts of later times whenever a short syllable was needed: ἐς cf. e.g. II² 3606 (ca. 175 p.), II² 3662 (ca. 200 p.), II² 3669 (ca. 269/70 p.) dedications; II² 13125 (56/5), II² 12794 (fin. s. II p.), II² 12318 (= *GVI* 1, p. 629, no. 1996) (s. III p.) sep. monuments, etc.; both ἐς and εἰς in II² 13173 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.; χέρας in II² 12664.8 (s. I p.) sep. mon.; etc. The exceptional occurrence of ἐς τὰ νῦν in prose in II² 3592.19 (165/6–168/9 p.) ded. may be an Ionism:

Lit.: cf. 9.011 supra.

9.02 Confusion of ει and ι

9.021 Before 400 B.C.

Except for a few special cases like Κλιν-, Κλιτ- (cf. 9.0211 infra), Σιληνός, Μ(ε)ι-λίχιος, etc. (cf. 9.0212 infra), and ηλεῖθνα (cf. 18.012 infra) there are only a handful of examples in which iota appears for ει, whether the original diphthong [eⁱ] or the long e-vowel of more recent origin [e:]. Apparently there is only a single instance of the opposite phenomenon, EI for [i:] (cf. no. 11 infra, presumably early enough that EI might still be = [eⁱ] in sound), although a few early examples of E for ι (graffiti and dipinti) like βενέω, Νέκαυλος are really [e:] for [i:] rather than [ε] for [i:] (cf. 7.0111b, p. 138 supra). The earlier examples of iota for the inherited diphthong ει (nos. 1–3, probably 4–5 are also this early) are presumably before its monophthongization to [e:]. The examples are confined to fairly crude texts, especially dipinti and graffiti, and the suspicion must be strong that they are often just careless omissions or inaccurate renditions of diphthongs: cf. spellings like -ΥΣ for -ΕΥΣ in 20.00a infra and the spelling of the cluster -στρ- as -ΣΡ- in no. 1 infra.

An isolated case of EI for ι is quite doubtful: ΦΟΙΝΕΙΣ (= ΦΟΙΝΕΙΣ or ΦΟΙΝΕΞΣ?) originally read on a rf. vase, cf. *ARV*² p. 316, Proto-Panaetian Group no. 4 (= *HRF* 1, p. 427, no. 58). The vase has now been restored and painted over so that only ΦΟΙΝ can be read; ΦΟΙΝΕΙΣ is probably a misreading of the earlier observers (so also ΧΑΙΞΟΦΟΞ on this same vase, cf. 38.0212a, p. 463 infra).

Examples (nos. 1–10 I for ει; no. 11 EI for ι):

1) Πιστόρατος *Hesperia*, suppl. 8 (1949) pp. 405–408, plate 60 (= *Hesperia* 8 [1939] p. 63) graffito; the date is quite up in the air, but the mid-sixth-century date seems on the whole more likely (cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 8 p. 407);

2) δοῦς (= δοκεῖς) *Paralipomena* p. 72 (by Sakonides?), graffito on a bf. cup;

3) Examples are found in dipinti on several bf. and rf. vases. Attested several times is the spelling Θαλια, cf. ARV² p. 113, Thalia painter no. 7 (= CVA, Germany 21, plate 56.4); ARV² p. 1188, Pothos painter no. 1 (= CVA, USA 2, plate 23.1 a–c); HRF 2, p. 187, no. 26, where it is attributed to Meidias (= Smith, *Catalogue* 3, p. 348, no. E702). But Θαλια is more frequent on vases, cf. ABV p. 76, Kleitias no. 1 (= HBF p. 152); ARV² p. 64, Olto no. 104 (= CVA, Belgium 1, plate 2.2); ARV² p. 1080, Painter of London 494 no. 6 (= Smith, *Catalogue* 3, p. 381, no. E805); ARV² pp. 1151–2, Dinos painter no. 2 (= HRF 2, p. 216, no. 2); ARV² p. 1250, Eretria painter no. 32 (= Smith, *Catalogue* 3, p. 366, no. E774). It is perhaps possible that the preceding λ caused a closer pronunciation of following [e'] so that it tended to be confused with [i']. I for ei is also found in Ταλίδες on a bf. vase, cf. *Paralipomena* p. 73, Syracuse 7.354 fr.; other vases of this group have Ταλίδες and Ταλίδες cf. ABV pp. 174–176; *Paralipomena* pp. 73–74 (cf. 16.01, no. 3 infra). But Ἐπέλιος (not for Ἐπώλιος), with Ἐπέλειος on the same vase, cf. ARV² p. 146, Epeleios painter no. 2, looks like careless omission of the E; Ἐπέλειος occurs five times on three other vases of this same group, cf. ARV² p. 146, no. 5; p. 147, no. 18 (twice; Ἐ[πέλ]ειος once); p. 148, no. 37. Πατροκλία on a bf. vase in Munich, cf. CVA, Germany 3, plates 45.2; 46.2, is even more comparable to the frequent spellings such as Κλινία, etc. (cf. 9.0211 infra), where preceding -κλ- perhaps influenced the sound of ei. That Θαλια, Πατροκλία are due to any confusion between -εια and -ία seems not at all likely in this early period; examples of this type of thing are not otherwise found before Roman times (cf. 9.032, pp. 205 ff. infra).

Other cases of I for ei on vases look like graphic mistakes (omissions) or incomplete rendition of diphthongs: ἰναι ARV² p. 18, Manner of Euphronios no. 1, note Σμικκοί for Σμίκκοι on this vase; καλοσι (= καλὸς εἶ?) ARV² p. 289, Siren painter no. 2 (= CVA, France 2, plate 12.9); Εὐχιοι, ARV² p. 306, London E718 (near the painter of Würzburg 517), careless omission; cf. Εὐχρος and Εὐχερς on bf. vases, ABV pp. 162–163; ικαλος (= ? εἰ καλός) ARV² p. 1119, Duomo painter (later mannerists, v) no. 29 (= CVA, England 8, plate 86.2); perhaps ηποκιμνοσεα (=-κειμενος?) ABV p. 668, Munich no. 2172; Χοινίς (= Χοεῖνις? or Χοεῖνις?) man's name, ARV² p. 15, Euphronios no. 6 (= FR plates 61–62); cf. Ξεῖνιδος II² 2346.29 (ante 350) cat.; Ξεῖνις II² 12334 (s. II a.) sep. mon.;

4) ἐρα[σ]|θίς I² 920.2–3 (= GVI 1, p. 660, no. 2042) (ca. 500) sep. mon.; for the reading recorded as συνμεῖσχιν (= συμμεῖξεν) only συνμεισχ[is now legible on the stone (L.); this text has EI = ei [e'] in νεῖκεα, μεῖξ-, εἰμ[(cf. 9.0111, p. 177 supra);

5) Ἀμνίον I² 979.1 (init. s. V a., cf. SEG 15.57) sep. mon.; assimilation ?;

6) Ις (= εἰς) I² 658 (= DAA p. 344, no. 322) (paulo ante 480) ded.; Hiller was wrong if he meant Ις is for ἔς here by his note in IG I² “Ις mero errore pro ἔς, non εἰς”, as there is little evidence for an Attic ἔς (cf. 9.012, p. 178 supra). Certainly Ις is for [e's] here, and perhaps Hiller meant that I is an E left incomplete (cf. some of the cases of I for [ē] in 7.012 b, pp. 142–143 supra) (L.);

7) φιλῖν I² 924.3–4 (paulo post 450?) erotic text inscribed on a small wedge-shaped stone (now lost);

8) δέ[ρμ]α[τ]α ις τὸν π[*Deltion* 8 (1923) pp. 96 ff., no. 3, lines 9–11 (= SEG 3.18, 10.101; Sokolowski, *Supplément* p. 19, no. 4) (ca. 420) lex sacra; probably an intended E left incomplete;

9) Ἀθηνογί[τ]ων II² 10.B12 (401/400) decree; now Ἀθηνογ[ί]των, cf. BSA 47 (1952) p. 105;

10) Φιλομηλίδο I² 1083.1 (s. Va.?) sep. mon.; uncertain, for Φιλομηλείδης, cf. *Odyssey* 4.343 (= 17.134). A name Φιλομηλίδης (← Φιλόμηλος) is not otherwise found, but it seems a possible one and perhaps occurs here; no E occurs in Φιλομηλίδαι (genos), cf. II² 1582.71;

11) ΔΥΝΕΙΚΕΤΥ (= Δυννικήτου?) ABV p.307, Swing painter no.59 (= CVA, England 1, plate 6.2); cf. Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* p.88.

Notes: That ΙΣ is for εις on an ostrakon of ca. 450, cf. *Kerameikos* 3, p.71, no.120, does not seem semantically possible, cf. 7.012f, p.145 supra. The Ειολεος on a bf. vase, cf. ABV p.282, IV no.2 (Antimenes painter and his school) (= CVA, England 8, plates 74.2; 75.2) is probably for ριλεος (cf. 1.013 supra). ἀποκτίνεν in Fauvel's copy of I² 10.28 (453/2, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.89, no.40), decree, is his misreading for ἀποκτένει.

9.0211 Κλινίας, Κλιτίας, etc. for Κλῆνίας, etc.

The spelling Κλινίας is the normal one on the ostraca of the elder Alcibiades (ca. 460), cf. *Hesperia* 21 (1952) pp.1ff., nos.1, 2 (= *Hesperia* 9 [1940] pp.247–8, no.296), and it is also found in dipinti on three rf. vases, cf. ARV² p.988, Achilles painter no.13; ARV² p.1002, Manner of the Achilles painter no.4; ARV² p.173, Ambrosios painter no.5 (Beazley gives the text on ARV² p.1590). On the other hand, by the end of the fifth century ostraca of the younger Alcibiades have Κλενίας, accompanied by Ionic letters to support the later date of ca. 414 (cf. 9.011, p.173 supra). Kleitias signed his name Κλιτίας on the François vase, cf. ABV p.76, no.1, but Κλετίας on another, cf. ABV p.78, no.12. On other vases: Κλιτομεσεν, ABV p.167, Klitomenes, potter; Κλίβουλος, Χλίσσοφος (probably a misreading of Κλίσσοφος on the vase, cf. 38.0212a, p.463 infra), ARV² p.316, Proto-Panaetian Group no.4 (= HRF 1, p.427, no.58); Κλιταγόρα, ARV² p.1591, under Labotos (vase unassigned); Κλίταρχος, ABV p.174, Taleides no.1 (= HBF p.344, no.6). Cf. Κλίσσενες on an ostrakon, unless an abortive Καλλίσσενος, cf. *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p.388, no.25.

The two signatures of Kleitias show that these spellings in Κλι- are variants of those in Κλῆ-. An [e'] can be assumed in every case, e.g. Κλῆνίας, derivative of κλῆνός, with [e'] ← *κλεφεσνος; Κλετίας from κλῆτός ← *κλεφετος, etc. But the explanation of the κλι- remains uncertain. The most attractive suggestion is that of M. J. Milne, *B MMA n.s.* 5 (1946–47) p.227: the high position of the tongue in the mouth for pronouncing κλ- might have caused the [e'] to move closer to [i']. The Κλι-spellings are confined to ostraca and dipinti, texts which often show orthographical anomalies, and for Κλενίας at least, contemporary vases have Κλε- more often than Κλι-. The Κλι-spellings could be inaccurate renditions of the pronunciation by semi-literate individuals.

Κλιπτίδες on one of the Kleippides ostraca, AM 40 (1915) p.12, no.21 (= I² 911.2), is probably just for an intended Κλειπτίδες with careless omission of the E. If actual confusion of [i'] and [e'] is posited, one would presumably have to assume that Κλειπ- was pronounced as a single syllable rather than as [kle-ip], an unlikely assumption. On the other ostraca of this group: Κλειπτίδες, Κλειπτίδης (cf. 2.021, no.30, p.36 supra); on one only, Κληπτιδής, due to confusion in use of the Ionic script (cf. 2.031, p.45 supra; 23.00, p.369 infra).

Examples of Κλῆ/—C in Attic texts before 400 B. C.:

Dipinti: Κλενίας ARV² p. 530, Alkimachos painter no. 21; ARV² p. 988, Achilles painter, nos. 12, 15, and p. 993, no. 80; Κλεινίας ARV² p. 788, Oxford 309, by a follower of Douris (= CVA, England 3, plate 3.8) (cf. 9.011, no. 4, p. 174 supra);

Κλετίας ABV p. 78, Kleitias no. 12;

Κλεταγόρα ARV² p. 1061, Polygnotos no. 156;

Κλείμαχος ABV p. 85, Eleusis 4267 (new no. 280), has both E and EI for [e] (cf. 9.011, no. 1, p. 174 supra). For [e] in this name cf. Κλεμάχου on the dikast's pinakion, Π² 1844 (375–350).

Ostraca: Κλεστενος *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p. 389, no. 31 (unless an abortive attempt at Καλ-λίχσενος);

Κλενίο On four ostraca of the younger Alcibiades (ca. 414) (cf. p. 173 supra), two unpublished and two in *Hesperia* 43 (1974) p. 189, nos. 1–2; cf. Vanderpool, *Ostracism* p. 23.

Stone inscriptions: Κλενίας ATL 2, no. D7, line 5 (= I² 66; Meiggs-Lewis p. 117, no. 46) (447?) decree; *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p. 240, no. 1, line 12 (printed text wrongly gives Κλενίο, but cf. plate 67) (ca. 414) inv.;

Κλετο I² 996 (= IGAA p. 131, no. 27) (ca. 550–540?) sep. mon.;

Κλέδικος I² 467 (= LSAG p. 77, no. 12) (ca. 600–575?) ded.; *Hesperia* 25 (1956) pp. 375–377 (ca. 465) cas. list;

Κλέβολος I² 986 (= IGAA p. 120, no. 9) (ca. 530?) sep. mon.;

Κλέδεμος I² 937.8 (ca. 445) cas. list;

Κλένοθος I² 943.93 (440/39) cas. list;

Κλεγένες I² 304.1 (410/9) inv.;

Κλετο- I² 964.95 (= SEG 10.424, stele 1), and on another of the same series, Κλέτον, cf. SEG 10.424, stele no. 8, line 25 (= *Hesperia* 12 [1943] p. 37, no. 8, fr. I.21) a series of cas. lists (= I² 954 + I² 957 + I² 964 + new fr.) (ca. 409, cf. *Hesperia* 33 [1964] p. 55);

Κλετώ Κλετωνύμο I² 1061 (ca. fin. s. Va.?) sep. mon.;

Κλεισθένης I² 770 (fin. s. Va., non ante 415) ded. in mixed Ionic script (L.); [Κ]λεισθέν[ε]ς *Hesperia* 8 (1939) p. 59, no. 21, line 5 (cf. *Hesperia* 32 [1963] pp. 187ff.) (ca. 425) cat. of archons (= 9.011, nos. 42, 17, cf. no. 44, pp. 174–176 supra);

Κλέσοφος Π² 1 (= I² 126).6 (403/2) decree (L.); Κλείσοφος Π² 1371.4 (403/2, cf. SEG 23.81) inv. (= 9.011, no. 40, p. 175 supra), this same man called Κλέσοφος in Π² 1372.1 (402/1, cf. SEG 23.82) inv.; [Κ]λέσοφος in Π² 2366.15 (ca. 390–380) cat.

9.0212 Early cases of ει → ῑ: Σιληνός, χίλιοι, Μ(ε)ιλίχιος;

Καμερῆς ~ Καμρεῖς, Διοσερεῖται ~ Διοσιρεῖται, etc.

a) Dipinti on Attic vases have I in Σιληνός, Σκίρον, and the iota was certainly normal in these words in this type of text (cf. Beazley, *AJA* 39 [1935] p. 479, note 2; Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* pp. 132–3). Note also Σιληνός (of Rhegium) in the decree, I² 51.3 (433/2) and the public sep. mon. erected for him, Π² 5220. Here as in the words to be considered below the presence of the liquid may have encouraged ει → ῑ.

Χίρον occurs often on vases, cf. e.g. ABV p. 76, Kleitias no. 1 (= HBF p. 150, no. 2); ARV² p. 33, The Pioneer group: Sundry no. 3; ARV² p. 53, Olto no. 1 (= CVA, France 8, plate

27.1–7), cf. p. 61, no. 76; ARV² p. 61, Oltos no. 76 (= A. Bruhn, *Oltos and Early Red-Figure Vase Painting* [Copenhagen, 1943] p. 41, no. 31); cf. Χίρωνεια (= the precepts of Chiron, cf. AJA 52 [1948] p. 337) on a vase of Onesimos, ARV² p. 329, no. 134, cf. Immerwahr, *Book Rolls* p. 21, no. 4; etc. But EI is found just as early, cf. [X]είρον on a bf. vase in the manner of the C painter, ABV p. 59, no. 14 (early enough that EI could be for [e^h]); Χέρον Haspels, *ABL* p. 238, Diosophos painter no. 123 (= CVA, Poland 1, plate 12.3). The I of Χίρων might be another early case of [e] going to [i^h] (cf. Kretschmer, *Glotta* 10 [1920] pp. 58 ff.), but it is also possible that the [i^h] is original here and that the appearance of Χείρ- was due to a folk etymology (cf. Frisk, *GEW* 2, p. 1083).

A name Χίλων is found on two vases of Oltos, ARV² p. 63, no. 95; p. 64, no. 96 (twice: Χίλ[ον], Χίλο·ν). But a masc. personal name Χείλων occurs in II² 31.3 (386/5) decree. There is uncertainty about the derivation of the names and there may in fact have been two, one related to χείλος, the other to χίλι-; otherwise like Μ(ε)λίχιος in b) infra. Χείλων is normal in Roman times, cf. II² 2461.11, 12 (ca. 50/49, cf. SEG 23.92) cat. (L.); II² 2021.22 (ante 112/3 p.), II² 2086.143 (163/4 p.) eph. catalogs; II² 4752 (s. I/II p.) ded. (priv.); but here EI may be for ī (cf. 9.023).

b) In some words ει passed to ī in Attic at a much earlier date than elsewhere: χίλιοι, ἱμάτιον, Μίλιχιος, cf. Schwyzler, *GG* 1, p. 193, γ. 1). In χίλιοι, Μίλιχιος assimilation may be the explanation for the ī, perhaps encouraged by the presence of the liquid.

χίλιοι: I² 76.20 (435–414, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 222) decree; I² 218.52 (= *ATL* 2, no. 25, col. 3.61) (430/29) trib. list; I² 94.10 (418/7), I² 98.24 (416/5) decrees; etc.

ἱμάτιον: I² 427 (550–500?) ded.; I² 386.18 (ca. 406, cf. SEG 10.219), *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p. 240, no. 1, lines 189–195 (7 times), etc.; *ib.* p. 279, no. 7, lines 101–105 (5 times) (both ca. 414), II² 1517.124, 153 (353/2–341/0) all inventories; etc.

Μερίχιος (with [e^h], cf. Aeolic μέλλιος, Frisk, *GEW* 2 p. 194). Μίλιχ- is the form found in the earliest examples, but both forms are current in the fourth century. After 300 B.C. only Μερίχ-. Μίλιχιος: I² 866 (= *DGE* p. 384, no. 9.3) (ca. s. Va.?) horos; II² 4569 (ante 350) ded. (priv.); *BCH* 87 (1963) pp. 603 ff., line A 40 (= SEG 21.541; Sokolowski, *Lois*² p. 36, no. 18) (375–350?) sacred calendar; *ZPE* 25 (1977) p. 243, line 35 (post 403/2) sacred calendar; *BCH* 82 (1958) p. 366, fig. 4 (= SEG 17.87) (fin. s. IV a.), II² 4617 (s. IV a.), II² 4619 (s. IV a.) dedications (priv.).

Μίλιχος (masc. personal name): ABV p. 367, Leagros group no. 90 (= *CIG* no. 7634; CVA, Germany 3, plates 50–51); II² 5943 (bis) (s. II/III p.) sep. mon., cf. *AM* 67 (1942) p. 95, no. 162; II² 2090.19, 26 (165/6 p.) eph. cat. (L.).

Μερίχιος: II² 4618 (s. IV a.), II² 4620 (s. IV a.), II² 4677 (s. III a.), II² 4678 (s. III a.), *AA* 55 (1940) col. 168 (ante aet. Rom.), II² 4847 (date?), dedications (priv.).

Μερίχος (masc. personal name): Μερίχῳ corrected reading of S. Dow for *Hesperia* 4 (1935) pp. 19 ff., no. 2, line 66 (paulo post 403/2) sacred law (L.); II² 1793.4 (paulo ante 180/1 p.) pryt. cat.; *Hesperia* 4 (1935) pp. 187–8, line 17 (s. III p.) eph. cat. In II² 1956.192 read: Μέννα[ρ]χος.

For Ἰαίθνα, Εἰλείθνα, etc., cf. 18.012, p. 342 infra; I is normal on vases.

c) The variation between Καμερῆς and Καμῆρῆς, Διοσερίται and Διοσιρίται in the tribute lists is best explained as due to a tendency for the Athenians to hear [e^hr], not [i^hr], in these foreign names, cf. Schwyzler, *GG* 1, p. 275.

Διοσεῖται: I² 191.26 (= ATL 2, no. 1, col. 3.23) (454/3); I² 219.10 (= ATL 2, no. 39.42) (416/5): Διοσε[ῖ]ται.

Διοσιῖται: I² 192.8 (= ATL 2, no. 2, col. 6.11) (453/2); I² 195.57 (= ATL 2, no. 5, col. 2.30); I² 220.26 (= ATL 2, no. 34, col. 1.96) (421/0). Cf. the decree, I² 14.17 (447/6? cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 121, no. 47) (L.).

Καμερῆς: I² 193.12 (= ATL 2, no. 3, col. 4.12) (452/1); I² 221.9 (= ATL 2, no. 40, col. 1.10) (415/4); *Hesperia* 41 (1972) p. 410, line 8 (= new fr. of I² 191 [= ATL 2, no. 1]) (454/3).

Καμῆς: I² 198.9 (= ATL 2, no. 8) (447/6); I² 202.11 (= ATL 2, no. 12) (443/2); I² 204.52 (= ATL 2, no. 14, col. 2.69) (441/0); I² 205.75 (= ATL 2, no. 15, col. 1.78) (440/39); I² 213.41 (= ATL 2, no. 23, col. 1.48) (432/1); ATL 2, no. 28.11 (427/6 or 426/5); I² 64.13 (= ATL 2, no. A 9, col. 1.123) (425/4) (in trib. list appended at end of decree).

Σταγιῖται is the only spelling attested in the tribute lists; the Σταγειῖται printed in ATL 2, no. A 13, fr. 25 is not attested epigraphically but reconstructed on the basis of Krateros. For Σταγιῖται, cf. I² 195.27 (= ATL 2, no. 5, col. 4.15) (450/49), ATL 2, no. 8, col. 1.6 (447/6), I² 201.26 (= ATL 2, no. 11) (444/3), I² 202.33 (= ATL 2, no. 12) (443/2), I² 204.40 (= ATL 2, no. 14, col. 2.53) (441/0), I² 209.12 (= ATL 2, no. 19, col. 5.24) (436/5), I² 210.18, cf. 17 (= ATL 2, no. 20) (435/4), I² 213.43 (= ATL 2, no. 23, col. 2.50) (432/1), I² 218.18 (= ATL 2, no. 25) (430/29).

d) There is no confusion of εἰ and ῖ in τῷς used as nominative in *Hesperia* 17 (1948) pp. 86 ff. (= I² 838–9; *LSAG* p. 78, no. 44) (500–480). τῷς is an old accusative (← *trins) extended to the nominative (cf. Schwyzler, *GG* 1, p. 589; Morphology).

9.022 Confusion of εἰ and ῖ, 400–31 B.C.

The date of the change in the pronunciation of εἰ from [eː] to [iː] in all but pre-vocalic position in Attica is difficult to fix on the basis of inscriptions. Examples of I for εἰ are quite rare in the fourth and earlier third centuries B.C., and instances of EI for ῖ, much more significant because a careless omission cannot be involved, are even rarer. Ἐλευσεῖνιος, τεῖτθῃ on two sep. monuments, which on the basis of the style of lettering and of the monuments themselves must certainly date to the fourth c. and are probably not much later than 350, are probably evidence for pronunciation of εἰ as [iː] in the speech of the persons responsible for them (cf. nos. 11–12). Perhaps an [iː] pronunciation of εἰ existed as substandard by this time. When such spellings begin to appear in decrees, from the end of the third century on, the change of εἰ to [iː] is certainly accomplished (cf. nos. 17, 20, 21). It is at this time that examples of εἰ ~ ῖ become a bit more frequent, although they are still rare until the last quarter of the second c. B.C. The change to [iː] did not affect εἰ in pre-vocalic position, and it is significant that it is about the end of the third c. that the first examples of η for εἰ before vowels begin to appear (cf. 9.031); only a little later is the abandonment of EI as the grapheme for ηἰ (cf. 23.00). Widespread use of EI for ῖ is foreign to texts of the end of the Hellenistic Period and develops only in Roman times (cf. 9.023).

For τίνω/ἔτεισα, Τείσανδρος, etc.; μείγνυμι (σύμμεικτος), etc., cf. Morphology.

Lit.: MS³ pp. 48–49, notes 356–357; Lademann p. 31.

Examples: Fourth century: I for ει:

- 1) ὁπόσοι ἰσὲν *Kerameikos* 3, p. 93, no. 4, line 5 (init. s. IV a.) defixio; careless omission?;
- 2) Αἰγίδι (i.e. Αἰγείδι, with ει from η) *Delion* 25 (1970) p. 147, no. 7, plate 45 (352/1) choregic ded. dated by the name of the archon; probably careless omission of the E (cf. 23.011 r, p. 375 infra);
- 3) Βροῖς Π² 10983 (ca. 350) sep. mon. (cf. 23.011 r infra);
- 4) Στιριέως Π² 7469 (ca. 350; lettering certainly looks this early) sep. mon. (L.);
- 5) Λαϊυρίου *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p. 226, no. 13, line 76 (350–344) inv.;
- 6) Ἀριστίδου Π² 1156.14 (334/3) decree (tribe) (cf. 23.011 n, p. 372 infra) (L.);
- 7) συμμέριν Π² 558.35 (ca. 303/2) decree (L.);
- 8) Πισθεταίρο Π² 5347 (s. IV a.) sep. mon.; cf. Πεισθ[...], cf. Π² 12440/1 (s. IV a.) sep. mon.;
- 9) συνείκιν for συνείκειν *Kerameikos* 3, p. 88, no. 168, line 4 (plate 22) (s. IV a., 350–300?) graffito on a sherd regarding property sales; has perhaps ἐξείναι, cf. 7.012 f, p. 145 supra;
- 10) Πολυκλίδης Ziebarth, *SB Berlin* 1934, p. 1023, no. I A, line 76 (s. IV a.?) defixio.

EI for ι:

- 11) τεῖτθη Π² 12814 (ca. 350) sep. mon. (For examples of τίτθη, cf. 8.02, p. 167 supra);
- 12) Ἐλευσεῖνιος Π² 6053 (ca. 350) sep. mon. (L.).

Doubtful:

- 13) ἰς IG III.3, no. 103.a2 (init. s. IV a.?) defixio.

Notes and Corrections:

In the metrical sep. mon., Π² 7863.11, εὐσεβῆς is artificial and poetical; in Π² 1259.4 φιλοτύμως is the better reading, cf. Kirchner's note in *IG II²*; the stone now reads: [φι]λο[τύμ]ω[ς] (L.); in Π² 550.8 (= *IG II.5*, no. 234b) read ὑπετίθει, not ὑπέτισε (cf. *IG II²*). The name [Πύ]θειος, in the decree, Π² 37.23 (post 383), is not Attic. For Εἰλυθεῖαι in Π² 4669.9 (s. IV/III a.) ded. (priv.), cf. 18.012, p. 343 infra.

Third century: I for ει:

- 14) ἐλλείπει Π² 1534 A.97 (291/0, cf. SEG 16.118) inv., alongside ἐλλείπει in the same line; cf. Ἐπικράτια ib. 81 (L.);
- 15) ἀπιμι Π² 12141.7 (= GVI 1, p. 506, no. 1691) (ca. 250?) sep. mon. (L.);
- 16) χιρίδια Π² 1534 B.269 (247/6, cf. SEG 16.118) inv. (L.);
- 17) ἐπιδή *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p. 209, no. 57, line 1 (217/6) decree;
- 18) Ἡπιρῶτις Π² 8536 (s. III a.) sep. mon.

EI for ι:

- 19) Μειλησία Π² 9825 (post 317) sep. mon. (stone lost);
- 20) γεινόμενον Π² 786.7 (probably near the end of the third century or in the second century; dated s. III/II a. by Pečirka, *Enktesis* p. 106; SEG 24.133) decree (L.);
- 21) Βερενικίδην *Agora* 15, p. 132, no. 147, line 47 (= Π² 915 + new frr.) (203/2) decree, but Βερενικίδ- in ib. 48 (printed texts give Βερεν[erroneously] and ib. 81–83 (L.);
- 22) Νείνου *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p. 280, no. 140 (s. III a.) sep. mon.; Νίνος occurs in many codd., but it must be admitted that all the metrical cases have a short ι.

Cases of EI ~ I ca. 200–ca. 30 B. C.:

- 23) γείνεσθαι Π² 1328.5 (lines 1–20, 183/2, lines 21 ff., 175/4) decree (orgeones); φιλοτεμοῦνται ib. 34, alongside γινομέναις ib. 40 (L.);

- 24) ἀπολέλιπται Π² 1329.9 (175/4) decree (orgeones), ἰκό|νος *ib.* 27–8 (L.);
 25) αἰσιτοι (cf. 15.0122) *Hesperia* 3 (1934) p. 21, no. 19, line 6 (166/5) decree;
 26) [Κ]εινησίας *Hesperia* 33 (1964) p. 186, no. 37, line 7 (ca. 150) decree;
 27) Διραδιώτου Π² 4457.12 (post 150) ded.;
 28) κειροτοννημένοι *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p. 252, no. 51, line 9 (144/3?) ded., *ib.* 3 κειροτοννημένοι (L.);
 29) πιθαρχοῦντες Π² 1006.17 (122/1) decree, πιθαρχοῦντες *ib.* 18, *al.* In *ib.* 21 read either παραγ*ινομ[i.e., there was a fault in the stone here and the space was left blank; or παραγ[Ι ?]ινομ[i.e., a letter (Ε?) was erased from this space (L.);
 30) Εἰφι[στιά]δης Π² 1009, col. 2.105 (116/5) decree, Ἰφιστιά[δης] *ib.* col. 2.103. In *ib.* col. 2.67 read Αἰ[θαλ]ίδης (L.);
 31) Προβαλείσιος Π² 1011.104 (106/5) decree.

Sep. monuments dated s. IIa. (nos. 32–37):

- 32) Ἰ'Αφροδισίου Π² 6726;
 33) Βοσπορείτης Π² 8424;
 34) Ἡρακλίδου Π² 6050 (L.);
 35) Ἰ'Αφροδισίου Π² 8131; The E has been crossed out with a vertical line, cf. E^{X} in *ib.* 3 (L.);
 36) Εἰαγέννη Π² 10371 (L.);
 37) Καλλετήμα Π² 11758.

Sep. monuments dated s. II/Ia. (nos. 38–41):

- 38) Κηφεισοδώρου Π² 6936.2;
 39) Εἰφιστιάδου Π² 10284.5;
 40) Εἰσιδώρα Π² 11740 (L.);
 41) Πίδωνος *Neon Athenaion* 1 (1955) p. 189, no. 10, but could be really Πῖθων, from πιθηκος? (cf. Bechtel, *Personennamen* pp. 585–6); but Πείθων is certainly the common name;
 42) Μελησι[α] Τεμοκλήρους *Hesperia* 16 (1947) p. 172, no. 68 (= Π² 5500, corrected) (ca. 100) sep. mon.;
 43) Διραδιώτη[ς] Π² 4991.14 (90/89) ded., Δειραδιωτ- *ib.* 15 (L.);
 44) τεμῶντες, τεμῶσα *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p. 165, no. 97, lines 8, 17 (= Π² 1050) (ca. 80?) decree, φιλοτ[ιμ]ίας *ib.* 14;
 45) Ἰτεαῖος Π² 1039.82 (79/8, cf. SEG 22.110) decree (L.);
 46) Τισάνδρου *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p. 166, no. 98, line 17 (paulo ante 60) decree;
 47) Ταργ[ε]τῆνος Νεικίου *Hesperia* 17 (1948) p. 30, no. 14 (64/3?) decree;
 48) Νεικάνορα Π² 1049.3 (57/6, cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 [1937] p. 170, no. 101) decree (L.);
 49) μετ'ἰκάδας Π² 1046.4 (52/1) decree;
 50) Ποσιδωνίου Π² 2360.40 (ca. 50) cat.;
 51) Ποσιδύππος Π² 2461.67 (ca. 50/49, cf. SEG 23.92) cat., Τεμαγέ[νης] *ib.* 136, Τημοκράτου *ib.* 123, Χελωνος *ib.* 12, [Χ]ελων *ib.* 11, Ποσιδίππου *ib.* 53 (L.);
 52) γείνηται Π² 1062.10 (ca. 50) decree (L.);
 53) Διώτεμ[ος] *Hesperia* 36 (1967) p. 237, no. 47, line 17 (ca. 50–40) cat.;
 54) Καλουείσιος Π² 4111.4, 5 (ca. 45) ded. (= Calvisius); Σαβείνου *ib.* 4; cf. addenda;
 55) Κησωρεῖνον Π² 4113.2 (42–40) ded. (L.);
 56) Εἰκαριεύς Π² 1042.c2 (ca. 41/0) decree, γεινομέ[ναις] *ib.* b 20, φιλοτείμως *ib.* d 3;
 57) Ἰ'Αφροδείσιος Π² 1961.55, 65 (post 37/6, cf. SEG 22.113) eph. cat., Δείσιος *ib.* 73;
 58) δυῖν (for δυεῖν) *TAPA* 77 (1946) p. 149, plate I (ca. 40) ded.;

- 59) ὀπλείτας *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p. 173, no. 105, line 11 (= Π² 1059 [= Π² 1758]) (ca. 40–30?) decree (L.);
- 60) τεμῶσα Π² 1043.15 (38/7) decree, Ἐπαφρόδειτο[ς] *ib.* 108, ἰσηγητήρια *ib.* 8, ἐπιδή *ib.* 16, ἐπιδικνύμενον *ib.* 67, Σαλαμείνιος *ib.* 111, Ἀφροδείσιος *ib.* 114 (L.);
- 61) ἐ]μεοσέτευσαν Π² 1051.c17 (post 38/7, ante 31) decree (L.);
- 62) Θεοπίθου Π² 1343.6 (ca. 37/6) decree (soteriastai), ἀδιαλίπτω *ib.* 35, ἀναθῖναι *ib.* 40 (L.);
- 63) Σειλανόν Π² 4114.6 (34 aut 33) ded.

Doubtful:

- 64) βραβία Π² 3147.5 (init. s. II a.) ded., known only from Pittakes.

Notes and Corrections:

Λυσείου, Νείκωνος, αἴσιται (= αἰεῖσται), Δινίου in Π² 678.24, 31, 41, 42 known only from a very poor copy of Pococke, probably not accurately copied from the stone (cf. Köhler's note to *IG* II, no. 329); Σ has been carved for Ε in ἀπαντας ΣΙΣέπραξε Π² 1247.9 (= *IG* II, no. 603), not: ἀπαντας ἰσέπραξε. In Π² 1236.20 (= *IG* II, no. 605) read: ἀν[ά]λωμ[α] λογίσασθαι; in Π² 7993 (= *IG* II, no. 2760; *IG* III, no. 2241): Τε[ι]σ[ω]ν; in *Hesperia* 23 (1954) p. 270, no. 100, line 1: Ἥρακλ[ε]ι (L.). Of Roman date are Εισίδωρος Π² 8211.1 (= *IG* II, no. 2799); Πεισίδης Π² 10080 (= *IG* III, no. 2859). The decree, Π² 1035, with ὀπλείτας, τίχη, κμ[ένου]ς, Πιραιεῖ, τεμῶς, etc., does not belong here, as it should be dated to the last decade of the first century B.C. (cf. 6.011, no. 59, p. 124 supra). In Π² 913.34–5 read BEPENII|ΚΙΔΗΝ (dittography?) (L.).

9.023 εἰ~ῑ in the Roman Period

In the early Roman Period there is widespread use of EI for ι (= [iː]) and of I for εἰ. In this period I may even be used instead of εἰ in inflectional terminations, e.g. ἐναργεῖς ἀποδίξις, *Eleusiniaka* 1 (1932) pp. 223 ff., line 61 (25/4–18/7, cf. *Mélanges Bidez* pp. 819 ff.), a decree in which an EI was carved several times and then the Ε was erased to leave only I and a blank space, i.e. EI was “corrected” to I; ζακορεύν, μένιν, τῷ ἱερῷ *Hesperia* 34 (1965) pp. 125 ff., lines 7, 16, 18 (ca. 37 aut paulo post) decree. Such use of I for εἰ is later found only fairly rarely, cf. πόλι infra.

The popularity of EI for ῑ (= [iː]) increases greatly almost immediately, so that it is unusual to find a large text dated after the end of the first century B.C. without some example of EI = ῑ, and such texts as have only I tend to be short, cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 6 (1941) p. 107, no. 23 (= Π² 3620) (ca. 180 p.) ded. with only I for [iː]; but only Ἀντωνῖνος, λιτουργ-. Ephebic texts of the middle of the first century A.D. already generally have EI considerably more frequently than I for [iː] (cf. Π² 1969, Π² 1970, Π² 1973, Π² 1990). In the second century A.D. and especially after 200 A.D. EI is the normal spelling for [iː]: it is more than twice as frequent as I in texts dated securely to the second century; about ten times as frequent as I in texts certainly later than 200 A.D.; EI is especially common in Μειλήσιος, τεμ- (and numerous derivatives, many of them personal names), νεικ- (and numerous personal names derived from it), Ἐλευσεῖνιος, ὀπλείτης, Ἀφροδείσιος (and numerous related personal names), names derived from Ἰσις, e.g. Εισίδωρος, Εισίδοτος, etc., personal names terminating in -εῖνος (often from Latin -inus), αἰσεῖται.

The use of I for ει also occurs sporadically in all types of texts after 100 A.D. Cf. e.g.: πόλι II² 3592.21 (165/6–168/9 p.) ded. (wrongly recorded as πόλη in IG II²) (L.); ις *Deltion* 25 (1970) p. 197, no. 3, line 12 (= II² 3630 + II² 3997) (post 150 p.) ded.; ις II² 1100.58 (= *Hesperia*, suppl. 8 [1949] pp. 221–223) (ca. 124 p.) imp. edict; ὀφίλουσιν II² 1104.13 (aet. Severianorum, cf. SEG 24.150) imp. edict; Εὐωνυμῖς II² 1759.34 (96/7 p.) pryt. cat.; Κολλυτῖς *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p. 45, no. 14, line 12 (148/9 p.), *Hesperia* 23 (1954) p. 246, no. 23, line 1 (s. II p.) pryt. catalogs; Ἀριστίδου II² 1996.131, 248 (84/5–92/3 p.) eph. cat. (L.); ις II² 1368.70, 72, etc. (ca. 162/3 p.) Iobacchi regulations, but εἰς *ib.* 47, 62, etc.; Φίδιμος *Hesperia* 40 (1971) p. 326, no. 14 (ca. 205 p.) ded.; Πιρῆως II² 2109.4 (post 180 p.) eph. cat.; Σώτιρα *Deltion* 25 (1970) p. 76, no. 33 (s. II/III p.) sep. mon.; Πιρῆως II² 13165 (s. III/IV p.) sep. mon.; ις II² 1765.4 (138/9 p.) pryt. cat.; Στιρέα SEG 2.46 (= II² 7463, corrected) (aet. Rom.) sep. mon. (L.); etc.

Even in the second and third centuries after Christ it is unusual for lengthy texts to use EI exclusively as the grapheme for what had originally been ī. There are usually instances of the less frequent I for original long ι, and this is one of the places in which texts of Roman times show a most striking lack of standardization.

Frequently the same word or closely related words will be spelled both with EI and I in the same text, often in close proximity to one another. E.g.:

Ἀφροδίσιος, Ἐπαφρόδιτος, etc. ~ Ἀφροδείσιος, Ἐπαφρόδειτος, etc.: II² 2039.9, 14, 15 (126/7 p.) (L.); II² 2081.2, 9, 17 (ca. 160 p.) (L.); II² 2094.57, 86, 89, once on reverse (ca. 166/7 p.) (L., lines 57, 89 only) eph. catalogs; etc.;

ὑμεῖν ~ ὑμῖν: II² 1105 B.c 8, d 2 (aet. Hadriani) imp. letter;

τιμ- ~ τεμ-: II² 2094.124, 127 (ca. 166/7 p.) eph. cat. (L., line 124 only); II² 13195.5, 11 (ca. 150 p.) sep. curse-text set up by Herodes Atticus; etc.;

Χαρῖνος ~ Χαρεῖνος: II² 8046 a (in add.).2, 5 (s. II p.) sep. mon.;

Νικ- ~ Νεικ-: II² 2076.5, 30 (ca. 150 p.); II² 2082.33, 53, 70 (post 150 p.) (L.); II² 2100.2, 14 (post 169/70) eph. catalogs; etc.;

Ἴου-, Εἰου-: II² 2203.6, 44 (paulo post 200 p.); Ἰσάρχου II² 2119.45 (180/1–191/2 p.), same man as Εἰσάρχου, *ib.* 151, 156, 168 (this name probably from Ἰσο- + ἀρχ-);

Ἐλευσειν-, Ἐλευσιν-: II² 1078.8, 9, 11, etc. (ca. 220 p.) decrec; etc.

For the contracted ὑγεῖα, Ὀλυμπεία, cf. 32.011. For Ποσειδεών, cf. p. 200 *infra* and Morphology.

Lit.: MS³ p. 49, notes 359–361; Lademann pp. 31–32; Gignac pp. 189–190.

9.024 EI for ī

As there was widespread use of EI for ī in Roman times, it is not surprising that EI was also used for ĭ after the distinction of long and short vowels was no longer maintained (cf. 25.00 *infra*). Apart from one not very likely case of the second century B.C. (cf. Notes and Corrections a), p. 202 *infra*), the earliest Attic example of EI for ī on a text of certain date is a private dedication belonging to the reign of Nero (no. 2), although the reading cannot be confirmed because the stone has been lost. Two

other cases may be as early or even slightly earlier (nos. 1, 3). At least four certain examples can be placed in the period 100–160 A.D. (nos. 4, 5, 6, 11). Although EI for *ĩ* is found in public as well as private texts, it remains fairly rare even after 150 A.D. In general, there seems to be correlation between the use of EI for *ĩ* and the interchange of O and Ω: both are abnormal until the second century A.D. (cf. 12.012 infra). EI for *ĩ* is normally avoided in inflectional endings ('Απόλλωνει in the early no. 2 is exceptional), but it occurs in the suffixes -ιος, -ιον, -ίζ, -ιώτης.

In *υείος* (nos. 20, 33) the use of EI points out to the reader that the *iota* is not silent, i.e. the pronunciation was [-y^l-os] or [-y^h-os]. There is an exactly parallel use of the diaeresis in *υίεα* (scanned—) in *IP* 3743. There can be no question of a trisyllabic pronunciation of *υείος* and *υίος*. It is highly likely that the diaeresis and EI for *ĩ* serve the same purpose in *Γάιος*, *Γάειος* (no. 25 infra), i.e. [ga^l-os]; and in *Φωντήιος* (scanned as three longs in a sep. mon. of 200 A.D.), *Πομπήεια* (no. 23 infra; cf. 22.032, p. 367 infra), i.e. [-e^l-os] (cf. 4.031, no. 2, p. 96 supra). In cases like *Ζωειλος*, 'Αθηναεις, *Ναεις* (also *Πτολεμαῖδος*, *Ζωῖλος*, cf. 4.031, no. 3, p. 96 supra) there is less certainty about the pronunciation. A spelling *Ζοῖλος* would tend to support a disyllabic pronunciation of the word, i.e. [zo^l-los], with a development from an original *Ζωῖλος* [z^h-i-los] (cf. 31.00, p. 412 infra), and it is a frequent variant (cf. 12.012, no. 2, p. 229 infra); the spellings *Ζωειλος*, *Ζοειλος* (cf. nos. 10, 24, 28, 35) might tend to support retention of the original trisyllabic pronunciation by some persons. Cf. W. Schulze, *GGA* 1897, p. 896. The accentuation of these cases is uncertain. *Ζωῖλου* (scanned—) in the ded., *IP* 5021 (ca. 400 p.), is a poetical artificiality not worth much as evidence for the normal pronunciation of *Ζοειλος*, *Ζοῖλος*. In certain cases EI for intervocalic *ĩ* certainly indicates three separate syllables, e.g. *εὐποιείας* (no. 43 infra).

In certain non-Greek personal names from Asia Minor -εις, not -ις, was normal, e.g. *Ματεις Βαρακου* 'Οροανδηνή, *IP* 10032 (s. *IP*.) sep. mon. Here *Ματεις* is the usual spelling; for the name, cf. Robert, *Noms indigènes* 1, pp. 339–340 and for the -εις in these feminine personal names, see W. Schulze, *RM* 48 (1893) pp. 252ff. (= *KS*² pp. 418–419). For *Ηλεις*, 'Αφφειν, cf. 28.01 infra.

The name of the Attic month *Ποσειδεών* (with *I* = *ĩ*) is always kept distinct in the classical and Hellenistic texts from the name of the deity, *Ποσειδών* (with *ει*). But in the Roman Period, after *ει/ι* and *ĩ* are the same, the month is spelled *Ποσειδεών* (for the examples, cf. Morphology).

For the contraction of -ιει- to -ει/-ι-, cf. 32.011 infra. For *Καλουείσιος*, cf. addenda.

Lit.: *MS*³ p. 49, notes 360–361; Lademann pp. 32–33.

Examples:

- 1) *Βάχειος Τεμνοκλέος Μειλήσιος* *IP* 9463 (init. s. *IP*.) sep. mon.; but note the non-Attic -κλέος, cf. Morphology;
- 2) *Αὐτοκράτορι Νέρω[ν]ι νέφ* 'Απόλλωνει *AM* 67 (1942) p. 45, no. 60 (aet. Neronis) ded. (probably priv.). Attempts to relocate the stone and examine it proved unsuccessful; Prof. Peek kindly informed me by letter that the EI is not a printing error of *AM*;
- 3) *Παιανιεὺς* *IP* 2882 (s. *IP*.)? really this early? ded.;
- 4) *Σειμωνίδης* *IP* 2023.22 (ca. 112 p.) eph. cat.;
- 5) *γυμνασιαρχήσας* *IP* 3009.6–9 (113/4 p.) ded.;
- 6) *Σεινωπεύς* *IP* 10332 (non ante 100 p.) sep. mon.;
- 7) 'Ελευσείνιος *IP* 2041.21 (ca. 130 p.) eph. cat. (L.);

- 8) Ελλειεύς (= Ἰλλεύς) *Deltion* 25 (1970) p. 75, no. 27 (s. I/II p.) sep. mon.;
- 9) Ελάσων Π² 5807 (s. I/II p.) sep. mon.;
- 10) Ζωεῖλου *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p. 283, no. 159, line 2 (s. I/II p.) sep. mon.;
- 11) Ἰφεισ(τιάδης) Π² 2068.28 (155/6 p.) eph. cat. (L.);
- 12) προσειδρύσαντα Π² 3592.24–25 (165/6–168/9) ded. (L.);
- 13) Πειος *Hesperia*, suppl. 13 (1970) pp. 3ff., line E52 (ca. 175 p.) imp. letter; ἐφείεσθαι *ib.* E 11; ἐπανιέναι *ib.* E 62; but ἐπανιέναι *ib.* E 98;
- 14) ἐστιατορείου Π² 1368.141 (ca. 162/3 p.) Iobacchi regulations (L.);
- 15) εἰεροφ[άν]του Π² 2109.8 (post 180 p.) eph. cat.;
- 16) Εἰσιν (i. e. Ἰσιν) Νείκης Μελησία Π² 9714 (ca. 150–200 p.) sep. mon.;
- 17) ἀγορανομε[ῖ]αν Π² 3649.5 (ca. 200 p.) ded.;
- 18) Ζοεῖλος Π² 2193.141 (198/9–205/6 p., cf. Graindor, *Album* p. 55) eph. cat.; Ζούλος *ib.* 72 (L., 141 only);
- 19) Ἐπινεικείων Π² 2199.27 (ca. 200 p.) eph. cat. (cf. no. 29 infra);
- 20) υείος Π² 3682.7 (init. s. III p.) ded.;
- 21) Προκλειανός *Hesperia* 40 (1971) p. 315, no. 12, line 17 (178/9–179/80 p.) ded.; probably EI = ἰ here, as the spelling most usual is Προκλιανός, e.g. Π² 2237.134 (230–235 p.) (L.); SEG 16.261 (Argos, s. IV p.); SEG 24.970 (init. s. III p.); etc. Otherwise for Προκλιανός (cf. p. 368 infra);
- 22) Ἀθηναεῖς Π² 6639 (ca. 200 p.) sep. mon. (L.);
- 23) Πομπήεια *Deltion* 25 (1970) p. 78, no. 42 (s. II p.) sep. mon. (cf. p. 367 infra);
- 24) Ζωεῖλος Π² 2478 a (in text).10 (s. II p.) cat. fr. (?) (L.);
- 25) [Γά?]ειος Εἰσούλιος *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p. 68, no. 34 (= Π² 7438) (s. II p.) sep. mon.;
- 26) Μετλήσειος Π² 9425.1–2 (s. II p.) sep. mon. (lost);
- 27) Εἰαχ[χαγωγο]ῦ Π² 3680.2 (init. s. III p.) ded.;
- 28) Ζ[ω]εῖλου Π² 2215.5 (post 212/3 p.) eph. cat. (L.);
- 29) Ἐπινεικεῖ[ων] Π² 2208.105 (212/3 p. aut paulo post) eph. cat. (cf. no. 19 supra);
- 30) βαδεῖζοντας Π² 1078.27 (ca. 220 p.) decree;
- 31) Ζοεῖλος Π² 2239.260 (238/9–243/4 p.) eph. cat. (L.);
- 32) Ἥγειαν (= Ἥγιαν) Π² 3692.2 (ante 250 p.) ded.;
- 33) υείοις Π² 3700.8 (ante 250 p.) ded.;
- 34) Τροφώνεια Π² 3169/70.18 (253–257 p.) ded., cf. 9.032, no. 9; cf. Τροφώνια in Π² 3147.4 (bis) (init. s. II a.) ded.;
- 35) Ζωει(λου) Π² 2245.17 (262/3 aut 266/7 p.) eph. cat., has Ζούλος *ib.* 449, Ζούλου *ib.* 234;
- 36) ἐκ Πορείων *Hesperia* 23 (1954) p. 268, no. 94 (s. II/III p.) sep. mon.;
- 37) ὑψέιστω Π² 4809 (s. II/III p.) ded.;
- 38) εἰέρια Π² 4817.7 (s. II/III p.) ded., in *ib.* 9 read: [Σ]εῖρβια, cf. AE 1938, Chronika p. 17;
- 39) Δειρανδεωῖ[ου] Π² 4945.2 (s. II/III p.) ded.;
- 40) στρατεωτής Π² 8358 a (in add.).1–2 (s. II/III p.) sep. mon., τρειάκοντα *ib.* 4 (stone lost);
- 41) ὑγιένοντος Π² 9087 a (in add.).5 (s. II/III p.) sep. mon.; but Λαριανεικώς is probably not for Λαριανικός in *ib.* 2 (cf. 12.012, Notes and Corrections c), p. 233 infra) (L.);
- 42) Εἰλεισοῦ (= Ἰλαιοῦ) *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p. 179, no. 3, line 4 (s. III p.) eph. cat. (normally only first iota is long);
- 43) εὐποιεῖας Π² 1121.10 (305/6 p.) imperial edict, βυβλείοις *ib.* 29;
- 44) Ναιεῖς Π² 12222 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon. (lost). The name is certainly Greek, cf. L. Robert, *Noms indigènes* 1 p. 234;

- 45) Ἀρ[ε]ιστονίκη *Deltion* 16 (1960) *Chronika* p.25, no.4 (= *BCH* 84 [1960] p.642) (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.;
- 46) Διονύσειος *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p.215, no. 63 (aet. Rom.) ded. (?);
- 47) Φελείνου Π² 5097 (aet. Rom.) theatre-seat;
- 48) Ειόλλου Π² 10194.2 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon., *ib.* Σαλαμίνιος;
- 49) βειώσας Π² 10626 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.;
- 50) Ούειψ[άνιος] Peek, *AG* 2, p. 40, no. 148 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.;
- 51) Δ[ι]φείλη Peek, *AG* 2, p. 34, no. 112 (date?) sep. mon.

The reading [Ἀθ]ήνεια[ος] proposed in a pryt. cat., *Agora* 15, p.238, no.309, line 61 (revision of *Hesperia* 33 [1964] p.218, no. 63) (s. I p.), seems altogether dubious.

Notes and Corrections:

- a) In Π² 987.3, a decree dated solely on the basis of the lettering to after 150 B.C., the reading χαρεῖτ[ων] (cited by Lademann p.32) probably cannot stand. Examination of the stone and squeezes has shown that the last letter in the line cannot be tau, but is almost certainly omega; the letter before it is either iota or tau, probably tau, as χαρειω[would not be a manageable sequence of letters here. This would leave a reading χαρετ[ω]ν, with a rare case of E for ι as in 7.011, pp.137ff. *supra*. And yet the possibility of reading χαρετ[ω]ν must also be considered, for I am not certain that the bottom stroke of the alleged E is in fact a stroke; it could be a stray mark, and the spacing of other iotas (cf. τεμένει τοῦ in the next line) is not against reading iota here. Certainty is impossible, but χαρετ[ω]ν is perhaps the best reading (L.).
- b) For ὑποπεύπτειν in Π² 1086.28 (init. s. III p.), cf. Herodian 2 (= *Gramm. gr.* 3.2) pp.10 and 570 (ed. Lentz): the ι was long. Ποπεύλιος for Latin Popilius, in the eph. cat., Π² 2045.15 (post 136/7 p.), has probably been influenced by other Latin names which ended in -ilius. In Π² 3703.5 (= *IG* III, no. 691) read: Μάξι[μ]ον; in Π² 2103.250 (= *IG* III, no. 1138) read: Σίκελος (L.); in Π² 2055.14 (= *IG* III, no. 1116) read: Ἐπεικίδης, not Ἐπικείδης (cf. Graindor, *Album* plate 48; *Imagines*² plate 49, no.136) (cf. 32.011, p.417 *infra*). The correct reading of *Hesperia* 2 (1933) p.505, no.17, line 10 is Ἐλευσεινίου (cf. photograph p.506), although Ἐλευσινείου appears in the text through a printer's error.
- c) [Π]ερρεῖδαι in the pryt. cat., *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p.36, no.3, line 11 (= *Agora* 15, p.79, no.68) (ca. 290–280), is too early and isolated to be a convincing case of EI for ι. The [Τ]υρρ-μειδαι of J.S. Traill (cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 14 [1975] p.90 and p.535 *infra*) solves the problem, but with an unconvincing reading. Perhaps the earlier form of the toponym was Περρεῖδαι (from Attic Περρεύς, cf. p.535 *infra*). One could assume that the Περρεῖδαι of the literary sources (all late) is an itacistic error of the codd., except that Traill now suggests reading [Πε]ρρεῖδ[αι] in Π² 2362.53 (cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 14 p.132, no.2), a catalog of deme names and demotics dated ca. 200 B.C.

9.03 εἰ [eː] before vowels

9.031 H written for εἰ/___V

In the environment before back vowels εἰ did not make the change from [eː] to [iː] in the Hellenistic Period as it did elsewhere. Spellings with H for εἰ in this environment begin in Attica in a decree of 229 B.C. or slightly later, about the same time that there is good evidence in public texts of the change of εἰ to [iː] in other environments (cf.

9.022, p. 195 *supra*). The phenomenon remains rare until about 50 B.C., and most of the examples which can be dated with much precision fall in the century from 50 B.C. to 50 A.D. There are, however, certainly some examples after 100 A.D. (cf. nos. 27–29), although a text of the late third century with names of festivals in -ηα, -εια, and -ια is probably later than the change of ει/___V to [iː] and of η to [i] (no. 29). The spellings in -ηα, -ηου, etc. occur in public texts such as decrees, prytany catalogs, and frequently in public dedications in the phrase ἡ ἐξ Ἀρχῆου πάγου βουλή. Sometimes both the traditional spelling and that with eta occur in the same text (e.g. nos. 2, 4, 11, 37 *infra*). The reason these spellings with eta die out after ca. 100 A.D. is that change of ει to [i] also takes place in this environment by about that time (cf. 9.032 *infra*). Actually attested in Attic texts are: -ηα, -ηου (accounting for most of the examples); -ηοι (cf. nos. 10, 22, 23), -ηο (nos. 1, 33, 37), -ηω (nos. 20, 24, 27), -ηαι (no. 2), -ηωι (no. 57). Rare instances of -ηια (nos. 3, 12) are probably due to hesitation between the traditional spelling and the new spellings with eta.

Purely poetical artificialities (with -ηιος, etc. scanned as three syllables) are cases like: ἀνδρηίου Π² 7447.11 (fin. s. IIp.) sep. mon.; Ἀ]ρχίμου Π² 13172.1 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon. The spellings like Φοντήιος, Πομπήιος, etc. are treated in 22.032, p. 367 *infra*.

Early examples of κατηλῆον on a fourth-century defixio do not belong here, cf. 8.03, p. 170 *supra*.

A few cases of Ἡρακλήωτης, etc. (7.02, nos. 2, 3, 6, 10, 15, 16, p. 147 *supra*) on sep. monuments of non-Athenians might belong with the examples *infra* if H is for EI of Ἡρακλεωτης rather than E of the normal Attic Ἡρακλεωτης.

The use of eta seen here is the reason for the Latin transliterations like Medea, Lebadea, etc. There is an analogous use of H for ē/___V (which had frequently been spelled EI in the fourth and third centuries), but it is much rarer (cf. 7.02, p. 146 *supra*).

Even in the period ca. 50 B.C.–ca. 50 A.D. the traditional spellings in -EI/___V are by no means rare, cf. e.g.: Ἀρείου Π² 4109 (ca. 50) (L.), Π² 4111 (ca. 45), Π² 4126.6 (non ante 14), Π² 3259 (18p.), Π² 3268 (41p.), Π² 3270 (41p.), etc.; Ιέρεια Π² 4127 (ca. 14), Π² 3276 (41–54p.), etc. Spellings like Ἀρίου, Ιέρια, etc. are also found in early Roman times, but only rarely (cf. 9.032 *infra*).

Lit.: MS³ p. 47, note 353; Lademann pp. 29ff.; Mayser-Schmoll pp. 58–60; Sturtevant p. 40, no. 31; Gignac pp. 240–241.

Examples (nos. 1–29 dated on fairly good external evidence):

- 1) μη πλήνο[ς] Π² 732.13 (cf. add. to IG Π²) (229 or slightly later, but almost certainly not much later, cf. Pečirka, *Enktesis* pp. 103–104; SEG 24.128) decree (cf. 16.021g *infra*) (L.);
- 2) θεραπῆας Π² 1329.8–9 (175/4) decree (orgeones), εὐσεβῆας *ib.* 25, Ιερῆαις *ib.* 16, alongside Ιερείας *ib.* 27 (L.);
- 3) ἐπυμέλιαν Π² 957.5 (157/6) decree; confusion of the new -ηV with the traditional -ειV or a case of HI for η (cf. 22.031 *infra*);
- 4) ἀσφώληαν Π² 1055.20 (ca. 100), but Ἀρειο[ν *ib.* 15;
- 5) Ἀρχο[ν πάγου *Hesperia* 7 (1938) p. 127, no. 27, line 11 (fin. s. IIa., cf. Π² 1013, of which this text is another copy) decree;

- 6) Ἀφθής Ἀρι[α]ίου *Agora* 15, p.215, no.267, line 14 (= *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 [1937] p.166, no.98, reading improved) (paulo ante 60) decree;
- 7) Αἰνίου Π² 2461.54, 55 (ca. 50/49, cf. SEG 23.92) cat. (L.);
- 8) πρυτανήαν *Hesperia* 12 (1943) p.56, no.14, line 22 (ca. 50–40) pryt. cat.;
- 9) Ἀρήου Π² 4113.1 (42–40) (L.); Π² 3500.2, Π² 3501.2 (fin. s. Ia.) dedications;
- 10) Θησιή[ις], Ἀντωνίους Π² 1043.22 (38/7) decree (L.);
- 11) πρεσβήαν Π² 1051.c21 (post 38/7, ante 31) decree; πρυτανήας on a new fragment, cf. *Hesperia* 36 (1967) p.67 (= Π² 1058.2), but Ἀρείου *ib.* a 4 (L.);
- 12) πρυ[τα]νή[αν--] *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p.173, no.105, line 5 (= Π² 1059 [= Π² 1758]) (ca. 40–30?) decree (cf. no.3 supra) (L.);
- 13) Ἀρήου Π² 1718.9, 14 (38/7–18/7) cat. (man's name in line 9);
- 14) Ἀρήου Π² 3173.5 (post 27/6) ded.;
- 15) Ἀρήου Π² 1721.14 (14/3) cat.;
- 16) Ἀρήου Π² 4128.2 (ca. 9) ded.;
- 17) Ἀρήου *AJP* 80 (1959) pp.366–369 (aet. Augusti) ded.;
- 18) Ἀρήο[υ] Π² 3523.1 (init. s. Ip.) ded.;
- 19) Ἀρήου Π² 3258.1 (ca. 18 p.) ded.;
- 20) Ἑρ[μ]ίων Π² 1967.5–6 (36/7 p.) eph. cat. (L.);
- 21) Ἀρήου *Hesperia* 28 (1959) pp.86 ff. (= Π² 4209, corrected) (14–37 p.) ded.;
- 22) Γερ[μαν]ικῶς Π² 1969.24–25 (45/6 p.) eph. cat.;
- 23) ὀλκῆς Π² 1945.3 (45/6 p.) cat.;
- 24) Καισαρήων Π² 3535.9 (ca. 57 p.) ded., but Ἀρείου *ib.* 1 (L.);
- 25) Κλεοκρά[της] Clinton, *Sacred Officials* p.73, no.8 (= Π² 4716, corrected) (ca. 50 p.) ded. (priv.);
- 26) Ἀρήου Π² 3919 (ca. 50 p., K. Clinton *per litt.*) ded.;
- 27) Καισαρήων Π² 3571.3 (ca. 107–117 p.) ded.;
- 28) Με[τε]χάρα Π² 2776.91 (aet. Trajani, cf. *Hesperia* 41 [1972] p.476) financial doc. (reading confirmed *Hesperia* 41, p.71);
- 29) Βαρβόληα Π² 3169/70.25 (253–257 p.) ded., Ἀττάληα *ib.* 31, alongside Ἀδριάνεια *ib.* 25, Λεβαδεία *ib.* 19, Αὐγούστεια *ib.* 27, etc. These late cases of H for ε/—V are really examples of confusion of η and ει = ι (cf. 8.02, no.32, p.169 supra; 9.032 p.206 infra).

(Nos. 30–63 not dated with precision):

- 30) Ἀργήα Π² 8361 a (in add.) (s. IIa.) sep. mon.;
- 31) Εἰσιγένηα Π² 10371 (s. IIa.) sep. mon.;
- 32) μαντ[ή]αν Π² 1935.6 (post 50) cat.;
- 33) Ἥλιος Π² 8529.2 (fin. s. Ia.) sep. mon. (L.);
- 34) [Κο]πρήου Π² 6537/8.3 (s. Ia.) sep. mon.;
- 35) Φιλόκληα Π² 8988 (s. Ia.) sep. mon.;
- 36) Π[υ]θαῖα *Hesperia* 15 (1946) p.222, no.51, line 20 (= new fragments of Π² 3152, 3153) (s. Ia.) ded., [Λεβ]αδεία *ib.* 21;
- 37) εὔσεβηα *Hesperia* 34 (1965) pp.125 ff., line 6 (ca. 37 aut paulo post) decree, ἐπιτήδων *ib.* 16, but cf. εὔσεβείας *ib.* 21 (L.);
- 38) Ἀρήου Π² 3906.1, 5 (aet. Augusti) ded., εὔσεβῆας *ib.* 4, 8 (L.);
- 39) Ἥδηα *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p.283, no.157 (= Π² 9974) (ca. 10 a.–10 p.) sep. mon. (L.);
- 40) εὔ]σεβῆας Π² 3527.3–4 (init. s. Ip.) ded.;

- 41) Συνήθεια Π² 9293 (s. Ia./s. Ip.) sep. mon.; it belongs here if the normal form of the name Συνήθεια was meant; but Attic texts also have Συνήθεα (cf. 16.021f, no. 11, p. 321 infra), and if that was intended then this example belongs with cases of H for ε/___V as in 7.02 supra (cf. p. 147).
- 42) Ἀρήου Π² 7030 (ca. 1–50 p.) sep. mon. (masc. personal name);
- 43) Ἀρήου Π² 4177.1 (ca. 41 p.?) ded.;
- 44) Ἡράκλεια Π² 6596.2 (post 50 p.) sep. mon.;
- 45) Διογένεια Π² 5660 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.;
- 46) Ἀ]ρήου *Hesperia* 32 (1963) p. 37, no. 34, line 1 (s. Ip.) ded.;
- 47) Ἀγαθόκλεια Π² 7883 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.;
- 48) Ἰέρεια Π² 2954.1 (s. Ip.) ded.;
- 49) Inscriptions on seats of Theatre of Dionysus. No indication of date, but texts with -ηV probably from Augustan times. Ἰέρεια on Π² 5095, Π² 5096, Π² 5101.1, Π² 5133, Π² 5141, Π² 5156; Ἰέρεια on Π² 5145, Π² 5130, Π² 5131, but these three are thus probably later than 100 A.D., cf. 9.032, no. 7, p. 206 infra; Ἰέρεια on Π² 5102, Π² 5093; Λαδαμῆας on Π² 5092, Π² 5123; Λυκίου on Π² 5073; Μηδίου on Π² 5104;
- 50) Ἀριστόκλεια Π² 5409 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.;
- 51) Κῆα Π² 9005 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.;
- 52) Ἡδῆα Π² 9655 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.;
- 53/54) Ἐπιφάνεια Π² 11301 (probably late s. Ip.) sep. mon.;
- 55) Ἀρήου *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p. 347, no. 5 (ca. 50–ca. 50 p.) ded.;
- 56) Γαλάττηα Π² 10988 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.;
- 57) Ἀπόλ]λωνι Λυκῆ[ωι *Hesperia* 29 (1960) p. 60, no. 97 (aet. Rom.) ded.;
- 58) Μενεκράττηα Π² 8877 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.;
- 59) Ἀρήου *Hesperia* 15 (1946) p. 234, no. 66 (aet. Rom.) ded.;
- 60) Ἀφέλεια Π² 10181.1 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.;
- 61) Ἐρμίου Π² 11615 (s. Ip.?) sep. mon.;
- 62) Ἀργήου Π² 7545.2 (date?) sep. mon.;
- 63) Εὐγένεια Π² 11373 (date?) sep. mon.

9.032 I for ει/___V

The variant grapheme for ει/___V in the late Hellenistic Period and early Roman times is H, as in Ἀρήου, etc., rather than I, good evidence that ει has remained a long e-vowel in pre-vocalic position in contrast to its alteration to [iː] elsewhere (cf. 9.031, p. 202 supra). The word Ὑγεῖα is probably an exception; at least the spelling Ὑγῆα does not occur, and Ὑγῖα is not rare in the early Roman Period (cf. nos. 4 and 5 infra; for Ὑγῖα → Ὑγ(ε)ῖα, cf. 32.011, pp. 416–417 infra). But other cases of I for ει/___V are isolated in the period before 100 A.D.: such exceptional spellings as Ἀρίου in a dedication of the reign of Tiberius (no. 2 infra) probably indicate that a pronunciation of ει as [iː] before vowels existed in some quarters by this time, but was abnormal; otherwise they must be explained as intended EI with careless omission of the E (cf. E for EI in Νεκόπολις, etc., cf. 7.0111c, p. 139 supra).

After 100 A.D., and especially after 150 A.D., examples of I for ει before vowels become somewhat more common, and by this time the use of H here has largely ceased. In the second century A.D. confusion of -εια and -ια in the names of various festivals becomes less exceptional than it had been up to that time (cf. no. 9 infra). It is reasonable to suppose that ει has passed to [i] in pre-vocalic position also by this time.

For a very few cases of I for ει/___V before 100 B. C., cf. 9.022, nos. 5 (Λαυρίου), 14 (Ἐπικρά-τια), p. 196 supra. For Θάλια on vases, cf. 9.021, no. 3, p. 191 supra.

In metrical texts nouns in -η are often used for the Attic formations in -εια. Cf. εὐσεβή in Π² 4762.9 (s. I/IIp.), Π² 3632.4 (post 150p.), Π² 4218.6 (s. ΠIp.) dedications; ὑγίην (accusative singular) Π² 4350.2 (aet. Rom.?) ded. (priv.), where, however, it is uncertain whether a contraction of Ionic ὑγιήν has occurred (ι is short here); etc.

Lit.: Lademann pp. 29–31.

Examples: Earlier than 100 A. D.:

- 1) Θάλια Π² 5427 (s. Ia.?) sep. mon.;
- 2) Ιερίας Π² 4126.12 (non ante 14) ded., Ἀρείου πάγου *ib.* 6;
- 3) Ἀλφίου Π² 3261.2 (14–37p.) ded.;
- 4) Ὑγίας Π² 4479.4 (40/1–53/4p.) ded. (priv.);
- 5) Ὑγία Π² 4481.2 (85/6–94/5p.) ded. (priv.), Ὑγεία *ib.* 11. (For examples of Ὑγεία, Ὑγεία in this period, cf. 32.011, p. 416 infra).

After 100 A. D.:

- 6) Ἀρίου πάγου: *Deltion* 25 (1970) p. 197, no. 3, line 1 (= Π² 3630 + Π² 3997) (post 150p.); Π² 3669 (ca. 269/70p.); Π² 3712.6 (s. IIIp.), has Μουσίου, cf. no. 11 infra; Π² 4222.4 (fin. s. IVp.) dedications; cf. no. 3 supra.
- 7) Ιέρια: Π² 4066.5 (ante 150p.) ded.; εἰέρια Π² 4817.7 (s. II/IIIp.) ded. (priv.), read [Σ]εφβία in *ib.* 9, cf. *AE* 1938, *Chronika* p. 17; Π² 5130, Π² 5145, cf. Π² 5131 (aet. Rom.) labels on theatre-seats; cf. no. 2 supra (for Ιέρηα on the theatre-seats, cf. 9.031, no. 49, p. 205 supra).
- 8) Ὑγία(ι) Π² 4530.3 (s. II/IIIp.), Π² 4524a (in add.) (s. II/IIIp.), Π² 4534 (aet. Rom.), Π² 4536 (aet. Rom.) dedications (priv.); cf. nos. 4, 5 supra; Ὑγεία has been changed to Ὑγία in Π² 4499.6 (s. I/IIp.) ded. (priv.). (For the contemporary instances of Ὑγεία, Ὑγεία, cf. 32.011, pp. 416–417 infra).
- 9) Festivals in -εῖα (-ῆα) and -ια:
Θησῖα: Π² 2038.6 (cf. *SEG* 12.112) (ca. 125/6p.) eph. cat.; for the usual Θησεῖα, cf. Indices to *IG* II p. 81; to *IG* III p. 315; etc.
Γερμανίεια: Π² 2026.16 (116/7p.) eph. cat.; for Γερμανίεια, cf. Indices to *IG* III, p. 315.

After 200 A. D. the termination -εια frequently appears for -ια in festival names:

Τροφώνεια Π² 3169/70.18 (253–257p.) ded., also has Βαρβόλλα, Ἀττάληα, Ἀδριάνεια, etc., cf. 8.02, no. 32; 9.024, no. 34; and especially 9.031, no. 29; probably by this time the endings -εια, -ηα, and -ια are all pronounced [i-a].

Ἐπινείεια Π² 2199.27 (ca. 200p.), Π² 2208.105 (212/3p. aut paulo post) eph. catalogs (cf. 9.024, nos. 19, 29).

For the usual spelling Ἐπιν(ε)λία, cf. e.g. Π² 2026.82–83 (116/7 p.) eph. cat.; Π² 3749.10 (169/70 p.) ded.; Π² 2097.40 (169/70 p.), Π² 2113.61 (183/4–191/2 p.), Π² 2193.27 (198/9–205/6 p., cf. Graindor, *Album* p.55) (L.); Π² 2196.10 (ca. 200 p.) (L.), Π² 2201.62 (paulo post 200 p.), Π² 2203.68 (paulo post 200 p.), Π² 2237.53 (230–235 p.) (L.), Π² 2242.36 (238/9 aut 242/3 p.), Π² 2245.180 (262/3 aut 266/7 p.) eph. catalogs.

But the Ὀλυμπεία in Π² 3161.6 (post 150 p.), Π² 3162.16 (post 131/2 p.), Π² 3687.14, 25 (init. s. III p.) dedications, is probably the Attic Ὀλυμπία with the contraction of -αι- to -ει- (as in Ὑγεία ← Ὑγία), cf. 32.011, pp. 416–418 infra.

10) Ἀγαθόκλεια Π² 13240 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon. (L.), cf. 16.021f, no.1, pp. 319–320 infra.

11) Μουσίου Π² 3712.4 (s. III p.) ded., has Ἀρίου, cf. no. 6 supra.

10.00 ι-vowels

10.01 The vowel ι

Phenomena involving ῑ and ῖ are dealt with in various sections:

α ~ ι This confusion is very rare and confined to foreign words, cf. 6.02, p. 129 supra.

ē ~ ῑ There are only a very few cases of E for ῑ, or of I for ē, cf. 7.0111 a, d, pp. 137, 139 and 7.012, pp. 141ff. supra. E, rather than I, is frequently the grapheme for Latin ī in names like Tiberius, etc. in the early Roman Period, cf. 7.0112, pp. 139ff. supra. There is almost no confusion between names in -ίας and -έας, cf. 7.0121, pp. 145ff. supra.

ει ~ ῑ There are only a very few cases of I for ει before the last 30 years of the third century B. C., and EI for ῑ is even rarer, cf. 9.021, pp. 190ff., 9.022, pp. 195–198 supra. A few words like Σιληνός, Μ(ε)λιχίος, Κλινίας, etc. are exceptional, cf. 9.0211–9.0212, pp. 192–195 supra. Development of ει from [e] to [i] is indicated by the increasing frequency of the confusion of ει and ῑ from the later third century B. C. on, cf. 9.022–9.023, pp. 195–199 supra. The change in ει before vowels was later, and spellings like Ἀρίου are not common until after 100 A. D., cf. 9.032, pp. 205–207 supra.

ει ~ ῖ The occurrence of EI for ῖ begins after 50 A. D., cf. 9.024, pp. 199–202 supra. Such spellings are conclusive evidence for vowel isochrony, cf. 25.00, p. 385.

η ~ ι There is good evidence that η = ι by 150 A. D., cf. 8.02, pp. 165ff.

ο ~ ι Probably does not occur, cf. 11.03, p. 218 infra.

υ ~ ι This confusion is fairly rare, cf. 14.01, pp. 261–262 infra. Certain words are exceptions, e.g. ἡμυσυ for ἡμυσυ, βυβλιο- ~ βιβλιο-, etc., cf. 14.011–14.016, pp. 262–266 infra.

ι# __ V, ιC __ V → [j] There is very little evidence that initial or post-consonantal iota tended to become a consonant when unaccented: spellings like Πρασεύς for Πρασιεύς, etc. are very rare, cf. 27.01–27.02, pp. 392–395 infra. Also against such a development in this type of iota are: the use of the diaeresis (¨) over it, cf. 4.031, no. 1, pp. 94–95 supra; use of EI as in Βάκχιος, etc., cf. 9.024, pp. 199–202 supra; spellings like Βάκχις for Βάκχιος, etc., cf.

28.01, pp. 400–404 *infra*. On the other hand, in metrical texts the type of synizesis seen in Πυθίων (scanned as two longs), etc. is attested, but is presumably just an established poetical licence taken from epic, cf. 31.00, p. 412 *infra*.

Iota as second element in diphthongs. The long diphthongs ηι, ωι, and αῖ were monophthongized to η, ω, and α in all positions by ca. 125 B.C. (ηι perhaps in the fourth century), cf. 22.01–22.02, pp. 353 ff. *infra*. Iota as second element in the diphthongs with initial short vowel tended to drop in many cases when a vowel followed (cf. 10.02 *infra*) and in other environments ceased to exist as an i-vowel with the monophthongization of the diphthong: thus ει became [e] by ca. 450 B.C., cf. 9.01, pp. 172 ff., and 16.01, pp. 299 ff.; αῖ became [e] by ca. 50 A.D., cf. 15.013, pp. 294 ff.; οῖ and υῖ became identical, οῖ having gone to [y], in Athens perhaps before 200 A.D., cf. 17.04, p. 337 *infra*.

10.02 Intervocalic iota

Iota occurred between vowels in basically three situations: after a long vowel, e.g. παρῳῖος, πατρῳῖος, etc.; after a diphthong, e.g. Ἀχαιῖα, εὐποιῖα, ὀυμεία, etc.; after a short vowel, e.g. Ἀθηναῖος, θεῖος, ποιεῖν, γεγονυῖα, Πτολεμαῖς, etc. The subsequent development of the intervocalic iota falls into one of two patterns: development to a glide-vowel [V^hV] with subsequent deletion, e.g. Ἀθηναῖα becomes Ἀθηνάα, etc.; the iota remains as part of the preceding vowel to compose a falling diphthong which is eventually monophthongized, e.g. Πειραιεύς becomes [pi-re-e^s], with αῖ changing from [aⁱ] to [e], etc. There is rarely unified treatment for a given combination, but words tend to have their own history. Thus the development of δικαῖα differs from that of Ἀθηναῖα; οἱ in ποιεῖν does not lose its iota like the οἱ of Λευκονοιεύς. Sometimes a word may start out showing a tendency to delete iota, but later retain it and undergo the second type of change, cf. spellings like Πειραεῖς, ποιεῖν in the fourth and early third centuries B.C., although αῖ and οἱ are ultimately retained.

a) The Attic tendency to diphthongization (synaeresis, cf. 31.00, pp. 411–412 *infra*) caused original -ῳῖος to develop to -ῳῖος (two syllables) early, although there is no way it can be deduced from the orthography (-ΟΙΟΣ in pre-403 Attic script, -ΩΙΟΣ thereafter). This ωι diphthong developed to ω, cf. the spellings normal in Roman times: Πατρῳος, etc. There is some possibility that this simplification of ωι before vowels occurred earlier than that of ωι elsewhere, cf. Κῳος twice in the sep. mon., II² 9143 (init. s. IV a.) (for the normal Κῳος, cf. *passim* in tribute lists; II² 9142, sep. mon. of the early third century; etc.); λῳον (= λῳιον) in the state decree, II² 333.c25 (335/4); and παρῳος, an infrequent variant for παρῳῖος on lead pinakia identifying horses of the hippeis which have been found in the Ceramicus, cf. AM 85 (1970) p. 210, no. 115; p. 219, no. 284 (all this group dated s. III a.) (but eight pinakia have παρῳῖος, and παρῳῖας is on more than thirty). Cf. 22.012, p. 359 *infra*. The loss of iota in παρῳῖος, μητρῳῖον, etc. left two vowels in hiatus in Roman times.

The development of -ήῖος, etc. was similar in Attic, but here the resulting -ήῖος was early shortened to -εῖος, which is virtually universal in Attic when the Ionic

script is introduced. For the development of -ειV cf. c) *infra*. If not due to foreign influence, the ethnic Ἀργήιος in the ded., II² 3038.5 (364/3), might be a late survival of the -ηιος spelling; but it might also be like τριήρης, Ἀπολλοφάνη, etc. (cf. 22.011b, p.356 *infra*). The spelling λῆον occurs on an inventory of 368/7, II² 1425.264, where loss of intervocalic iota might be involved. For the normal λει-, cf. other inventories: II² 1424a(in add.).333 (369/8), II² 1428(in add.).215 (367/6) (cf. 23.011f, p.371 *infra*). In an inv. of the Delian amphiktyons, I² 377.17 (434–432), Ποσιδηίων apparently appears as the name of the Attic month Ποσιδεών, presumably a mistake not caused by phonological factors (cf. p.357 *infra*). Other fifth-century examples are difficult to evaluate because the Attic script -ειος, etc. could be for -ῆιος or -εῖος. Thus it is hard to say if ΠΙΠΟΝΕΙΟΙ on three inventories is for προνήμιω or for προνειω, but the latter seems far more likely, as ΠΙΠΟΝΕΟΙ (certainly for πρό-νειω) is attested in the same group of inventories; but it is still uncertain whether προνειω is an early example of EI for ε/___V (as in βασιλείως, etc.), i.e. πρόνειω (← πρόνεως), or is προνειω, later development of an original προνήμιω (cf. 7.03, no.3h, pp.148, 155 *supra*).

Evidence for the rare -αι + V is lacking (ῥαῖον is unattested). The man's name Πιῶος (an Athenian), attested in a cat. of the early fourth century B.C., II² 1928.20, is perhaps from an earlier Πιῶιος, with loss of iota similar to λῆον, λῶον just cited.

The retention of a dissyllabic pronunciation of the -ηι-, -ωι- of -ηιος, etc. was characteristic of certain dialects, notably Eastern Ionic, where it frequently is indicated by spellings like Τήμιος, λήμιος, etc. (cf. Buck, *GD*² pp.34–35, no.37; Schwyzler, *GG* 1, p.312). Such spellings are also found in Attic texts of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., but they occur in a context where foreign influence may be suspected. Thus Τηῖο occurs in a sep. mon. of a man from Teos of the later sixth century, cf. II² 10444 (ca. 525, cf. *IGAA* p.128, no.21), where the writing clearly has a non-Attic character. The remaining examples occur in the tribute lists, where foreign influence can be suspected. Thus: TEIIOI *ATL* 2, no.9, col.1.15 (= I² 199.15) (446/5), I² 205.10 (= *ATL* 2, no.15) (440/39), I² 64.17 (= *ATL* 2, no. A9, col.1.127) (425/4). In other lists only TEIOI, e.g. I² 194.12 (= *ATL* 2, no.4) (451/0), I² 195.10 (= *ATL* 2, no.5) (450/49), I² 196.6 (= *ATL* 2, no.7) (448/7), I² 203.16 (= *ATL* 2, no.13) (442/1); cf. Τήμιος in a sep. mon. of 340–317 B.C., II² 10443; Τήμα in a sep. mon. of Roman times, II² 10442. Ζωῖλος (for Ζωῖλος), graffito on a vase of Psiax, cf. *ARV*² p.7, no.7, may belong here (note use of Ionic letters), unless due to careless dittography. So also the Samian Ζωῖλος of *AM* 78 (1963) pp.123ff., an archaic sep. mon.

In Roman times -ηιος is used for -ēius in names such as Fonteius, etc., cf. 22.032, pp.367–368 *infra*. The pronunciation may have been [fon-te^hus] rather than [fon-te-i-us], although the diaeresis is sometimes used, e.g. Φοντήιος, cf. 4.031, no.2, p.96 *supra*.

Spellings like Ἀρήμιος in Roman times are artificial poetical forms: cf. 9.031, p.203 *supra*.

b) Intervocalic iota after diphthongs is extremely rare. -ποιία (εὐποιία, etc.) retains both iotas; it is attested in the fourth century B.C. and in Roman times, cf. 17.0214, p.333 *infra*; the influence of οἰ in ποιέω may be suspected. For the ethnic Οἰᾶται in one tribute list, cf. 17.0214. -εῖα occurs in ὅυμεια, attested in a fourth-century inventory, cf. 16.0211, p.323 *infra*. Ἀχαῖα occurs twice in a fifth-century decree

and three times in a cat. of the early second century B.C.; Ἀχαΐα is found in two texts of Roman times, cf. 15.0128 c, p.288 *infra*. For poetical artificialities like ὁμοΐος, cf. 17.0214, p.333 *infra*.

c) It is as part of short diphthongs that the greatest variety of treatment can be seen in intervocalic iota:

αι + V. Deletion of iota occurs before ι, as in Ἀθηναίς, Πτολεμαίς, etc. for earlier Ἀθηναίς; and in certain words: Ἀθηναία, which develops to Ἀθηναῖα via Ἀθηναία by the fourth century B.C.; ἐλαία, αἰεῖ, αἰετός, which develop to ἐλάα, αἰε, αἰετός, sometimes with a long α (cf. Lejeune, *Phonétique* p.247 [= *Traité*² p.216]; Schwyzler, GG 1, p.266). Avoidance of -αος prevented deletion of iota in ἐλαιον or in adjectival forms like δικαία, δίκαια, etc. (because δίκαιος was avoided). A strong tendency to delete iota in -αιεύς, frequent suffix in demotics, can be seen in the fourth and third centuries, but later disappears with retention of iota, clear from spellings like Πειρεεύς of the Roman Period. Cf. 15.0121–15.0128, pp. 270 ff. *infra*.

ει + V. Deletion of iota occurs in demotics in -ειεύς, in Ἡρακλειώτης, and in δωρεά. There is a widespread tendency to delete iota in -ειος, -εῖα, etc. in the fourth and third centuries, but this is largely abandoned later. Retention of the diphthong in these cases can be seen in spellings like -ηος, -ήα, etc. in late Hellenistic and early Roman times, and in -ιος, -ία of Roman times. Feminine names in -εῖα show both the -ηα/-ία and the -εα spellings in Roman times. Cf. 16.021 a–i, pp.302 ff. *infra*. For Ἀλαιεύς, etc. cf. 10.03 *infra*.

οι + V. Deletion occurs in Λευκονοιεύς, Οἰθηθεν, both Attic demotics. Deletion in ποιέω is very frequent in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods, but only before e-vowels; retention of οι in ποιῶ, ποιούμεν, etc. prevented deletion of ι elsewhere and by Roman times the ποεῖν, etc. spellings have ceased. Cf. 17.021, pp.324 ff. *infra*.

υι + V. Deletion of iota here is general. By the fourth century B.C. ὕος has replaced υῖός, and participles end in -υῖα. In Roman times there is a revival of υι in υῖός, virtually universal by 50 A.D., in Εὐλείθυια and probably the participles in -υῖα. Cf. 18.01, 18.011–18.012, pp.338 ff. *infra*.

10.03 Intrusive iota

The frequent spellings of the fourth and third centuries B.C. such as Ἀλαιεύς, βασιλεία, etc. have been thought by some to be instances of intrusive iota, whether because of the development of a glide vowel between ε̃ and V, i.e. -έως changing from [e-ɔːs] to [e^hɔːs], or because of simple graphic confusion brought on by the frequent deletion of iota in -ειος, -εῖα, etc. It seems more likely, however, that the EI here indicates a closer pronunciation of ε̃ before back vowels, and is analogous to rare spellings like ἡαντοῦ etc. of Roman times. Cf. 7.03, pp. 147 ff. *supra*.

On the other hand, a comparatively rare use of OI for o before vowels, as in Βοιηδρομίων, βοιηθέω, ὀγδοίη, etc., probably is purely graphic confusion, brought on by the variation in ποιεῖν and ποεῖν. Cf. 17.022, pp.333–334 *infra*.

Intrusive iota after αι is virtually unknown. The peculiar Θηραῖος on a sep. mon., Π² 8894 (s. II/1a.), might be a dittography or an indication that the diphthong was separated from the following o by a glide vowel, i.e. [tʰe-rai^hos]. Obviously a ditto-

graphy: δικαί[ι]ως, in a deme decree, AM 49 (1924) pp.1ff., no.3, lines 1–2 (= SEG 24.153) (ca. 350); cf. εἰπε[ε]ν in the same line.

A type of intrusive iota may be seen in the spelling Τήμιος, an East Ionic form attested in tribute lists, cf. 10.02 a, p. 209 supra.

Other cases of intrusive iota are graphic mistakes, due usually to dittography, e.g. χωρ[ι]ο[ι]ν AM 49 (1924) pp.1ff., no.1, lines 10–11 (cf. SEG 24.151) (ca. 350) decree (deme).

10.04 Treatment of intervocalic iota in metrical texts

a) In pre-Roman texts there is little correlation between the presence or absence of an intervocalic iota and the demands of the metre.

ποιεῖν, ποεῖν. There are a good many certain cases of ποιεῖν among the archaic inscriptions, but there are also two certain instances of ποεῖν:

ποιε-: I² 817 (ca. 550?) ded.; IGAA p.139, no.48 (= SEG 10.452 a) (ca. 540?) sep. mon.; I² 540 (= DAA p.33, no.31; cf. FH no.172) (ca. 500?) ded.; IGAA p.122, no.14 (= GVI 1, p.46, no.161; SEG 21.199) (ca. 510–500) sep. mon.; I² 522 (s. VIa.?) graffito; DAA p.168, no.150 (= I² 521 + I² 722) (init. s. Va.) ded.; probably: ἐποῖεσεν ᾠδῶς in IGAA p.130, no.26 (ca. 500) sep. mon.; other cases uncertain.

ποιε-: IGAA p.127, no.19 (= GVI 1, p.25, no.72; I² 983, corrected) (ca. 525?) sep. mon.: μνῆμα ἐποίη; the following signature Ἐνδοῖος καὶ τόνδ' ἐποίη may also have been intended as a metrical colon (ἐποίη); I² 826 (= LSAG p.370, no.29) (475–450?) ded.: Εὐφρων ἐξεποίησ' οὐκ ἀδασῆς Πάριος (cf. 33.012, p.425 infra).

ἐπο[ι]εσεν Ἀθῆναι is perhaps more likely than κα[π]ο[ι]εσεν Ἀθῆναι in I² 510 (= DAA p.8, no.4) (ca. 525–500?); the spelling Ἀθῆναι almost certainly indicates a metrical text (ded.).

Uncertain if verse are: ἐπόεσεν I² 820 (ante ca. 490?) ded.; there is no doubt of the reading, but the metrical scheme (glyconic + adoneus) is very rare in metrical inscriptions, and one may thus doubt if verse was intended here (L.).

τόδ' ἐποίη ἡπόστρατ]οΣῆμα I² 1021 (= IGAA p.143, no.56) (ca. 550–540?) sep. mon.; here there is much uncertainty about this last stichos, and the text may have degenerated into prose at the end; but if verse was intended the scansion ἐποῖε seems unavoidable.

There seems to be little attempt to employ ποεῖν rather than ποιεῖν when the first syllable must be short, although the spelling without iota is occurring occasionally in contemporary prose texts (cf. 17.0211, p.326 infra).

εἰ/_V, ε/_V. We must begin with the post-403 examples, in which the script is no longer ambiguous.

E for εἰ/_V scanned as long: εὐκλεᾶν I² 12151 (400–350) sep. mon.; ἔη, εὐκλεᾶν I² 10780.1, 3 (init. s. IVa.) sep. mon. (known only from an early copy); οἰκέας I² 4320.2 (ante 350) ded. (priv.). Here contemporary prose texts have spellings both with and without iota (Εὐκλεῖα more often than Εὐκλεᾶ; οἰκείος, οἰκέος), and it looks as though the practices of prose inscriptions have been carried over into verse texts without regard for the metre. εὐκλεῖα occurs in other metrical texts, e.g. I² 5452 (fin. s. IVa./init. s. IIIa.), I² 7195 (post 350), I² 13113 (s. IVa.?) sep. mon. Cf. 16.021, pp.302ff.; f) no.1, p.319; i) p.323.

ε/___V scanned as short: [Τῷ]μῶνλῆϊας Peek, AG 2, p.62, no. 179 (s. IV a.) sep. mon.; possibly: μνημείον Π² 4658 (s. IV/IIIa.) ded. (priv.), uncertain if verse and scansion not entirely certain, cf. *Mnemosyne* 56 (1928) pp.220–222. There may be another example in line 1 of the defixio, IG III.3, no. 108 (date uncertain, but εἰ for ηἰ makes it fall in the period ca. 375–150 B.C.), which may be made into a good hexameter by the deletion of the word ἐγὼ on the assumption that it crept in from line 3, with a scansion Σωσίλῆϊαν; if ἐγὼ is kept and a heptameter is read, however, the scansion would be Σωσίλῆϊαν. For failure to omit iota of Τιμοκλείας, etc., although it is frequently omitted in contemporary prose texts, cf. ποιεῖν supra.

ε/___V scanned as long: Κλεῶγοῖα Π² 7265 (post 350) sep. mon.; Ἐρεχθέως Platon 9 (1955) pp.155ff. (= BCH 82 [1958] pp.364–366, fig.3; SEG 16.193) (ca. 370) sep. mon. (has Κλειόβουλος, Κλεόβουλος, cf. infra). Here, although contemporary texts frequently have spellings like Κλεῶγοῖα, βασιλέως, etc. (cf. 7.03, pp.147ff.), no attempt is made to use such spellings to produce a long syllable.

EI for ε/___V scanned as short: δεσμοῖς ἀργαλέοις IG III.3, no. 108.5 (in the period ca. 375–150 B.C., cf. supra) defixio; there is no doubt of the scansion, cf. 7.03, no.2e, pp.153, 151 supra.

Against all these examples in which no regard is given to the metre there are only two cases in which an attempt to accommodate it might be seen:

In the sep. mon., Platon 9 (1955) pp.155ff. (= BCH 82 [1958] pp.364–366, fig.3; SEG 16.193) (ca. 370), the name of the dead man is written Κλειόβολος in prose at the top of the stele, but Κλεόβολε appears in the epigram below. But it is likely that this is mere coincidence: note this same text has Ἐρεχθέως (cf. supra), and prose texts frequently contain spellings with both ε/___V and EI for ε/___V in close proximity, e.g. Μελιτέως, Μελιτέως AAA 2 (1969) p.329, no.1 (= BCH 94 [1970] p.912, no.1, fig.57; SEG 25.255) (fin. s. IVa.) sep. mon.; Φαληρέα, Φαληρέα Π² 410.18, 19 (ca. 330) decree; θεοῖν, θεοῖν Π² 1672.1–3 (329/8) inv. (L.); etc.

We may now turn to the ambiguous fifth-century examples:

πρυτανέων on an ostrakon of the 480s, cf. AJA 53 (1949) pp.266–268; AJA 51 (1947) pp.257ff., is more than likely genitive plural of πρύτανις, i.e. πρυτάνεων; as EI for ε/___ω is very rare this early, it is tempting to take this as a conscious attempt on the part of the writer to obtain a long syllable by insertion of iota, especially as the poetical form ἀλειτηρός occurs in the same text.

μᾶντεῶν in the ded., I² 503 (init. s. Va.), is probably genitive plural of μαντιά rather than μάντις; although the synizesis is a peculiar one, the ignoring of the intervocalic iota in the scansion is the same sort of thing seen in Τιμοκλείας, ποιεῖν, etc. (cf. supra). For these two examples, cf. 7.03, no. 3n, pp. 151, 156 supra; 31.00, p. 411 infra.

μνῆμα τόδ' Ἀίνεο σοφίας I² 1019 (= IGAA p.147, no.66) (ca. 510–500) sep. mon.; [A]ἰνέαι τόδε σῆμα I² 1010 (ante 446/5) sep. mon. The rarity of E as grapheme for ε/___V in fifth-century texts makes it almost certain that the Attic form of the name was Αἰνέας, probably in I² 127.2; also attested in II² 1706.69 (fin. s. IIIa.) cat. The long e seen here is the same as that in Ἐρεχθέως, Κλεῶγοῖα cited supra.

ὡνὺς Κεφαλῆος I² 571 (= DAA p.47, no.46) (460–450?) ded.; here there is some doubt whether the text is even metrical, or if it is, whether a pentameter or a hexameter was intended (cf. CSCA 10 [1977] p.194, note 9); but if the scansion is Κεφαλῆος, either Κεφαλῆως, with the

same metrical lengthening seen in Ἑρεχθέως cited supra, or Κεφαλῆος, probably a poetical form modeled on βασιλῆος, etc. of Homer, was intended. The word cannot be a peculiar nominative, nor is it likely that E is for EI for ε/___V, as E is such a rare grapheme for ει/___V in the fifth century. Κεφαλειος in the inv., I² 370.7 (421/0–416/5), is certainly for Κεφαλέως (like βασιλέως, etc.), cf. 7.03, no. 3 m, p. 155 supra. Cf. p. 642 infra.

αι/___V, α/___V. The occurrence in adjacent lines of δικαῖαν and δικαιοσύνη in the sep. mon., II² 12141.5, 4 (= GVI 1, p. 506, no. 1691) (ca. 250?) (L.), shows the same ignoring of intervocalic iota in the scansion seen in Τιμονιδείας, ποιεῖν, cited supra. There is, however, the difference that spellings like δικάα, etc. do not occur in contemporary prose texts (cf. 15.0129, p. 294 infra).

ἡεμογένης[ς] ἀνέθεκεν ἀ[π]α[ρχ]ῇ ἐν [τάθε]νῶν on a bronze ded., I² 415 (post ca. 550, cf. LSAG p. 68, note 1), perhaps shows extension of a common spelling in prose texts to verse without regard for the metre (cf. 15.0121, p. 272 infra).

b) In texts of Roman times there is a greater tendency to use spellings which will accommodate the metre. There certainly are some spellings which are virtually never encountered in contemporary prose texts:

αεί (almost never in prose of this period, cf. 15.0122, p. 276 infra), αέν (certainly poetical at Athens): αέν II² 4473.21 (s. Ia.) ded. (priv.), αεί *ib.* 7, αἰεί very probably in *ib.* 19; αἰεί II² 3811.3 (ante 250 p.) ded.; αέν II² 13173.35 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.; uncertain: αἰέν Peek, AG 2, p. 52, no. 187, line 5 (= II² 13143) (s. II p.) sep. mon.; [αἰε] I² 6146 (s. Ip.) sep. mon. The spelling αεί is normally scanned as an iamb (examples in 15.0122); exceptional is: αεί II² 10073.16 (s. II/III p.) sep. mon.

πάρ χθονὶ Πειραῆως II² 12476/7.2–3 (ca. 150 p.) sep. mon.; spellings of this type are virtually extinct by this time in prose (cf. 15.0127h infra).

έν τελέαις θυοῖαις AM 67 (1942) p. 31, no. 30 (aet. Rom.) cat. (cf. infra); Ἄρεος πάγος II² 3809.3 (s. II/III p.) ded. Spellings of this type are not found in contemporary prose texts (cf. 16.021, pp. 302 ff.).

Note also artificial spellings like the following: ἀφνεῖων II² 13125 (56/5) sep. mon., but [Κεκ]ρῶ-πέοις; ἀφνεῖων, ἀδελφεός in the Serapion monument, *Hesperia*, suppl. 8 (1949) p. 246 (ca. 220 p.); γενειᾶσκων, ἀδελφεῖων II² 13129/30 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.; τεθνεῖως II² 11491 (= AE 1939–41 Parartema p. 7, no. 24) (s. II p.) sep. mon.; ἀδελφεῖοις II² 3709.9 (ca. 250 p.) ded.; θειολόγῳ II² 3816 (s. III p.) ded. EI for ε/___V not in prose at this time (cf. 7.03).

κτίστην ἐπόησαν AM 67 (1942) p. 31, no. 30 (aet. Rom.) cat. (cf. supra); στήλλην Παρθενόνης ἱδριος γαμέτης ἐπόησεν II² 12418 (ca. 150 p.) sep. mon. ποεῖν is virtually extinct in prose texts of this period (cf. 17.0211, pp. 329 ff. infra).

There are also, however, a few unmetrical spellings in this period:

πεποῖηκα ἰκ[ε]ῖλων II² 4008.9 (s. III p.) ded.; αἰεί II² 10073 (cf. supra);

Ἄθην[α]ῖος αὐξόμενον δέ II² 3577.10 (ante 128/9 p.) ded.;

πατήρ δὲ Τρόφι[μος? ~ ~] Ὀινᾶϊός[ς] II² 6983.3–4 (s. II p.) sep. mon.

These examples show the same phenomena seen in ποιεῖν, δικαῖαν cited supra in a).

Ἄθανᾶοις II² 3118.7 (s. II p.) ded.; a peculiar poetical spelling.

Lit.: CSCA 10 (1977) pp. 178 ff.; Allen pp. 70–72.

11.00–13.00 O-vowels

11.00 The vowel o [ɔ]

11.01 Confusion of o and ε

a) In a few words an ε is assimilated to the o of an adjacent syllable; the intervening consonants are usually the liquids -λ- and -ρ- (usually in clusters with a velar: -ργ-, -ρκ-, -ρχ-), cf. 11.011–11.013, 11.015. Assimilation to [u] probably occurs in Κόρκυρα, cf. 11.014. Of the few remaining cases, o for ε may be due to assimilation in:

1) Τριπτόλομος rf. cup of the fourth century, ARV² p. 1513, no. 24 (= *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 62 [1950] plate 6.1); for the regular Τριπτόλεμος on vases, e.g. ARV² p. 459, Makron no. 3 (= CVA, England 5, plate 28.2): Τριπτόλεμος;

2) Ὀφολονίδες I² 581 (= DAA p. 310, no. 291) (init. s. Va.) ded.;

3) Ὀργάνη I² 2939 (same text as I² 4339) (s. IV a.) ded. But perhaps just confusion with ὄργανον. For Ἐργάνη, cf. e.g. I² 561, I² 4328;

4) Ἀγωνοθότης I² 682.53 (post 256/5) decree, probably just a graphic mistake; cf. ἀγωνοθέτου in *ib.* 57 (L.).

The χωρίον on Κρια[(for χωρίον ἐν Κρια[-]) in an inv., AM 67 (1942) p. 19, no. 19, line 5 (= I² 1598.29, corrected) (ca. 350), is probably due to a simple dittography; the normal χωρίον ἐν occurs *passim* elsewhere.

The two examples of οἰκότης on a defixio, IG III.3, no. 87.a 5, a 6 (400–350?), might be extension of the o-vowel of composition; οἰκέτης occurs on the other side of the tablet, cf. *ib.* b 1. Certainly due to variation in the composition vowel are Φειδόστρατος and Κερσο- ~ Κερσεβλέπτης, cf. Morphology.

Perhaps due to confusion with νομός is the peculiar Τρινομαεὺς, occurring twice on a sep. mon., I² 7573 (s. II p.). The normal spellings in this period are Τρινεμεὺς and Τρινεμαεὺς (cf. 16.021 a, no. 5, p. 307 *infra*), and the pronunciation of -μεεὺς/-μαεὺς was [me-e^s].

O. Broneer was probably correct in his interpretation of Χρομον[-], in a ded. of the beginning of the fifth century B.C., as Χρώμων, cf. *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p. 151, no. 3. A.E. Raubitschek suggested Χρομονίδης, a byform of the frequent Χρεμονίδης, cf. DAA p. 260, no. 228. The irregular scansion Χρομονίδης probably is not a major difficulty as it falls within a category of metrical licences allowing names to be inserted into the hexameter, but a new fragment with the letters -]XPOM[- should probably be added to the upper right, where R.S. Stroud points out that Χρώμων would provide a better end for the hexameter, cf. *Hesperia* 40 (1971) p. 153, no. 8. For the name Χρώμων at Athens, cf. *Hesperia* 14 (1945) p. 94, no. 8, line 2 (= I² 141/2bc + I² 174 + new fr.; cf. SEG 10.51) (ca. 430) decree, where Χρομον[is probably this name; also *Hesperia* 15 (1946) p. 171, no. 20, line 9 (s. Va.) cas. list; I² 2704.4 (s. IV a.?) mortgage horos.

The Attic spellings are θεηκολεῦν, θεηκόλος, not θεοκόλ- as found elsewhere; for the examples, cf. Morphology.

It is clear that ἡ Πληροσία and τὰ Προσέσια/Προσρόσια were not the same; cf. 40.021 b for examples and literature. For Ὀρχιεύς, cf. 11.012; for Ἴπποθεωνίς, -θωωνίς, etc., cf. Morphology.

b) The assimilation of o to ε or ι is extraordinarily rare:

1) Ἀγρετέρα (= Ἀγροτέρα) II² 4573.1 (ca. 350) ded. (priv.);

2) Ποιανειώννα (= Πυανοψιώννα) II² 2239.82 (238/9–243/4 p.) eph. cat. (L.); but this ε from ξψειν, cf. L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Vienna, 1966) p. 198, note 7.

But in II² 1367.9 (= IG III, no. 77) read Πυανοψιώνος (cf. add. to IG III). Read Μελίχῳι, not Δελίχῳι (= Δολίχῳι), in the sacred law, *Hesperia* 4 (1935) pp. 19 ff., no. 2, line 66 (L.) (cf. 9.0212 b, p. 194 supra).

Lit.: MS³ pp. 22–23, notes 112–121; Lademann p. 116; Schwyzler, GG 1, p. 255.

11.011 ὀβελός, ὀβολός, etc. The extensive study made by M. N. Tod of these words and their derivatives throughout Greece has shown that after the early period the spelling ὀβολός (derived from ὀβελός by assimilation) was reserved for the coin, ὀβελός for 'spit'. Thus ὀβελός means the coin in :θοᾶν [μέ]χοι τριῶν ὀβελῶν in the early decree I² 4.12–13 (485/4); ὀβελ[ῶν] may be the coin in I² 3.22 (485/4) decree (companion to I² 4), although Tod raises some doubts, cf. *Numismatic Chronicle* (series 6) 15 (1955) p. 126. A still earlier example of ὀβελός = 'coin' is on a mid-sixth-century vase, where ΔΥΟΒΕΛΟ = δὺ' ὀβελῶ, cf. ABV p. 136, Group E no. 50 (with lit.). But ὀβολός is the only spelling for the coin in the slightly later I² 6.88, 95 (ante 460) (for the correct text of line 95, cf. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 14 [1945] p. 77, line C12) and other fifth-century decrees, e.g. I² 22.13 (450/49, cf. SEG 23.7) (L.); I² 40.24 (ca. 446/5); I² 79.4 (ca. 425, cf. SEG 21.41); I² 140.5 (ca. 420); I² 99.8 (416/5); etc. In I² 842.c5–6 (ante 446/5), a sacred calendar, ὀβελοί refers to spits, but ὀβολός refers to them in another, cf. AM 66 (1941) pp. 171 ff., no. 1, line B8 (= SEG 10.38; 21.27) (ca. 445); these are the only examples of the words in this sense in the fifth century. It must therefore be admitted that the Attic evidence alone does not prove that ὀβελός and ὀβολός were not interchangeable without regard to meaning in Athens at this time, with the ὀβολός spelling being more favored later.

As Tod admits (cf. Lit. infra) the retention of ε in the derivatives is not entirely consistent. He explains the presence of ε or ο largely on the basis of the meaning of the derivative in question, i.e. ὀβελίσκος from ὀβελός = 'spit', τετρώβολος from ὀβολός = 'coin', but for the earlier period this is not as satisfactory as the traditional view which explains the ο of πεντῶβολος, διῶβολος, etc. as due to assimilation, while forms like διωβελία, ἡμιωβελιον—as well as ὀβελίσκος, etc.—retain the ε because no ο follows. Forms like ὀβόλιον, etc. are usually late and arose after ὀβελός and ὀβολός were no longer interchangeable.

In the various compounds such as τριῶβολον, διωβελία, etc. Attic texts have no exceptions to the usual spellings.

Lit.: M. N. Tod, *Numismatic Chronicle* (series 6) 7 (1947) pp. 1 ff.

Illustrative examples:

διωβελία: I² 304 A.10, etc. (410/9), I² 304 B.43, etc. (407/6) inventories; II² 1103.2 (ca. 124/5 p.) imperial letter: διοβελία.

For διῶβολος of *Hesperia* 4 (1935) pp. 13 ff., no. 1, line 10 (410–404) law-code fr., δὺ' ὀβολού[ς] is attractive, cf. Tod. loc. cit. p. 9.

τριῶβολον: II² 1414.20 (post 385/4), II² 1636.30 (ca. 350), II² 1672.300 (329/8), II² 1534 B. 233, 278 (247/6, cf. SEG 16.118), II² 1537.17, 24 (ca. 200) inventories.

δεκώβολον: Π² 1537.23 (ca. 200) inv.

In the inv., Π² 374.98 (= IG I, no. 324 a) read πέντ' ὀβολὸν (cf. Tod, *loc. cit.* p. 17) (L.).

ἡμωβέλιον: Π² 6.90 (= *Hesperia* 14 [1945] p. 77, line C7) (ante 460) decree; Π² 1414.6, 7 (post 385/4), Π² 1642.24 (ca. 350), Π² 1672.206 (329/8) inventories; etc.

ὀβελίσκος: Π² 313.141 (408/7), Π² 1424 a (in add.) 268 (369/8), Π² 1425.407 (368/7), Π² 1426.12 (post 368/7) inventories; etc.

ὀβελεία: Π² 1631.409 (323/2), Π² 1695.14 (s. III a.) inventories.

ὀβολός (= 'coin'): e.g. Π² 1128.13 (ante 350) decree (of Cean cities); Π² 1496.61 (334/3–331/0), Π² 1672.125 (329/8) inventories.

11.012 Ἐρχομένιος, Ὀρχομένιος. The original form Ἐρχομένιος occurs in two fifth-century texts and once on a second-century B.C. sep. mon.; the assimilated Ὀρχομένιος first appears in the late fifth century, then reappears occasionally in Hellenistic and Roman times:

Ἐρχομένιος: Π² 103.1 (412/1) decree; Π² 10036 (410–390), Π² 10034 (s. II a.) sep. monuments.

Ὀρχομένιος: *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p. 240, no. 1, line 165, cf. *Hesperia* 17 (1948) p. 34, no. 17, where B.D. Meritt first suggested Ὀρχ[ο]μένιο for the OIX.MENIO of the stone (ca. 414) inv.; Π² 10033 (post 300) sep. mon.; Π² 687.24, 39 (265/4) decree; Π² 3160.4–5 (s. I/II p.) ded.; Π² 10035 (aet. Rom.), Π² 10037 (date?) sep. monuments.

In only three cases is it possible to state which of the four towns of this name is referred to: in Π² 103 the Ἐρχ- spelling definitely refers to the Boeotian town; in Π² 687 the Ὀρχ- spelling refers to the Arcadian one; in Π² 3160 (s. I/II p.) ded., Ὀρχ- refers to the Boeotian town. The early coins of the Boeotian town (beginning ca. 550) have E, EP, or EPX, and OPX only appears ca. 338; fourth-century coins of the Arcadian town have EPX (from ca. 370 B.C. on), and OPX only appears in imperial times. Local inscriptions from Boeotian Orchomenos normally have Ἐρχ-: cf. e.g. IG VII nos. 3166–3167, 3171, 3173–3175, 3180; BCH 98 (1974) p. 641 (= *Deltion* 26 [1971] *Chronika* pp. 222–223) (all of the third century B.C.). Note both Ἐρχ- and Ὀρχ- in the contemporary text, IG VII no. 3172. A list of theorodochoi from Delphi, BCH 45 (1921) pp. 1 ff. (of the late third or early second century B.C.), uses Ὀρχ- (p. 10, line 23) for the Boeotian town, Ἐρχ- (p. 13, line 114) for the Arcadian one. For the coins cf. HN² pp. 346–347; 451.

A peculiar Ὀρχιεὺς occurs for Ἐρχιεὺς in Π² 6114 (s. I p.) sep. mon. (L.); the text is crude, cf. M for λλ and Λέοντος for Λέοντος (cf. 29.00 *infra*).

11.013 -κόντερος, -κόντορος, -κοντόριον. Forms in -κόντερος are found in Π² 23.5 (450/49?) decree; Π² 1649.6 (ca. 350), Π² 1627.412–3 (330/29) (L.), Π² 1628.212 (326/5) inventories. The spellings in -κόντορος (probably due to assimilation) occur in Π² 1629.128, 145, 168 (325/4), Π² 1632.6–7 (323/2) (L.) inventories. For the diminutive only τριακοντόριον is found, perhaps an accident of preservation, but in both cases the text also contains -κόντερος, cf. τριακοντορίων in Π² 1627.16 and Π² 1628.207, inventories just cited for τριακόντερος.

11.014 Κέρκυρα, Κόρυρα, etc. The earlier Κέρκυρα developed to Κόρυρα with assimilation of ε to the following υ (= [u]). Such an assimilation would have had to have arisen in Attica before υ → [y], unless a local form was introduced from outside. The latter assumption is attractive, especially as the earliest inscribed coins (ca. 450) have KOP, which remains normal at all periods (cf. *HN*² pp.325–326). The earliest Attic example has Koq- (cf. no.8), perhaps an accident of preservation; there are no more examples which can be precisely dated until the year 375/4, when two decrees of that year have Koq- and Keq- respectively (cf. nos.2, 9). A sep. mon. with Keq- is probably not much later than ca. 400 (no.1). After 300 B.C. Koq- is more frequent, although Keq- occurs once in the Roman Period (no.7).

Lit.: MS³ p.22, note 116; Schwyzler, *GG* 1, pp.183, 255.

Examples:

Κέρκυρα, Κερκυραῖος, etc.:

- 1) Π² 9011 (ca. 400) sep. mon.;
- 2) Π² 96.6 (375/4) decree (L.);
- 3) Π² 5224.2 (375) public sep. mon.;
- 4) Π² 403.11 (350–320) decree (L.);
- 5) Π² 9010 (post 350) sep. mon.;
- 6) Π² 9015 (post 350) sep. mon.;
- 7) Π² 3944.2 (s. Ip.) ded. (L.).

Κόρυρα, Κορυραῖος, etc.:

- 8) Π² 295.1, 7, etc. (433/2) inv. (L.);
- 9) Π² 97.1, 3, etc. (375/4) decree;
- 10) Κορυραῖον Π² 574.10 (fin. s. IV a.) decree;
- 11) Π² 2316.7, 9, etc. (ca. 166/5) cat.;
- 12) Π² 9012 (s. Ia.) sep. mon.;
- 13) Π² 9013 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.;
- 14) Π² 9014 (s. I/Ip.) sep. mon.

11.015 Ἀλωπεκοννήσιος, Ἀλωποκοννήσιος. Four of the fifth-century tribute lists have the assimilated form Ἀλωποκοννήσιος; the other spelling occurs on two of them and on a fourth-century inv.

Ἀλωπεκοννήσιος: Π² 195.26 (= *ATL* 2, no.5, col.5.14) (450/49); Π² 210.8 (= *ATL* 2, no.20) (435/4); cf. [Ἀ]λ[ω]πε[κ]ονν[ή]σιοι on lost fragment B of Π² 1443.97 (344/3) inv.

Ἀλωποκοννήσιος: Π² 199, col.5.25 (= *ATL* 2, no.9, col.5.18) (446/5); Π² 218, col.3.44 (= *ATL* 2, no.25, col.3.53) (430/29); Π² 63.147 (= *ATL* 2, no. A9, col.3.83) (425/4); Π² 220, col.3.23 (= *ATL* 2, no.34, col.2.77) (421/0).

11.02 Confusion of o and υ

In a decree and an inventory of the fourth century (forty years apart) the peculiar spelling προτανε- occurs, in both cases alongside the usual spelling:

- 1) Π² 1672 (329/8) inv.: προτανεῖα in lines 8, 11, 101, 114, 142; προτανεῖα in 37, 44, 137 (L.);

2) II² 656.6 (284/3) decree: ἐπρωτάνευσ[α]ν, but πρωτανεία[ν] *ib.* 7 (L.);

3) A similar example occurs in an eph. cat. of 45/6 A.D., II² 1969.17, where the name Πρωτανίς (cf. II² 1970.52, Πρωτανίς = the same person) is spelled Πρώτανις.

These spellings are most likely due to confusion with the common prefix προ-. Otherwise they may indicate a tendency in the speech of some persons to assimilate the υ to the α of the following syllable. The same phenomenon occurs at Lesbos (cf. Buck, *GD*² p. 369), but there is no reason to associate the two variants.

A doubtful case of υ assimilated to ο is W. Peek's interpretation of the Αλοπος|λυ-βοος of II² 10634 (s. Ia.) sep. mon. as "Αλυπος Λίβυος, cf. *AM* 67 (1942) p. 117, no. 243.

The spelling of fourth-century inventories is ὄμβος, not ῥόμβος; cf. II² 1517.207 (353/2–341/0), II² 1456.49 (post 341/0). This is in agreement with the testimony of the grammatical literature (cf. *LSJ* s.v. ῥόμβος). But it seems likely that [.]όνβος should be interpreted as a name Ῥόμβος in a dedication dated ca. 570–560, cf. I² 469 (= *LSAG* p. 77, no. 17).

In the spelling Τρικυρυσίου (= Τρικορυσίου) of II² 7557 (ca. 350) sep. mon. the ο has been assimilated to the υ of the following syllable; the liquid ς and perhaps the κ encouraged the assimilation. The orthography of the text is quite crude: Καλλιστομάχη is spelled Καλλιστομάκη.

There is no reason to suppose the person responsible for the graffito Κόλιξ on an Attic vase found at Al Mina was Athenian, cf. *AE* 1953/54 Part 1, p. 205, no. 10.

Lit.: *MS*³ p. 24, note 125.

11.03 Confusion of ο and ι. It seems unlikely that ο and ι are ever confused. The Δαικράτης in line 1 of *AE* 1957 p. 44, no. 1 (= *SEG* 18.120) (init. s. IV a.) sep. mon. is almost surely a clerical error: the stone-cutter repeated iota by mistake, left it with the intention of later correcting it and then forgot to do so, cf. the correct Δαιοκράτης in *ib.* 7. The correct reading in line 10 of *Hesperia* 16 (1947) p. 163, no. 61 is φιλο-τίμως (L.).

11.04 ο ~ ου

11.041 ο ~ ου in Greek words. Confusion of ο and ου is scarcely found in Attic texts in Greek words. Quite without parallel is Διουμήδης in II² 6503.2 (act. Rom.) sep. mon.; [u] for [o] is probably because of following [m]? The ουτου (= δτου) of II² 1183.30 (post 340) decree (deme) is a clerical error (cf. 8.01, no. 7, p. 162 *supra*; 42.012 *infra* and Koehler's note printed in *IG* II²) (L.).

As personal names both Πολυδάμας and Πουλυδάμας are attested at Athens: Πολυδάμας: II² 1753.42 (ca. 330) pry. cat.; probably II² 1613.214 (353/2) inv. Πουλυδάμας: II² 4375.2 (ca. 350) ded. (priv.); *Hesperia* 30 (1961) pp. 30ff., line 57 (336/5) cat. In II² 1446.2 (375/4) inv. Πολυδάμας might be for Πουλυδάμας or Πουλυδάμας (with Ο = [ο·], cf. 13.022); so also Πολυδάμας in II² 12484 (ca. 350?) sep. mon., but II² 1753 is certainly too late for Ο = [ο·].

The name Πουλυτίων is attested from Athens: II² 1700.60 (335/4) cat., although the stone is now too worn for confirmation of the reading (L.); cf. *PA* no. 12154 for references in literary texts to another man of this name.

The normal Attic reflex of -ορ/___V was -ὄρ/___V; rare cases of -ουρ/___V (← -ὄρ/___V) are probably Ionisms, cf. Schwyzler, *GG* 1, p. 228.

Κόρη, but Κουροτόφος. Κόρη on archaic dedications and Κοροτόφος on sacred calendars of the early fourth century B.C. are ambiguous because O could be for [o] or [σ] (= later ου), but the value of O in these early spellings may be safely inferred from the invariable practice of later times.

κόρη: cf. Π² 4640 (post 350), Π² 4663 (s. IV/III a.), Π² 4690 (init. aet. Rom.), Π² 4748 (s. I/II p.), Π² 4778 (post 150 p.), Π² 4822 (ca. 200 p.), Π² 4841.9 (fin. s. IV p.), Π² 4867 (date?) all dedications (priv.); Π² 2971.4 (ca. 315/4), Π² 3468 (s. III/II a.), Π² 3478.6 (post 150), Π² 3480.6 (ca. 100), Π² 3490.6 (ca. 50), Π² 3507.3 (fin. s. I a.), Π² 3499.5 (s. I a.) all dedications; Π² 1187.26–27 (ca. 350) decree (deme); Π² 1009.7 (116/5), Π² 1028.30 (101/100, cf. *SEG* 24.188) decrees; etc. κούρη occurs only in metrical texts, cf. Π² 3674.1 (s. II/III p.), where it is necessary for the metre and is alongside several non-Attic poetical spellings; so also Κόρη must be scanned as a spondee in the archaic ded., *DAA* p. 10, no. 6, line 1 (= I² 548 + I² 663) (527–514); etc.

κουροτόφος: cf. Π² 4709 (s. I a.), Π² 4717 (init. s. I p.), Π² 4755 (s. I/II p.), Π² 4756 (s. I/II p.), Π² 4757 (date?), Π² 4778 (post 150 p.), Π² 4869 (date?), all dedications (priv.); Π² 1039.58 (79/8, cf. *SEG* 22.110) decree; Π² 5131, Π² 5152, Π² 5153 (aet. Rom.) labels on theatre-seats; Π² 5183.3 (s. I/II p.) sign; etc.

The spelling Κοροτόφο on an altar, Π² 5004 (aet. Hadriani), is a conscious archaism, cf. 13.03, cf. p. 259 *infra*.

Διοσκούριδης: This was certainly the Attic spelling of the name, cf. Π² 128.4 (356/5), Π² 478.50 (305/4) decrees; etc. (cf. Indices to *IG* II, p. 16, to *IG* II.5, p. 314, to *IG* III, p. 340); cf. also third-century B.C. lead pinakia identifying horses of the hippeis, *AM* 85 (1970) p. 210, nos. 113 ff.; *Hesperia* 46 (1977) p. 116, no. 37. The only attestation of Διοσκούριδης is Π² 9476 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon. of a Milesian. If the restoration is right, Διοσκούριδης in Π² 218.7 (347/6) decree has O = ου, cf. Εὐβόλιδης *ib.* 6 and Διοσκούριδης *passim al.*

The spelling of Διόσκουροι for the Classical Period must remain uncertain: Διόσκω in the cat., Π² 1932.15 (400–350), could be for Διόσκω or Διόσκύω (O = [σ] frequently in this text). Ἀνάκων τε Διόσκουροι occurs on an altar of the second century A.D., Π² 4796, where, however, ου is necessary for the scansion.

The man's personal name is always Διόσκορος: Π² 2130.189 (192/3 p.) eph. cat. (certainly an Athenian), Π² 2235.105 (226/7–234/5 p.) eph. cat. (certainly an Athenian); Π² 2245.458 (262/3 aut 266/7 p.) eph. cat. (not an Athenian); cf. Π² 2288 (aet. Rom.) small fr., probably from an eph. cat.

For Ἀπατούριος ← Ἀπατόριος, cf. 13.01, p. 239 *infra*.

The ethnic Συρακόσιος has always o: e.g. Π² 101.2 (373/2), Π² 105 + Π² 523 (cf. *Hesperia* 7 [1938] p. 627, no. 2), line 36 (368/7) (L.) decrees; I² 1081 (= Π² 10389) (ca. 450? cf. *LSAG* p. 275, no. 10), Π² 10394 (init. s. IV a., but has OY = [σ] elsewhere), Π² 10395, Π² 10398 (post 350), Π² 10390, Π² 10392 (s. III a.), Π² 10396, Π² 10399 (s. II a.), Π² 10391, Π² 10393 (s. II/1 a.), Π² 10397 (date?) sep. monuments. But the name of the city is Συράκουσα(σ)αι: Συρακοῦσας Π² 584.6 (fin. s. IV a.) decree (for -σσ-, cf. 43.01361, p. 524 *infra*).

Lit.: MS³ p. 27, notes 140–141.

11.042 O ~ OY for Latin u/___CC (Σεκο(ϋ)νδος, etc.)

Latin u followed by a consonant cluster is often transliterated into Greek as O rather than OY. Thus: Καλπόρνιος, Κόρτιος, Πόλχερ, Ὀρβανός, Ῥόβριος, Σατορνεῖλος, Σατορνῖνος, Σεκόνδος, Σολπίκιος, Φόλβιος, etc. Normally such spellings occur only in the earlier Roman Period and cease about A.D. 100–110; Σατορνεῖλος (this is the only spelling of the name attested at Athens) and a late example of Καλπόρνιος are exceptional here.

Very rarely the reverse occurs, OY for Latin o/___CC, e.g. Πουστούμιος in the eph. cat., Π² 2193.29 (198/9–205/6, cf. Graindor, *Album* p.55) (L.) (cf. *ib.* 126, where the reading could not be confirmed); although in this word assimilative tendencies may be at work. Πόστομος is also attested at Athens, cf. *Hesperia* 10 (1941) pp.82ff., no.35, line 11 (= Π² 1089 + new fr.) (ca. 132 p.) imp. document.

In the eph. cat., Π² 2103.112 (172/3 p. aut paulo post), the spelling Μουντανός may be due to confusion of Μουνδανός (← Mundanus) and Μοντανός (← Montanus), the latter attested Π² 2097.184 (169/70 p.) eph. cat.

In certain cases O was standard in Greek for Latin u/___CC: Πόπλιος (cf. Indices to *IG* III p.368), corresponding to the earlier Latin spelling, cf. Poplicola (Ποπλικόλας attested, Π² 4230, ded. of just after 50 B.C., etc.); Μόμμιος (cf. Eckinger p.61), attested Π² 4170 (init. s. Ip.) ded.

Y for u/___CC occurs in: Βενύστος (two certain cases), cf. Π² 1973.45 (40/1–53/4 p.), Π² 2212.47 (init. s. IIP.); for Βενοῦστος Π² 2086.94 (163/4 p.), Π² 2103.77 (172/3 p. aut paulo post) all eph. catalogs; cf. Π² 12444 (s. IIP.) sep. mon.: Βενυσ[τος] or του?. Also in the spelling Βενόστος in an inscription from Delphi, cf. Eckinger p.64. ΣΑΓΥ|ΡΥΝο°Υ (Fourmont's reading) Π² 7677 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon., is probably not = Σατυρνῖνου. Cf. 11.043 *infra*.

The following are attested in Attic texts only with the spelling OY for [u]/___CC:

Ἄβουρνία, Π² 4731.1 (s. Ip.) ded. (priv.), has Κουρίται; Ἀρρουντιανός, *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p.254, no.59 (s. IIP.) ded.; Ἰουκοῦνδος, Ἰοῦγκος, Ἰοῦστος (cf. Indices to *IG* III p.385); Λουκρήτις Π² 9750 (s. IIP.) sep. mon. (cf. 28.01, no.43); Μουνδίκιος (cf. Indices to *IG* III p.362); Μοῦνδος Π² 1733.14 (init. s. Ip.) cat.; Οὔλιος (cf. Indices to *IG* III pp.366, 384); Ῥουσιτικός, e.g. Π² 2097.135 (169/70 p.) eph. cat.; Σαλουστιανός (cf. Indices to *IG* III p.386); Φοῦσκος, e.g. Π² 2023.33, 74 (ca. 112 p.) eph. cat.; Ὠροῦνκος Π² 1349.8 (138–161 p.) letter (of technitai?) to an emperor; etc.

Illustrative examples:

Καλπόρνιος: Π² 4162.2 (bis), Π² 4163.2 (init. s. Ip.), Π² 4214 (ca. 160 p.) dedications.

Καλπούρνιος: Π² 11492 (s. IIP.) sep. mon. (L.); Π² 4213.2 (ca. 160 p.) ded.; Π² 2208.133 (212/3 p. aut paulo post), Π² 2245.6, 300 (262/3 aut 266/7 p.) both eph. catalogs; cf. Καρπούνιος Π² 2242.33 (238/9 aut 242/3 p.) eph. cat. (cf. 40.03).

Κόρτιος: *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p.186, no.116, line 30 (ca. 20) decree, Π² 4486.8 (fin. s. Ip.) ded. (priv.).

Κούρτιος: Κουρτ-- Π² 2138.18 (s. IIP.) eph. cat. (L.); Κούρτις Π² 2245.452 (262/3 aut 266/7 p.) eph. cat. (cf. 28.01, no.60); Κουρίτα(ι) Π² 4731 (s. Ip.) ded. (priv.).

Ὀρβανός (= Urbanus): Π² 2045.7 (post 136/7 p.) eph. cat., the full name is Σουλπίκιος Ὀρβανός(!).

Οὐρβανός: II² 1348.7 (ca. 150 p.) letter to an emperor (of technitai of Dionysus).

Πόλχερ: II² 4109.2 (ca. 50) ded. (L.).

Ποῦλχ[ρον: *Deltion* 25 (1970) p. 54, no. 1 (post 131/2 p.) ded.

Ῥόβριος: II² 2338.65 (27/6–18/7) cat.: Γάιος [Ῥό]βριος Παλλη(νεύς).

Σατορν(ε)ῖλος: II² 2018.30 (init. s. II p.), II² 2067.148 (154/5 p.), II² 2165.14 (s. II p.), II² 2245.119 (262/3 aut 266/7 p.) all eph. catalogs; II² 4946 (s. II/III p.) ded.

Σατορνίνος: II² 4194 (fin. s. I p.) ded.; Σατουρνίνος (the same man) II² 4195 (fin. s. I p.) ded.; Σατορνείνου: *Hesperia*, suppl. 13 (1970) pp. 3ff., line E 35 (ca. 175 p.) imp. letter. For Σατορνίνος, cf. p. 220 supra.

Σεκόνης: II² 3008.6 (ca. 112 p.) ded.

Σεκόνης: II² 6367 (ante 50 p.) sep. mon.; Σακόνδα II² 5628 (fin. s. Ia./init. s. I p.) sep. mon. (cf. 6.01 c, p. 121 supra).

Σεκοῦνδος: e.g. II² 2962.16 (s. II p.), II² 3642 (192/3 p.), II² 3659 (ca. 200 p.) dedications; *Hesperia* 29 (1960) p. 29, no. 37, line 9 (ca. 170–190 p.), *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p. 188, line 30 (ca. 200 p.), II² 1945.96 (45/6 p.) catalogs; II² 1814.20 (ca. 200 p.), II² 1820.27 (ca. 200 p.), II² 1832.15 (ca. 231/2 p.) pryt. catalogs; II² 2017.27 (paulo post 102 p.), II² 2023.4 (ca. 112 p.), II² 2097.146 (169/70 p.), II² 2106.20 (ca. 178/9 p.), II² 2113.191 (184/3–191/2 p.), II² 2115.51 (180/1–191/2 p.), II² 2125.16, 29 (190–200 p.), II² 2128.215 (190–200 p.), II² 2132.24, 25 (ca. 192/3 p.), II² 2211.5 (init. s. III p.), II² 2235.83 (226/7–234/5 p.), II² 2245.376 (262/3 aut 266/7 p.) eph. catalogs; II² 2481.10 (ca. 200 p.) cat. fr.; etc.

Σεκοῦνδα: II² 4059.3–4 (ante 128/9 p.) ded.; II² 6944 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.

Σεκουνδῶλα: II² 4062.4 (post 128/9 p.) ded.; II² 10978 (s. II p.) sep. mon.; *Hesperia* 29 (1960) p. 29, no. 37, line 2 (ca. 170–190 p.) cat.

Σολπι-, Σολφικι-: II² 4157 (ante 15 p.), II² 4236.2 (aet. Augusti), II² 4237.2, 3 (aet. Augusti) dedications; cf. *Ιολύκιον* on the small fragment, *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p. 60, no. 23.

Σουλπι-: II² 2045.7 (post 136/7 p.), II² 2051.53, 54 (144/5–149/50 p.), II² 2155.20 (= SEG 12.115.48) (ca. 163–170 p.) all eph. catalogs; Σολ[υπι]κιανός *Hesperia* 12 (1943) p. 73, no. 22, line 6 (= II² 4076 a + new fr.) (paulo post 160/1 p.) ded.

Φόλβιος: *Hesperia* 33 (1964) p. 198, no. 50, line 4 (fin. s. Ia.) decree: Φόλβιον.

Φούλουιος, Φούλβιος: II² 2021.13 (ante 112/3 p.) eph. cat.; II² 3581.3 (ante 150 p.), II² 4216.6 (ante 205 p.) both dedications.

In the sep. mon., II² 10163 (fin. s. Ia.), read not Σπόρκιος, but [Μᾶρκω]ς Πόρκιος, cf. *Hesperia* 31 (1962) p. 393.

Lit.: Eckinger pp. 58–65.

11.043 O ~ OY for Latin u (Λουκίλιος, Ἰούλιος, etc.)

a) Attic Y was an unsatisfactory grapheme for Latin u because it was pronounced [y] or [yʰ]. Hence Latin u was normally transliterated OY in Attic, and the influence of Attic (and Ionic) was sufficient to insure a similar use of OY for Latin u in most Greek of Roman times.

Except when in very weak syllables a Latin u will normally be rendered by OY, and hence the normal spellings Λουκῆλιος, Μουνάτιος, Μουσώνιος, Νουμάτιος, Ἰούλιος, ῥοῦφος, etc. (cf. Indices to *IG* III, pp.384–386); ἀννώρη[ο]ν for annorum, cf. *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p.244, no.44 (113–120p.?) sep. mon.; Σουμτουάριος, Sump-tuarius, both in *IP* 13018 (ca. 50p.) sep. mon.; Ἰνγένονος *Hesperia*, suppl. 13 (1970) pp.3ff., lines E43, E56, E81, E85 (ca. 175p.) imp. letter; etc.

There are certain exceptions to the avoidance of Y for Latin u. For -ull- the normal spelling was -υλλ-, as in Συλλ-, cf. *IP* 4103.3 (83) ded.; *IP* 2051, at top (144/5–149/50p.) eph. cat., this same man in *IP* 3194.3, *IP* 3011.10 (144/5–149/50p.) dedications; etc.; Τύλλιος, cf. *IP* 2067.58 (154/5p.), *IP* 2193.123, 171 (198/9–205/6p., cf. Graindor, *Album* p.55) (L.) eph. catalogs; *IP* 3163.1, 28 (post aet. Hadriani) ded. But OY was normal in -ullius elsewhere, as in Οὐιβούλλιος, etc., cf. Indices to *IG* III, p.384. There is variation between O and Y in the suffixes -ullus, -ulla, cf. e.g. Ἰστυλλὰ, Κάτυλλον(bis) *IP* 4159 (init. s. Ip.) ded.; Τερτυλλὰ, e.g. *IP* 4072.3 (ca. 150p.) ded.; *IP* 2776.96 (aet. Trajani, cf. *Hesperia* 41 [1972] p.476) financial doc.; probably in *IP* 12770 (date?) sep. mon.; but Λεύκολλος, cf. *IP* 4104, *IP* 4105 (both ca. 71), *IP* 4233 (post 50) dedications. Y was also normal in Lutatius, e.g. Αυτάτιος *Hesperia* 23 (1954) p.254, no.36 (ca. 75–61) ded.; Αυτατία *IP* 4235 (fin. s. Ia./init. s. Ip.) ded.; but [Λ]ουτατιανός in *Deltion* 25 (1970) *Chronika* p.72, plate 64a (= *BCH* 96 [1972] p.606, p.612, fig.52; *IP* 10347a, in text) (s. Ip.) sep. mon. There also occur Λύκας (cf. 28.01, no.53) Λουκίου *IP* 1783.40 (post 216p.) pryt. cat.; Λυκίου *IP* 2052.30 (145/6p.) eph. cat. (L.); but Λύκος is a native Greek name. In all these cases of Y for Latin u the vowel is before or after an -l(l)-, which is probably the reason for the variation from the normal OY; in Λύκος the influence of λύκος may also have played a part. For Ἀκύλιος, Κύντος ~ Κοίντος, cf. 37.02, p.447 infra.

For Lucius both Λούκιος and Λεύκιος were very popular (cf. Indices to *IG* III, p.383); in the latter, EY for u has no phonetic significance, but was due to attempts to Hellenize the name by making it resemble the Greek word λευκός: note Μουνάτιος alongside Λεύκιος in *IP* 4112 (43a.) ded.; etc. EY is not used for Latin u in other words with the exception of Λεύκολλος. The Λευκ- spelling is favored in the earlier Roman Period and is rare after 200 A.D.; the Λουκ- spelling becomes frequent in the second century and is preferred in the third (cf. Eckinger p.71).

Note that when OY = ū it may be scanned as short in metrical texts: Πουθεντα scanned ~ ~ ~ like Latin Pudens in the sep. mon., *IP* 13012 (ca. 150p.?), cf. *JHS* 46 (1926) pp.45–46, no.2 and fig.2. The text dates to about the period when there is abundant evidence of loss of quantitative distinction in vowels, although the traditional prosodic rules are normally maintained in poetry in all but illiterate texts (cf. 25.00). It also has Φορτοῦνᾶτωι.

b) When in very weak syllables Latin u was a reduced vowel with no precise Greek equivalent and was normally omitted in Greek transliteration, cf. ῥήγλος, Λέντλος, for Regulus, Lentulus, etc. (cf. 28.03). Where such vowels are indicated in Attic texts, O is the usual grapheme, cf. Πόστομος *Hesperia* 10 (1941) pp.82ff., no.35, line 11 (= *IP* 1089 + new fr.) (paulo post 132p.) imp. doc.; Δέκομος *IP* 1028.156 (bis) (101/100, cf. *SEG* 24.188) decree (cf. 28.03); Κανολήμος *IP* 4136 (fin. s. Ia.) ded., cf. Kirchner's note in *IG* II²: this man or a member of his family in *CIL* 9, no.786 (5 B.C.): ...nnius L. f. Canul(eius) Crispus etc.; ἐν Ποτιόλοις *IP* 3169/70.16 (253–257p.) ded.; Ποτωλανός *IP* 2164.30 (ante 180p., cf. *SEG* 12.120) eph. cat.; Ποτιολανός *IP* 13217 (s. II/IIIp.) sep. mon.; Ἀππολήμος *Hesperia* 15

(1946) p.234, no.66 (aet. Rom.) ded.; Ἀπολήιος Π² 1774.12 (167/8 p.) pryt. cat. (L.) (in this word, however, the possibility of influence of Ἀπόλλων also exists); Ῥοτῶλιος, Ῥοτειλία Π² 4183 (ca. 50 p.), Π² 4241 (ca. 50 p.) dedications; *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p.287, no. 179 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.; Κ]ατόλαν Π² 4239 (init. s. Ip.) ded.; etc. But Παντουλήιος in Π² 3300.10 (132 p.) ded.

E is normal in Νεμέριος (= Numerius), possibly an assimilation (cf. Eckinger p.68); e.g. Νεμέριος Π² 2461.97 (ca. 50/49, cf. SEG 23.92), Π² 2462.3 (ca. 50) both catalogs; Π² 2468.16 (fin. s. Ia.) pryt. cat.; Π² 4814 (s. II/III p.) ded.; Π² 6439, Π² 10145 (both s. Ip.), Π² 5770 (aet. Rom.) sep. monuments; etc. OY occurs by exception in Νουμήριος (cf. 8.01, no.50, p.164 supra), Π² 1832.25 (ca. 231/2 p.) pryt. cat. (HP is certain, L.). Cf. Νεμετώριος Π² 5322 (s. Ip.) sep. mon. The spellings in Ne- perhaps influenced by native Greek names like Νεμήνιος Π² 10292 (s. Ip.) sep. mon. (but for this name Νουμήνιος is the usual spelling, cf. Indices to IG III, p.365).

The fondness for O in the inflectional terminations -ος, -ον for Latin -us, -um is purely a matter of Hellenization of Latin and is not an accurate transliteration of the sounds (contrast ἀνώρουμ and Ἰνγένουος cited in a) supra).

In certain other cases O was standard for Latin u, perhaps because of attempts to find similar Greek words to render the Latin; cf. Σπόρος, Σπόριος (cf. Indices to IG III, p.372).

For the dropping of OY in Ἰανάρι(ο)ς for Ἰανουάρι(ο)ς, cf. p.447 infra.

Lit.: Eckinger pp.58–65.

12.00 The vowel ω

For use of Ω before 403 B.C., cf. 2.01, 2.022; for $\Omega = [\sigma]$ (later $\sigma\upsilon$), cf. 2.034; for $\sigma\iota \sim \omega\iota$, cf. 17.03; $\omega \sim \omega\iota$, 22.00.

12.01 Confusion of ω and o

There are scarcely any examples of confusion between Ω and O (which can represent either [δ] or [σ]) in the first texts in the Ionic script. Two cases probably dating from the early fourth century can probably be assigned to difficulties with the new script, as can a few graffiti (cf. 2.04, pp.49ff. supra); there is considerable confusion between the values of Ω and O in the dipinti in the period ca. 460–420 (cf. 2.033, p.47 supra) which may also be attributed to unfamiliarity with Ionic letters.

After about the middle of the fourth century B.C. there are occasional examples of confusion of Ω and O, sometimes even in public documents. These are likely to be an indication that the two vowels are approaching each other in quality in this period after the other long o-vowel has passed from [σ] to [u]. Examples of $\Omega \sim O$ remain rather rare, in marked contrast to the papyri, in which ω and o are frequently confused by the second century B.C. (cf. 12.011 infra). The loss of quantitative distinction in vowels made ω and o fully identical, probably by 150 A.D. (cf. 25.00 infra). There is an increase in the number of cases of confusion of Ω and O about

this time. Such confusion, however, is normally confined to a few lexical items, and there is no wholesale confusion of Ω and O even in the third century A.D. except in a very few crude texts (cf. 12.012 *infra*).

12.011 Confusion of ω and o ca. 350–ca. 30 B.C.

In this period confusion of Ω and O is rare and largely confined to monuments of a fairly crude character. A number of the examples are private sepulchral monuments (e.g. nos. 9, 11, 17, 18, 23, 24, 28, 31, 35, 36, 39–42). But there certainly are examples on public texts, including state decrees (e.g. nos. 2, 13, 14, 20, 22, 27, 30, 33, 34, 38). In many cases there is an O or Ω in an adjacent syllable, which may have contributed to the anomalous spelling, e.g. Μικίονος, [Λ]εύκονος, ὥπως, ὥμωσαν, Ἀπωλώδωρος, Θωδώρα, Ἀντιγώνωι. In others factors besides mere confusion of [o] and [ɔ] could be the explanation for the spellings, e.g.: Ἀπολλόδωτος, influence of Ἀπολλόδωρος?; confusion with derivatives in νεω- in Νεωστράτη, etc.; confusion with λεοντ- (← λέων) in Λεοντίς (this spelling also found in Roman times, cf. 12.012 *infra*); tendency to shorten ω/—V followed by synaeresis in Ζοῖλος (Ζοῦλος?) (cf. p. 412 *infra*). There nonetheless remains a group of examples on public texts which are not of this type; especially interesting are no. 10, with three cases of O for Ω, a decree of troops and the Eleusinians of the late third century, and no. 14, a state decree showing both O for Ω and H for E, and dating to the year 140/39.

The genitive Σινοπέος in the sep. mon. Π² 10329 (post 350), is clearly the genitive in -εος current in Ionic and the basis of the later Koine genitives in -εος; cf. the non-Attic genitive in the patronymic Ἡρακλείδω in the same text. But there are also some of these genitives in -εος in a purely Attic context, cf. Χολαργέος Π² 7784 (ante 350), Πειραέος AM 67 (1942) p. 219, no. 6 (ca. 350) sep. monuments; δ[ι]αδόσεος Π² 1749.76 (341/0) pryt. cat.; perhaps ΑΧΑΡ-ΝΕΟΞ in the ded., Π² 561 (L.), if correctly dated by Raubitschek to the fourth century (cf. 2.04, p. 51 *supra*). These genitives in -εος are probably not simple confusion of o and ω, but variant morphemes, perhaps influenced by Ionic. They are also found in Roman times, when they are certainly just the Koine forms. Cf. Morphology.

Confusion of Ω and O is characteristic of semi-literate texts such as fourth-century defixiones, cf. *Kerameikos* 3, p. 97, no. 9; cf. Peek's remarks, *Kerameikos* 3, p. 99. Cf. the graffiti: Τῆμω-Ξένου *Agora* 21, p. 40, no. F160 (325–300); probably πη κακοδαίμων is for πῖε κακόδαμον on another, *Agora* 21, p. 54, no. G15 (s. IIIa.), although Lang now takes πη as subjunctive, which would make κακοδαίμων a nominative; but a vocative κακοδαίμων is also attested.

Lit.: MS³ p. 24, note 128; p. 138, note 1202; p. 140, note 1216; Lademann pp. 116, 118; Sturtevant pp. 46–47; Mayser-Schmoll pp. 73–76.

Examples:

O for Ω, ca. 350–ca. 30 B.C.:

- 1) Εὐδότειον Π² 1582.52 (= *Hesperia* 19 [1950] p. 244, no. 16) (342/1) inv. (of mines) (L.).
Εὐδώτειον in Π² 1583.21 (ca. 350) and *Hesperia* 19, p. 267, no. 21, line 19 (350–300);
- 2) Ἀμπακισιῶν Π² 403.9 (350–320) decree (L.);
- 3) Ἀλοπεκῆθεν *Hesperia* 40 (1971) p. 257, no. 5 (fin. s. IVa.) ded.;

- 4) θαώσει for θwάσει Π² 1362.14 (fin. s. IV a.) edict issued by a priest;
- 5) Ζοῖλος Π² 1956.123 (fin. s. IV a.) cat.; see also a), Notes and Corrections *infra*;
- 6) ὄν for ὠν Π² 1265.11 (ca. 300) decree (eranistai);
- 7) Λεοντίς Π² 1534 A.93 (291/0, cf. SEG 16.118) inv. (L.);
- 8) Τίμων *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p. 59, no. 17, line 7 (265–250) pryt. cat.;
- 9) ἀπέδοκαν Π² 12141.8 (= GVI 1, p. 506, no. 1691) (ca. 250?) sep. mon. (in verse, ω necessary for the scansion). Really ca. 250 B.C.? cf. ἄπιμ, cf. 9.022, no. 15; and αι scanned as short, cf. 10.04 a, p. 213 *supra* (L.);
- 10) τὸν for τῶν Π² 1299.11 (post 236/5) decree (troops and Eleusinians), παραγγελέτοσαν *ib.* 40, ὀρθός *ib.* 48 (L.);
- 11) Γνώμη Π² 11024 (s. III a.) sep. mon.;
- 12) ἀπο[ο]φασίστος (adverb) Π² 1323.9–10 (197/6) decree (thiasotai);
- 13) Τέχνονα *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p. 147, no. 82, line 2 (169/8–148/7) decree;
- 13 a) περὶ τοῦτον IG II, no. 438.11 (= Π² 984) (ca. 150) decree;
- 14) ὄν for ὠν *Hesperia* 17 (1948) p. 17, no. 9, line 6 (140/39) decree, ἦν for ἐν in *ib.* line 16, cf. 8.01, no. 31;
- 15) Μικίωνος Π² 3477.9 (post 150) ded.;
- 16) τὸν for τῶν Π² 1134.106 (117/6) decree (amphiktyonic, in Koine);
- 17) Σοτηρικὸς Π² 12746 (s. II a.) sep. mon.;
- 18) [Λ]εῦκονος Π² 6646.2 (s. II a.) sep. mon.; crude, cf. Λαμπρέως *ib.* 3.

Doubtful examples:

- 19) Λεόφιλος Π² 1927.50 (post 350) cat.; for Λεώφιλος cf. Π² 1197.9 (ca. 330);
- 20) ἀναλόμασιν Π² 399.17 (320/19) decree; seen only by Fourmont, cf. M. Raoul-Rochette, *Antiquités grecques du Bosphore-cimmérien* (Paris, 1821) pp. 174–179;
- 21) Στρατονίδης Π² 1753.4 (ca. 330) pryt. cat., also: Σοσιγένης (bis) *ib.* 44, 45;
- 22) ἀπαγογήν Π² 550.3–4 (307/6) decree, suggestion of F. Maier in GM 1 p. 199, no. 54;
- 23) Μνισιφὼν Π² 12168 (s. IV a.) sep. mon.;
- 24) Μαραθονίου Π² 6767 (s. IV a.) sep. mon.;
- 25) θιασοτῶν Π² 1317.4 (fin. s. III a.) decree (thiasotai);
- 26) Σόστρατος Π² 4279 (fin. s. III a.) artist's signature; the stone has been found and now reads: ἵτρατος, cf. *Hesperia* 16 (1947) p. 69;
- 27) τὸν for τῶν Π² 1000.13 (post 150) decree;
- 28) ΕΥΟΝΥΜΙ (Fourmont), probably = Εὐωνυμ[εύς] (cf. 20.00 a, p. 345 *infra*) Π² 6169 (s. II a.) sep. mon.

Ω for O ca. 350–ca. 30 B.C.:

- 29) νεοκώριος Π² 1528.16 (post 350) inv. (very fragmentary); graphic error for νεωκόρος. For νεωκόριον cf. Π² 1672.181;
- 30) ὥπως *Hesperia* 2 (1933) p. 395, no. 15, line 2 (post 340/39?) decree; ὥπω[ς] *ib.* 15;
- 31) Σύρος Π² 12600 (post 350) sep. mon.;
- 32) εἰς Σάμων Π² 1628.109 (326/5) inv., cf. εἰς Σάμον *ib.* 119 (L.);
- 33) αὐτῶν for αὐτόν Π² 343.12 (323/2?) decree, for date and confirmation of reading, cf. SEG 24.103;
- 34) ὥμωσαν Π² 692.4 (303/2) decree (L.);
- 35) Ἀπωλώδωρο[ς] Π² 6347 (s. IV a.) sep. mon. (L.);

- 36) Θωδώρα *Hesperia* 23 (1954) p.278, no. 154 (s. IV/IIIa.) sep. mon., crude, person probably not an Athenian (cf. 7.012c, p. 143 supra);
 37) Ἀντιγώνωι Π² 1225.3 (ca. 250) decree (Salaminian cleruchs);
 38) Ἀπολλόδωτος *Hesperia* 38 (1969) p. 425, no. 2, line 81 (220/19) decree;
 39) Θεοδώσια Π² 9668 (s. III/IIa.) sep. mon.; influence of δώσω, etc.?
 40) Νεωστράτη Π² 7211 (ca. 150) sep. mon. (L.); probably confusion with derivatives in νεω-; cf. no. 41. Νεόστρατος in *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p. 242, no. 47, line 50 (235/4) and *Deltion* 20 (1965) *Chronika* p. 123 (= *BCH* 92 [1968] p. 773) (ca. 220).

Doubtful examples:

- 41) Νεωστράτου Π² 6221 (post 300) sep. mon., cf. no. 40 supra;
 42) Τηλεφως Κενταιβίου Ἡρακλεώτης Π² 8801 (s. IIIa.) sep. mon.; perhaps = Τήλεφος, but possibly not a Greek name (L.).

Notes and Corrections:

a) Examination of stones has shown that some late fourth- or early third-century examples of O for Ω should be rejected upon consideration of the peculiarities of the hand in question. Some masons of this period make omega as a slightly flattened circle with rather small feet, probably added afterwards; such omegas may often be closed at the bottom. In some cases it is difficult to decide which letter should be read. In *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p.562, no.40, line 10, I would read τῶν (rather than τὸν, i.e. τῶν) (L.); in Π² 1956.135 (= *IG* II, no.963) the reading is definitely Ἐρμῶναξ (not Ἐρμόναξ), and in *ib.* 87 probably Δράκων, *ib.* 105 probably Κνώσος (but in *ib.* 123, the perfectly circular form of the letter seems to confirm Ζούλος, cf. no.5 supra) (L.); cf. perhaps τῶι in Π² 1261.51 (cf. 17.03, no.6). On the other hand in *Hesperia* 23 (1954) p.296, no.183, line 39 I read ἑκαστὸν from the stone rather than ἑκαστων (i.e. ἑκαστοῦν), for although the omega has the form with closed circle in this text, the line at the bottom of this letter is not an intended stroke, but a scratch (L.).

b) Πολεῖν Π² 1013.13 (= *IG* II, no.476), ὁμοῖος *ib.* 23, ἔξο *ib.* 42 are almost certainly not on the stone; a fragment of another copy of this text has been found, cf. *Hesperia* 7 (1938) p.127, no.27, in which a number of omegas could easily be mistakenly transcribed as omicron. Note that Fourmont apparently transcribed ΕΞΑΡ as ἐς Ἀρ-, not being familiar with the form of xi here employed (reject also τῶι *ib.* 10) (cf. 17.03, Notes and Corrections). Likewise the two copies of Π² 2317 (162/1 et 158/7) often diverge, and in lines 1 and 31 the better reads ΘΟΩΝΤ, not ΘΟΟΝΤ, in Ἰπποθωωντίς, making the reading πολικ[ῶι] of line 42 dubious. In Π² 2316 (ca. 166/5) the quite unparalleled number of examples of confusion of O and Ω must be due to the inaccuracy of the copyist, Peyssonel, who saw it in 1741; so also Π² 1168 (Fourmont).

c) Π² 204.62 (= *IG* II.5, no.104a): τῶν (L.); Π² 2406.7 (= *IG* II, no.1022): Στρωφάκο[v] (L.); Π² 1678.b16 (= *IG* II.5, no.1057b): τῶ[v] λ[ί]θωμ (L.); Π² 12536/7 (= *IG* III, no.3333), cf. Conze no.1091, plate 223: Πρώταρχος; Π² 7572 (= *IG* II, no.2603): probably Νίξωνος, not Ἄννωνος, cf. Peek, *AG* 1, p.18, no.54; Π² 8388.8 (= *IG* II, no.2836): δ' ἔλιπον, not δὲ λιπῶν; Π² 905.1 (= *IG* II, no.435): Σων(ικου) (L.); Π² 967.4 (= *IG* II, no.408): Μουνιχιώνος (L.); Π² 1940.58 (= *IG* II.5, no.952b): Αἴσχρων (Lattermann, cf. *IG* II²); in Π² 1636.14 (ca. 350) inv., read: ἀγαγγ[ι] (L.).

d) Ἐφ' ὠμαλίαν Π² 1673.8 (= *IG* II Add., no.834c): the word was normally spelled with omega, cf. *LSJ* s.v. (back formation from ἀνωμαλία, cf. ἐπώνυμος, ἀνώλεθρος), and Schwyzler, *GG* 1, pp.397–8; Wackernagel, *Dehnungsgesetz* p.35. The ὦ of ὠσχοφόρος (supported by the position of the word in ancient lexica, cf. *LSJ* s.v. ὠσχός, p.2041) is confirmed by the fourth-

century B.C. decree of the Salaminioi, *Hesperia* 7 (1938) pp. 1 ff., no. 1, lines 21, 49 and note to line 49 on p. 58 (363/2) (L.).

e) Π^2 2411.16 (= IG II, no. 1030): $\Phi\omicron\varsigma\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$, cf. *Hesperia* 38 (1969) pp. 459 ff. and plate 119 (281/0); *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p. 218, no. 15, line 40, lapis: $\text{'}\text{Ονίτορο[ος]}$ (reading from stone, now badly damaged); Π^2 845.6 (= IG II, no. 310): $\delta\pi\omega\varsigma$ (L.); Π^2 1223.3 (= IG II, no. 592): $\tau\acute{o}\nu$, cf. AE 1903, p. 67.

f) For the spelling Αὐδωλέων (Αὐδολέων in Diodorus), cf. 35.03 c.

12.0111 $\omega \sim o$ in $\text{'}\Omega\alpha\iota\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$, $\text{'}\Omega\alpha\theta\epsilon\nu$, etc. The variation between omega and omicron in the demotics $\text{'}\Omega\alpha\iota\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ and $\text{'}\Omega\alpha\theta\epsilon\nu$ demands special treatment. The *two different demes* Ο(ι)η and that with the demotics $(h)\omega\alpha\iota\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$, $\text{'}\Omega\alpha\theta\epsilon\nu$, $\text{'}\text{Οα}\theta\epsilon\nu$ ($h\delta\alpha\iota$; in the late fifth century B.C.? cf. 15.0127j) have been so exhaustively discussed by S. Dow (cf. Lit. infra) that little other than a summary need be given here. The exclusive use of omicron in the demotics $\text{'}\text{Ο}\eta\theta\epsilon\nu$ and $\text{Ο}\iota\eta\theta\epsilon\nu$ in fourth-century texts makes it certain that the fifth-century spellings $h\omicron\epsilon\theta\epsilon\nu$ and $\text{Ο}\epsilon\theta\epsilon\nu$ represent $\text{Ο}\eta\theta\epsilon\nu$; the omega of $\text{'}\text{Ο}\eta\theta\epsilon\nu$ found in Roman times is a false archaism (examples in 17.0213, p. 332 infra). There is therefore no reason to doubt that the o-vowel of Ο(ι)η was short, whatever its etymological connections, and this shortness of the o-vowel is also necessary to explain the behavior of intervocalic iota in $\text{Ο}\iota\eta\theta\epsilon\nu$.

For the other deme the most frequent demotics in the fourth century are $\text{'}\Omega\alpha\theta\epsilon\nu$ and $\text{'}\Omega\alpha\iota\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$. The variant $\text{'}\text{Οα}\theta\epsilon\nu$ is found, but the certain examples tend to date towards the later part of the century, viz. Π^2 7824 (ca. 350–317) sep. mon.; *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p. 234, no. 91 (paulo post 310?) sep. mon.; Π^2 1753.27 (ca. 330) pryt. cat.; Π^2 502.9 (302/1) decree. $\text{'}\Omega\alpha\iota\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ occurs once in the fourth century, in a small fr. of a cat., *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p. 174, no. 39 (part of Π^2 1952, fr. c, to be disassociated from Π^2 1952 a): $\text{Οα}\iota\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$. Dow thought these letters had to be for $\text{'}\Omega\alpha\iota\eta\varsigma$ with an Old Attic use of O and E for ω and η , and thus dated ca. 400 B.C., but this assumption seems unwarranted. The use of $-\epsilon\varsigma$ in the nom. plural of demotics in $-\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ occurs in another cat. dated by the name of the archon to 341/0, Π^2 1749 (L.), and the mixture of Old Attic values and Ionic ones in post-403 public texts is virtually unknown (cf. 2.04). The $\text{Οα}\iota\epsilon\varsigma$ of this text should be interpreted as $\text{'}\text{Οα}\iota\epsilon\varsigma$ and is thus an additional example of omicron in the demotics of this deme in the fourth century. If the fragment is no earlier than Π^2 1749, it could be as late as ca. 350 B.C. The earliest fairly precisely dated fourth-century example of omicron would then be $\text{'}\text{Οα}\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ in a deme decree of ca. 350, AM 49 (1924) pp. 1 ff., no. 2, line 4 (= SEG 24.152). To be rejected is the $\text{'}\text{Οα}\iota\theta\epsilon\nu$ originally read in a mining lease dated to the 350s B.C., cf. *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p. 2, no. S2, line 41 (cf. SEG 24.158). On the other hand ω is well established in the period 403–350, viz. Π^2 1.42 (403/2) decree; Π^2 1740.48 (ca. 400–350); *Agora* 15, p. 36, no. 15, line 24 (= Π^2 2370.15) (ca. 360), Π^2 1929.15 (init. s. IV a.) all catalogs; Π^2 1617.95 (post 358/7) inv.; Π^2 1866 (400–350) dikast's pinakion; Π^2 7823 (init. s. IV a.), Π^2 7831 (ca. 400), Π^2 7816, Π^2 7820, Π^2 7825 (all ante 350), Π^2 7817 (360–350), etc., all sep. monuments. A slightly earlier case of $\text{'}\Omega\alpha\iota$ can probably be seen in a cat. of 406 B.C., cf. Π^2 1951.219, where $\Delta\alpha\omicron\varsigma$ $\text{ΕΝ}\Omega$ should probably be restored as $\Delta\alpha\omicron\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\text{'}\Omega[\alpha\iota\varsigma \text{ο}\iota\kappa\tilde{\omega}(v)]$; for the date, cf. SEG 22.53.

A chronological development from ω to o seems indicated, especially as Ῥαθεν and Ῥαεύς (rare) are the normal spellings during the Hellenistic Period (examples assembled by Dow, *loc. cit.*). Exceptional are examples of Ῥαθεν in a decree of the hippeis of 282/1, *Deltion* 18 (1963) p. 103, no. 1, line 1; and in a state decree dated no later than 100 B.C., cf. II² 1054.25. The latter text may be an early example of a learned revival of the Ῥαθεν spelling well attested during the Roman Period, at a time when there would have been no difference in pronunciation between Ῥαθεν and Ῥαθεν (examples, cf. Dow, *op. cit.* p. 171; add II² 3769.2, etc.).

If a development $\omega \rightarrow o$ is assumed, the fifth-century spellings Ῥαειεύς and Ῥαθεν should probably be interpreted as Ῥαειεύς and Ῥαθεν (examples in 42.0114). Unfortunately the reading Ῥαειεύς on a fifth-century decree, I² 144.2 (416/5?), which might have confirmed this, must probably be altered to Ἀλλαιεύς (cf. *ATL* 2, no. D23); the stone is very worn but the traces fit Λ better than Ω (L.).

The change from Ω to O was perhaps due to a tendency to shorten the first of two long vowels in hiatus. The etymology of the deme name is a subject of much dispute, but an original omega seems not impossible, perhaps some sort of lengthened grade, cf. Frisk's remarks on $\omega(l)\tilde{\alpha}$ = 'fringe', *GEW* 2, p. 1143. In Attic vowel length could sometimes occur where ι was lost after a short vowel in pre-vocalic position, but o usually remained short (cf. Attic πόα). But there is considerable variation between O and Ω in codd. in the words $\delta\eta$ = 'service berry tree' and $\delta\alpha$ = 'fringe'; cf. also the false archaism Ῥηθεν cited above. Cf. also 42.0114, no. 2, p. 502 *infra*; 15.0127 j, p. 285 *infra*.

Lit.: S. Dow, *AJP* 84 (1963) pp. 166–181.

12.012 Confusion of ω and o in the Roman Period

Before about 130 A.D., Ω and O are no more often confused than they had been in the Hellenistic Period. But after that date, and especially after 150 A.D., examples become considerably more numerous. Examples like ἔδοσεν (no. 10), Διώνύσωι (no. 18), ἀλόχο (= ἀλόχῳ) (no. 24), τῶν for τόν (no. 74), etc. combined with the increased frequency of spellings like Λεοντίς , Ζούλος , Ἀπολλόνιος , etc. leave no doubt that the pronunciation of ω and o has become identical with loss of quantitative distinction in vowels by the second quarter of the second century after Christ (cf. 25.00 *infra*).

But the orthography of inscriptions remains very conservative. With a few exceptions the instances of confusion of Ω and O fall into a few well defined types:

1) Λεοντίς for Λεωντίς (nos. 11, 25, 28–30; cf. Λεονᾶς , no. 5; Λεονίδης , no. 45). For the derivation from the hero Λεῶς cf. Demosthenes 60.29 and *RE* s.v. *Leontis*. The spelling Λεωντίς is nearly universal in pre-Roman texts (for an exception, cf. 12.011, no. 7, p. 225 *supra*) and is always the more common spelling in Roman times. The spellings in omicron were doubtless in part due to the influence of λεωντ- from λέων , etc.

The Byz. codd. nearly always have the spelling with omicron, e.g. Xen. *HG* 2.4.27 (where Boeckh wanted to read Αἰαντίς), Dem. 18.84 and apparently 60.29 just cited, Plut. *Them.* 1, *Arist.* 5, and *passim* in Harpocration (the only variant seems to be at p. 231 Dindorf, where one witness has Λεωντ- for Λεοντ-). But two witnesses (Aug. primus and Bavaricus) preserve

Λεωντίδαι at Dem. 58.18. As the codd. are often manifestly unreliable in these matters (the tradition at Dem. 18.84 gives Φερεαριος just after Λεοντίδος, while at Pollux 8.110 we find Λεοντίς alongside Ἐρεχθίς, Οἰνίς), Blass was wise to emend to Λεωντ- (e.g. in Plut. *Them.* 1, followed by Ziegler in *Arist.* 5).

2) Ζούλος for Ζωύλος (nos. 26, 31, 32, 35–38, 40, 42, 47–48, 50). It is tempting to assume that Ζούλος is the correct interpretation (there is one pre-Roman example of this spelling, cf. 12.011, no. 5, p. 225 supra), and spellings like Ζωειλος, Ζοειλος, Ζωύλος show clearly that the iota was not silent. But these spellings with ει and ι might also indicate a trisyllabic pronunciation of the word in some quarters. Hence the accentuation of these spellings remains uncertain. The scansion of Ζωίλου as three long syllables in the ded., Π² 5021 (ca. 400 p.), is a poetical artificiality not of much value for the normal pronunciation of Ζούλος, etc. (for the diaeresis, cf. 4.031, no. 3, p. 96 supra; for Ζοειλος, cf. 9.024, p. 200 supra; for ωι → οι, cf. 31.00, p. 412 infra).

3) Transliteration of Latin ō with O instead of Ω. There was a certain tendency to use O for Latin ō once Ω and O had the same sound. Of particular interest is the sep. mon. with a Greek text following a Latin one in which there is not a single omega, O being used even for ω (no. 41). Especially common are: Πόλλα (nos. 1, 4, 6); Πολλίων, Πολλιανός (nos. 12, 33, 46); Μάιορ (nos. 9, 32); Κλόδιος (no. 55). Cf. also nos. 5, 39, 41, 51–52, 72.

Of the remaining examples many are personal names. Sometimes there is an O or an Ω in an adjacent syllable, e.g. Ἀπολλόνιος, σωφρωνισταί, etc. (cf. nos. 2, 3, 13, 24, 27, 53–54, 56, 60, 63, 68, 73, 75, 78, 80, 84, 86–87, 89, 96). There is evidence for a tendency to write Ω instead of O after [i] or [e] (sometimes spelled AI) as in Παιωνίδης, δικαιωσύνη (cf. nos. 77, 79, 82–83, 85, 87, 98). Of the remaining examples the most interesting are ἀλόχο (no. 24); ἐκείνον (no. 34, an imp. letter); ἔδοσεν (no. 10, decree of Panhellenes); Εὐτύχο, στρατιότηι (no. 41); ἐπαναγινώσκεισθαι (no. 43, decree); Ὀλυμπεῖον (no. 44, ded.); ἦκο (no. 64), τών (no. 74); στρατηγώς (no. 80, eph. cat.); ἔγραυ (no. 85, ded.). In general there is very little confusion of O and Ω in morphemes; the foregoing are rare instances. The number of texts with both O for Ω and Ω for O is fairly small (cf. nos. 5/17, 11/19, 13/20, 33/75, 42/78, 58/74, 61/92, 64/93).

Ῥῆθεν for Ῥῆθεν is probably a false archaism, cf. 12.0111, p. 227 supra. For Ἰπποθοοντίς, Ἰπποθοωντίς, etc.; genitive singular in -εος for -εως, cf. Morphology.

Lit.: As in 12.011 supra; Gignac, pp. 275–277.

Examples: Before ca. 150 A.D.:

O for Ω:

- 1) Πόλλαν Π² 4234 (ca. 2) ded. (cf. 12.04, p. 237 infra);
- 2) Θεόδωρος Ἀρίστοννος (= Ἀρίστωνος) Σιδώνιος Π² 10283 (fin. s. Ia.) sep. mon. of a non-Athenian;
- 3) Ἀπολλονίου Π² 8298 (s. Ia.?) sep. mon. of a woman who was Ἀντιόχισσα;
- 4) Πόλλα Π² 10156 (s. Ia.?) cf. 6.05, no. 14, p. 137 supra sep. mon. (cf. 12.04, p. 237 infra);
- 5) Λεοναῖς Π² 1996.212 (84/5–92/3 p.) eph. cat.; there are two marks beneath the O which I first thought might have been an attempt to correct to Ω, but finally I decided they were

not strokes made by the stone-cutter; *Οράριος* *ib.* 16, where it is uncertain whether the name is *Hōrārius* or *Ōrārius* (Eckinger p.53 prefers the latter); for the normal spelling *Ωράριος* in Attic inscriptions, cf. *Π*² 3164.1 (s. *Π*p.); *Hesperia* 32 (1963) p.65, no. 15B (s. *Π*p.), *Hesperia* 23 (1954) p.282, no.178 (aet. Rom.); cf. *Ωρά(ριος)* *Π*² 2128.149 (190–200p.). This text also has *Ω* for *O*, cf. no. 17 *infra* (L.);

- 6) *Πόλλα* *Π*² 7703 (s. *Π*p.) sep. mon. (of an Athenian) (cf. 12.04, p.237 *infra*);
- 7) *Είσιον* *Π*² 2020.116 (ca. 110 p. aut paulo post) eph. cat. (L.);
- 8) *Ἰωνιδῶ(ν)* for *Ἰωνιδῶν* *Π*² 2776.16 (= *Hesperia* 41 [1972] pp.50ff.) (aet. Trajani, cf. *Hesperia* 41 p.476) financial doc.; stone too worn to confirm reading (cf. *Hesperia* 41 p.81);
- 9) *Μάωρος* *Π*² 3290.9 (132p.) ded.; for *Μάωρ*, cf. *Π*² 8358 a (in add.) (s. *Π*/*Π*p.); cf. no.32 *infra*;
- 10) *ἔδοσαν* *Hesperia* 10 (1941) pp.363ff., line 10 (= *Π*² 1088.44) (132–138p.) decree (Pan-hellenes); probably influence of *ἔδοσαν* (cf. Morphology);
- 11) *Λεοντίδος* *Π*² 2050.59 (143/4p., cf. *SEG* 24.191) eph. cat.; also has *Ω* for *O*, cf. no.19 *infra*;
- 12) *Πωλλιανός* *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p.254, no.59, line 3 (s. *Π*/*Π*p.) ded.; for *Πωλλιανός*, cf. *Π*² 1832.17, 18 (225 p. aut paulo post) pryt. cat.; *Π*² 2239.67 (238/9–243/4p.) eph. cat. (L.).

Doubtful (known only from early copies):

- 13) *Θεμισσόνος* *Π*² 1729.4 (init. s. *Π*p.) cat.; also has *Ω* for *O*, cf. no. 20 *infra*;
- 14) *Ἡρακλέον* *Π*² 1761.2 (ante 150p.) cat.;
- 15) *[άνικ]ήτοι ἐνὶ Ῥώμῃ* *Π*² 13133 (s. *Π*p.) sep. mon.; very fragmentary;
- 16) *διοβελίαν* *Π*² 1103.2 (ca. 124/5 p.) imp. letter.

Ω for O:

- 17) *Ἀφρωδεῖ(σος)* *Π*² 1996.193 (84/5–92/3p.) eph. cat., *Σωννι(εύς)* *ib.* 67; also has *O* for *Ω*, cf. no. 5 *supra* (L.);
- 18) *Δωνύσων* *Π*² 3323.2 (ante 138 p.) ded.;
- 19) *Παιωνί(δης)* *Π*² 2050.67 (143/4p., cf. *SEG* 24.191) eph. cat.; also has *O* for *Ω*, cf. no.11 *supra*.

Doubtful:

- 20) *Νέστωρος* *Π*² 1729.2 (init. s. *Π*p.) cat.; also has *O* for *Ω*, cf. no. 13 *supra*;
- 21) *εἰρηστων* *Π*² 1345.4 (53/4p.) decree (eranistai);
- 22) *Ἐπαφρωδεῖτου* *Π*² 3922 (s. *Π*p.?) ded.;
- 23) *ᾠλυμπίω* *Π*² 3356.4 (132 p.) ded.

Ca. 150 A. D. and later:

O for Ω:

- 24) *ἀλόχο* for *ἀλόχω* *Π*² 12418.2 (ca. 150p.) sep. mon., crude orthography, cf. *στήλλην* *ib.* 1; by this time *Ω*I and *Ω* are identical, hence *O* for *Ω*I;
- 25) *Λεοντίδος* *Π*² 2065.64 (150/1p.) eph. cat.; *Σοτήριχος* *ib.* 112; *Μαθαθόνιος* *ib.* 18;
- 26) *Ζ[ό]λου* *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p.75, no.39, line 1 (ca. 150p.) cat. (L.);
- 27) *Ἀπολλόνιος* *Π*² 2066.18 (inter 150–160p.) eph. cat.;
- 28) *Λεοντίδος* *Π*² 2084.8 (post 150p.) eph. cat.;

- 29) Λεοντίδος Π² 2085.38 (161/2 p.) eph. cat.;
- 30) Λεοντίδος Π² 2086.71 (163/4 p.) eph. cat.;
- 31) Ζούλος (Ζοῦλος?) Π² 2094.129 (ca. 166/7 p.) eph. cat.; on reverse of stone (Kirchner's reading), in a different hand from obverse and perhaps from a different date; Ζωίλος *ib.* 55 (L., 55 only);
- 32) Ζούλος Π² 2097.260 (169/70 p.) eph. cat., Μάιος *ib.* 13–14; cf. no. 9 *supra*;
- 33) Πολλίων Π² 2103.98 (172/3 p. aut paulo post) eph. cat.; has Ω for O, cf. no. 75 *infra*; for Πωλλίων, cf. Π² 1961.71 (post 37/6, cf. SEG 22.113), Π² 2051.28 (144/5–148/9 p.), Π² 2068.146 (155/6 p.) (L.), Π² 2134.2 (ca. 195 p.), Π² 2199.91 (ca. 200 p.), Π² 2237.22 (230–235 p.) (L.), Π² 2243.83 (post 243/4 p.) (L.), Π² 2245.35 (262/3 aut 266/7 p.) eph. catalogs; *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p. 174, no. 106, line 8 (= Π² 1757.8, corrected) (ca. 40–30); Πωλλίων; *Hesperia* 33 (1964) p. 224, no. 70, line 10 (fin. s. II p.) pryt. catalogs; Π² 4006.4 (= Πολλίων of Π² 2232.6? cf. no. 46 *infra*) (ca. 230 p.); Π² 4125.3 (ante 15) dedications;
- 34) ἐκείνον *Hesperia*, suppl. 13 (1970) pp. 3 ff., line E 23 (ca. 175 p.) imp. letter; only case of O for Ω in this lengthy text;
- 35) Ζούλος Π² 2113.94 (183/4–191/2 p.) eph. cat.;
- 36) Ζοῦλου Π² 2122.32 (paulo ante 190 p.) eph. cat.;
- 37) Ζούλος Π² 1803.11 (ca. 205 p.) pryt. cat.;
- 38) Ζοῦλου Π² 2132.32 (ca. 191/2 p.) eph. cat.;
- 39) Φλόρο[υ] Π² 1805.22 (ca. 195/6 p.) pryt. cat.;
- 40) Ζούλος *Hesperia* 32 (1963) p. 38, no. 35, line 7 (fin. s. II p.) cat. (L.);
- 41) Καλπουρνίο Εὐτύχο (dative singular, cf. no. 24 *supra*) Π² 11492.3 (“Titulus ad s. II post pertinere videtur” Kirchner) sep. mon., γνησίῳ στρατιώτῃ *ib.* 5; the Greek text, which follows the Latin version, has no omegas; note other crudities such as ἰκονόμος *ib.* 4, ΓΝΗΠΙΟ for γνησίῳ *ib.* 5 (L.);
- 42) Ζοεῖλος Π² 2193.141 (198/9–205/6 p., cf. Graindor, *Album* p. 55) eph. cat., Ζούλος *ib.* 72; also has Ω for O, cf. no. 78 *infra*; cf. 9.024, no. 18, p. 201 *supra* (L., 141 only);
- 43) ἐπαναγινό[σκεσ]θαι *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p. 85, no. 37, lines 14–15 (= Π² 1081/5 + Π² 1116 + new fr.) (203 p.) decree, printed text wrongly gives ἐπαναγινό[σκεσ]θαι;
- 44) Ὀλυμπεῖον Π² 3687.25 (init. s. III p.) ded., alongside the correct spelling Ὀλυμπεῖων *ib.* 14;
- 45) Ἀ]εονίδης Π² 1783.16 (post 216 p.) pryt. cat., Λε]ονίδης *ib.* 17 (L.);
- 46) Πολλίων Π² 2232.6 (ca. 230 p.) eph. cat. (= Πωλλίων of Π² 4006.4?, cf. no. 33 *supra*);
- 47) Ζοῦλου Π² 2237.108 (230–235 p.) eph. cat. (L.);
- 48) Ζοεῖλος Π² 2239.260 (238/9–243/4 p.) eph. cat.; cf. 9.024, no. 31, p. 201 *supra* (L.);
- 49) Σειδόνι Π² 3169/70.30 (253–257 p.) ded.; elsewhere in Attic inscriptions only Σιδων-, but Σιδων- ~ Σιδον- in codd. (L.);
- 50) Ζούλο- Π² 2245.234, 449 (262/3 aut 266/7 p.) eph. cat., has Ζω(ε)ιλ- *ib.* 17 (L.);
- 51) Ὀνορατιανή Π² 3679.7 (s. II/III p.) ded.;
- 52) φλος (= flos) Π² 11606 a (in add.) (very late) sep. mon.;
- 53) Ἀπολλωνίου Π² 8179 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.;
- 54) Μηνόδορος Π² 12116 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.;
- 55) Κλόδιος Π² 11881 a (in add.) (aet. Rom.) sep. mon. (cf. 12.04, p. 237 *infra*);
- 56) Πρωτογένης Π² 8348 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.;
- 57) Ἡρακλεῖτις Π² 8564 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.; text known from two independent early copies.

Doubtful:

- 58) τὸν (= τῶν) Π² 13189.21 (ca. 150 p.) sep. curse-text set up by Herodes Atticus; cf. κῶραν for χώραν in *ib.* 10 (Pittakes' copy); cf. no. 74 *infra*;
 59) Αἰξονεῖς Π² 1788.18 (174/5 p.) pryt. cat., ἐπὶ βωμῶ *ib.* 41–42;
 59 a) ἐπὶ βωμῶ Π² 1795.34 (184/5 p.) pryt. cat.;
 60) Ἀπολλόν[ιος] Π² 1798.21 (190/1 p.) pryt. cat., Ἀρίστονος *ib.* 8;
 61) Ἀχαρνεῖος (= Ἀχαρνέως?) Π² 3015.1 (210–220 p.) ded., also has Ω for O, cf. no. 92 *infra*; cf. 7.03, no. 3 m, p. 156 *supra*;
 62) Πλατονικοῦ Π² 3694.3 (ante 250 p.) ded.;
 63) Μαραθόνιον Π² 3677.4 (s. Π/III p.) ded.;
 64) ἦκω (= ἦκω) IG III, no. 1397 + AM 67 (1942) p. 157, no. 332 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon., also has Ω for O, cf. no. 93 *infra*;
 65) Ἀνδρονίδης Ἀνδρονίδου Π² 10173 (date?) sep. mon.;
 66) Ἡρακλεότης Π² 2281.9 (aet. Rom.) eph. cat.;
 67) Ἡρόδου Π² 6989 (date?) sep. mon.;
 68) Σοφρονίσκου Π² 7019 (date?) sep. mon.;
 69) Σοσίβιος Π² 7252 (date?) sep. mon.;
 70) Σοσίβιου Π² 9325 (date?) sep. mon.;
 71) Ἡροδιανοῦ Π² 11186 (date?) sep. mon.;
 72) Σοφῆμος Π² 6152 (date?) sep. mon. (cf. 12.04, p. 238 *infra*).

Ω for O:

- 73) Δωρωθαία Π² 12367 (ca. 150 p.) sep. mon.;
 74) τῶν (= τόν) Π² 13188.2 (ca. 150 p.) sep. curse-text set up by Herodes Atticus; cf. no. 58 *supra*;
 75) Σώλωνος Π² 2103.191 (172/3 p. aut paulo post) eph. cat., has also O for Ω, cf. no. 33 *supra*;
 76) Πωλυκράτεια Π² 6780 (s. II p.) sep. mon.;
 77) Δικαιωσύνη Π² 11145 (s. II p.) sep. mon.;
 78) ὑποσωφρονισταί Π² 2193.92 (198/9–205/6 p., cf. Graindor, *Album* p. 55) eph. cat.; but σωφρονισταί *ib.* 36; has Zo(ε)ιλος, cf. no. 42 *supra* (L.);
 79) Ἀντιωχίδος Π² 2191.101 (ca. 200 p.) eph. cat.;
 80) στρατηγῶς Π² 2203.35 (paulo post 200 p.) eph. cat., ὑποσωφρονισταί *ib.* 12, but σωφρονισταί *ib.* 5;
 81/82) Δειωγέν(ου) Π² 5950 (s. II/III p.) sep. mon.;
 83) Ἀντιωχῆς (= Ἀντιοχίς, cf. 8.02, no. 25, p. 169 *supra*) Agora 17, p. 95, no. 415 (= Π² 8132) (s. II/III p.) sep. mon.;
 84) Δρωμωνιῆς *Hesperia* 29 (1960) p. 71, no. 133 B (s. III p.) sep. mon.;
 85) ἔγραυω (= ἔγραϝο) (bis) Π² 4533.2, 7 (s. III p.) hymns in various metres, ded. (priv.); has other orthographical crudities;
 86) Ἀπ[ώ]κλωνι (lapis: ωαλωνι) *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p. 252, no. 54, line 4 (aet. Rom.) ded. (priv.);
 87) Θεωδώρου Π² 9398.2 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.;
 88) Λίβκος Π² 9618.2 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.;
 89) λιθοκώπων Π² 5087 (aet. Rom., post 150 p.?) inscribed on a theatre-seat.

Doubtful:

- 90) προσ]ωμειλή[σ]αντα (Fourmont:]ωμειλη[σ]) Π² 3971.4 (148–150 p.) ded.;
 91) [᾿Αφρ]ωδίσιος Π² 1768.2 (ante 165 p.) pryt. cat.;
 92) Κομώδεια Π² 3015.15 (210–220 p.) ded.; has ᾿Αχαρνείος, cf. no. 61 supra;
 93) νήσων (= νήσων) IG III, no. 1397 + AM 67 (1942) p. 157, no. 332 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon., also has O for Ω, cf. no. 64 supra;
 94) Τερωξέ(νον) Π² 2271.5 (aet. Rom.) eph. cat.;
 95) Μένανδρως Π² 6506 (date?) sep. mon.;
 96) Καρπωδώρου Π² 8401.2 (date?) sep. mon.;
 97) Λαωδι[κεύς Π² 9163.3 (date?) sep. mon.;
 98) [ἀρ]εωπαγε[την (Dodwell:]γωπατ[)] Π² 4017.3 (date?) ded.

Notes and Corrections:

- a) O for Ω: Π² 2463.12 (= IG II, no. 1050): ᾿Ωρώπιος (L.) (Pittakes: ᾿Ωρόπιος); Π² 10342 (= IG III, no. 2911): Σινωπ- (L.); Π² 2052.94 (= IG III, no. 1114): Εὐγνώμων (L.); Π² 2959.9 (= IG III, no. 731): ἐπερώτημα (L.); Π² 1771.4 (= IG III, no. 1027): Φαληρέως, cf. *Hesperia* 17 (1948) p. 37, no. 22; Π² 3634.3 (= IG III, no. 902): Θεμνώ (L.); Π² 2102.26 (= IG III, no. 1137) lapis: ΩΝ which in a text with omega of the form Ω could be either Λεωντίς or Λεοντίς (L.); Π² 1801.7 (= IG III, no. 1047) lapis: π᾿νυμος, where the top part of a circle could be part of either Ω or O (L.); Π² 1770.13 (= IG III, no. 1067): [Σ]ώσανδρος (L.); Π² 2478 a (in text).10 (= AE 1896 p. 43, no. 34): Ζωειλός (L.); Π² 5628: Ζωσίμη (not Ζοσίμη) (L.); Π² 1826.14 (= IG III, no. 1056) Kirchner: ἐπάνυμος, *ib.* 35: Νεικοπόλεως (L.); Π² 2215.5 (= IG III, no. 1180) reading is: Ζῳφειλου (L.); Π² 2235.119 (= IG III, no. 1192) Kirchner: Εὐγνώμων (L.); Π² 2245.155 (= IG III, no. 1202): Σωτη[(L.); Π² 3676.3 (= IG III, no. 829) M. Fränkel: Μαθαθώνιον; Π² 5209 (= IG III, no. 389) quite uncertain if ΤΟ[Ν]ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝ for τὸν σεβαστὸν or τῶν σεβαστῶν; IG III, no. 1656 dates s. IV ante and reads -δῶρον.
 b) Ω for O: Π² 8171.4 (= IG III, no. 2143): Φιλήμονος (L.); Π² 2111/12.17 (= IG III, no. 1144) Boeckh: Ἰσοφίλου; Π² 5325.2 (= IG III, no. 1501): ᾿Αθμονεύς (L.); Π² 9531 (= IG III, no. 2167): Φαλακρίωνος (cf. *Hesperia* 17 [1948] p. 49, no. 50).
 c) Λαριανεικὼς Π² 9087 a (in add.).2 (s. II/III p.) sep. mon.; probably not for Λαριαν(ε)ικὼς (although ὑγιένοντος occurs *ib.* 5, cf. 9.024, no. 41, p. 201 supra). Perhaps an abbreviated form of Λαρία ἡ καὶ Νεικῶς as suggested by J. Shelton; or Λαρία Νεικῶς (= Νεικοῦς) with genitive of mother's name as suggested by Peek, AG 1, p. 21, no. 67 (L.).

12.02 Confusion of Ω and Α

a) A very few texts contain examples of Α for Ω, but they are probably just graphic mistakes:

- 1) Μαιμακτηριᾱνο[ς Π² 1670.34 (cf. Lattermann, *Bauinschriften* p. 48) (ca. 330) inv.; Α inscribed wrongly because of two Α's earlier in the word? otherwise a sort of assimilation (this text has συγγραφάς, cf. 41.011, no. 38; -χοιεῖ, cf. 17.022, no. 6);
- 2) ΣΟΥΝΙΕΙΑΣ (= Σουνιέως) Π² 7434 (ca. 350) sep. mon.; but this part of the text crudely inscribed, cf. Kirchner's note in IG II²; cf. p. 156 supra;
- 3) δρχαμᾱν Π² 2498.5 (321/0) loc.; probably a copying error, cf. ΚΑΙΣ for ΚΑΙΤ at the end of line 12;

4) ΣΑΚΡΑΤΗΣ *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p. 129, no. 71, line 80 (new fr. of Π² 910) (169/8) decree, cf. ΣΤΕΦΑΝΑΣΑΙ in *ib.* 26; some sort of misreading of the copy by the mason is probably involved, and a correction was probably intended and then forgotten (alpha has no cross-bar in both cases).

The correct reading in Π² 4594a (in text) (331/0) ded. is not Ἱεροφᾶντος, but Ἱεροφῶντος, cf. M. Mitsos, *BCH* 74 (1950) p. 223 (= *SEG* 12.165).

b) A small fr. of fifth-c. date has been interpreted as δῆμος Ἐρεχθεῖδᾶ[ν Π² 962 (Θ = O, P, Σ); this interpretation has been accepted by Wilhelm (cf. *JOAI* 3 [1900] p. 98, note 6), but any attempt to explain such a tiny fragment must remain doubtful. The text is known only from Pittakes' copy. If the genitive plural in -ᾶν did occur here, it is possible the text was in verse and that it is a Dorism, cf. those in 6.041, p. 131 *supra*.

An Athenian with the name Σᾶνδρος is listed in a cat. dated ca. 350 B.C., cf. Π² 2385.91; from *Σᾶ- + -ανδρ-, cf. Schwyzler, *GG* 1, p. 248. Elsewhere Σωνδρ-: Σῶνδρος Π² 1745.43 (360/59) pryt. cat., an Athenian; Π² 665.29 (266/5, cf. *SEG* 15.103) decree, a Cretan; Σωνδρίδης Π² 4026.2 (s. IVa.) ded., Athenian. In Π² 1929.22 (= *IG* II, no. 946) read: Τεισάνδρο.

c) The ethnics Μεθωναῖος (= Μεθώνη, city on the Thermaic Gulf) and Μεθανική, Μεθάνισσα (= town, today called Μέθανα, located on the peninsula of the Peloponnese jutting out into the Saronic Gulf towards Aegina) must be kept distinct, cf. *RE* s.v. Methana, col. 1375; s.v. Methone, col. 1384, no. 5; col. 1385, no. 7; *Hermes* 42 (1907) p. 542. Μεθωναῖος is clearly the ethnic of Μεθώνη in: Π² 57 (423) decree; *Hesperia* 13 (1944) p. 211, no. 2 (= Π² 55 + new fr.) (428/7, cf. *SEG* 24.6) decree; Π² 216/217.52 (= *ATL* 2, no. 26, col. 2.53) (429/8), Π² 221.36 (= *ATL* 2, no. 40, col. 3.8) (415/4) tribute lists. It may be assumed to be elsewhere, viz.: Π² 9330 (s. Va.) sep. mon.; Π² 130.12 (355/4) decree; *Hesperia* 9 (1940) p. 59, no. 8, line 36 (333/2) decree (tribe). For the other locality the only ethnics attested are: Μεθανική Π² 9328.3 (s. II/Ia.) sep. mon.; Ἰθανισα (= Με]θάνισσ-α?) Π² 9329 (s. Ia.) sep. mon.

d) Παιών is the epithet of Apollo in the fifth and fourth centuries: [Ἄ]πóλλωνος [Π]αιώνος Π² 310.228–9 (429/8) inv.; Ἀπόλλωνι Παιώνι *BCH* 87 (1963) pp. 603 ff., col. 2.52–3 (= *SEG* 21.541; Sokolowski, *Lois*² p. 36, no. 18) (375–350?) sacred calendar. But a ded. of the first half of the fourth century by an Athenian has ὦ βα]σιλεῦ Παιάν, ἐκατήβολ' Ἀπολ[λον] in a verse text, cf. Π² 4556. If Hiller's restoration Ὁ Παιάν is correct in Π² 516, a ded. of the early fifth c., it would provide a parallel for Παιάν in verse texts, a phenomenon also familiar in Tragedy, cf. J. Wackernagel (Lit. *infra*, pp. 62–63). But this text is so fragmentary that its interpretation remains uncertain (Παιάν rejected by Raubitschek, cf. *DAA* p. 255, no. 225). Παιάν is frequent as a vocative in verse texts of the Roman Period: ἰη Παιάν *passim* in Π² 4473.15 ff. (s. Ia.), ἰη Παιάν [Ἄσκληπιέ] Π² 4509.12 (s. I/IIp.), ὦ Παιάν Ἀσκληπιέ Π² 4514.22 (ca. 150p.) all dedications (priv.). Παιάν is nom. sing. in Π² 4533.25 (s. IIIp.) verse ded. (priv.); the gen. Παιᾶνος occurs *ib.* 33–4, 41,

and in *ib.* 2 a voc. Παιήων accommodates the needs of the metre (this text has many orthographical crudities, cf. ξγραιω = ξγρεο, etc.). A gen. Παιήονος occurs II² 3809.1 (s. II/III p.) verse ded.

Παιάν is the only spelling attested for the hymn, but all the examples are later than 100 B.C. and may thus not provide evidence for the spelling of this word in the Classical Period, cf. J. Wackernagel (Lit. *infra*, p. 62): Παιᾶνας II² 1338.10, 19 (78/7) decree (synodos of technitai); Παιάνων II² 1078.29 (ca. 220 p.) decree. Professional singers of Paeans are called Παιανισταί in II² 2963.4 (ca. 212 p.) ded.

Cf. the man's name Παιάνιος in II² 2345.13, 14 (ante 350) cat. Perhaps not a sep. mon. is the one-word text (known only from Pittakes) reading Παιαν, II² 12386 (date?).

Attic spellings are:

φασκώλω[ι] II² 1408.15 (post 385/4); [φ]ασκωλίω II² 1445.22 (375/4) inventories. θακείον II² 1672.145 (329/8) inv.; here θα- is the normal reflex of θαφα-, cf. Schwyzer, *GG* 1, p. 371; Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* p. 121. Cf. θακος on the François vase, *ABV* p. 76, Kleitias no. 1 (= *HBF* p. 150, no. 2), identifying the seat of Priam.

Lit.: MS³ p. 17, notes 83–84; p. 74, note 646; p. 143, note 1241; J. Wackernagel, *Glotta* 14 (1925) pp. 61–64.

12.03 Ω for ου

There is scarcely any evidence for confusion between ω and ου in Attic texts. In a decree of the genos of the Salaminioi dated 242/1 (cf. Meritt, *Athenian Year* p. 234) occurs the spelling Ἡρακλέως for Ἡρακλέους, cf. *Hesperia* 7 (1938) p. 9, no. 2, line 8 (the printed text wrongly gives Ἡρακλέος, but examination of the stone confirmed the omega, L.). Ἡρακλέως is also recorded on a horos of the fourth century B.C., II² 2610, and it occurs several times on an unpublished deme decree at Eleusis (fourth century B.C.). Probably some sort of morphological confusion is involved here, rather than actual confusion of the sounds of Ω and ΟΥ. Cf. addenda.

For the occasional use of Ω as the grapheme for [oː] in the Archaic Period, cf. 2.034. The use of Ω was prompted by a desire to have a separate grapheme for [oː] from that for [o] (both normally spelled Ο in the Old Attic alphabet), and does not indicate any confusion of the two long o-sounds. Only a single text uses Ω both for [oː] (later Ο, ΟΥ) and [ɔː] (later Ω), and this one case may be explained as due to uncertainty in the use of an unfamiliar grapheme (cf. 2.034, no. 9 = 2.022, no. 2).

12.04 Ω = Latin au

The pronunciation of au as a long o-vowel in Latin had a certain substandard character except in a few words, and the later developments in the Romance languages cannot be explained except in terms of a general pronunciation of Latin au as different from ō (cf. Sturtevant, pp. 130–132). In Greek texts the variation between ΑΥ and Ω is normally confined to personal names and merely reflects the existence in Latin of two sets of names, i.e. Claudius and Clodius. Thus the Ὡλιος of the eph. cat., II² 1996.52 (84/5–92/3 p.), has nothing to do with individuals known as

Αὔλιος or Αὐλος; there is an Αὐλος in line 187 of the same text. There is no trace of variant spellings of the Κλώδιος type in the numerous Attic texts mentioning members of the imperial family or other prominent persons bearing names of the Κλαύδιος type. That Πῶλλα and Παῦλλα were regarded as separate names can be seen from a text of Roman date from Lydia in which two women are named, one named Πῶλλα, the other Παῦλλα, cf. *BCH* 11 (1887) p. 454, no. 16.

There is one important exception to this practice in an Attic text. A dedication from Eleusis, *Π*² 4109.2 (ca. 50) (L.), honors an "Ἀππιος Κλώδιος Ἀππίου υἱὸς Πόλχερ, who must be the Appius Claudius Pulcher who was consul in 54 B.C. (= T.R.-S. Broughton, *Magistrates of the Roman Republic* 2 p. 221; cf. *RE* s.v. Claudius, 2849–2853, no. 297; T. Wiseman, *HSCP* 74 [1970] p. 220). This man, always known as Claudius in literary sources, appears as Ἀπ Κλαύδιος on a text recently found in Euboea, cf. *Hesperia* 41 (1972) p. 128; and Ap. Claudius etc. has been plausibly restored in a Latin dedication erected in his name at Eleusis, *CIL* I² no. 775. There is no other evidence that the consul of 54 ever followed his younger brother's name change to Clodius, so that the occurrence of the Greek transliteration as Κλώδιος is difficult to explain except as an error due to the copyist, who used himself an o-pronunciation of Latin au, or was confused by the existence of both AY and Ω as transliterations for the Latin diphthong.

In certain cases a single form is universal. Thus for Cauponius only Κωπώνιος is attested, perhaps because of assimilation tendencies (cf. Indices to *IG* III, p. 384). In Aufidius, Aurelius only AY occurs. For examples of Αὐφίδιος, cf. Indices to *IG* III, p. 384. Αὐρήλιος (often abbreviated AYP, less often AYPH, AY) is one of the most frequent Latin names in Attic texts, especially after 150 A.D., cf. e.g.: *Π*² 3534.2 (ante 50p.) ded.; *Π*² 2076.11 (ca. 150p.), *Π*² 2086.16, 23 (163/4p.), *Π*² 2087.6, 7, 30 (163/4p.), *Π*² 2208, *passim* (AY in this text almost certainly always is for Αὐρήλιος, cf. *Π*² 2486.15 [= man in *Π*² 2208.76]) (212/3p. aut paulo post) eph. catalogs; etc. For Faustus, Faustina, etc. AY is virtually universal, although Φῶστος is recorded once in a text from Gytheon (cf. Eckinger p. 13); for Attic examples, cf. Indices to *IG* III, p. 386.

Aulus, etc.: Αὐλ- is normal at all periods, cf. e.g. Αὐλος *Π*² 1009, col. 4.109 (116/5), *Π*² 1011, col. 6.102 (bis) (106/5) decrees; *Π*² 1961.72 (post 37/6, cf. *SEG* 22.113), *Π*² 1963.72 (13/2), *Π*² 1967.9 (36/7p.), *Π*² 1996.187 (84/5–92/3p.) (has "Ωλιος, cf. infra) (L.) eph. catalogs; *Π*² 2003.37 (init. s. IIIp., cf. *SEG* 24.200), *Π*² 2338.34 (27/6–18/7) catalogs; *Π*² 4705.1, 3 (ante 17?) ded.; *Π*² 1774.14 (167/8p.), *Π*² 1806.12 (194/5?p.) pryt. catalogs; etc. Αὔλιος; cf. *Π*² 10147 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.

"Ωλ- is much less frequent, cf. "Ωλος *Π*² 2037.5, 6, 20 (125/6p.) eph. cat., three members of the same family; "Ωλιος *Π*² 1996.52 (84/5–92/3p.) (has Αὐλος, cf. supra) eph. cat. (L.); *Π*² 12350 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.

For Auruncus only Ὠροῦνκος happens to occur in Attic inscriptions: *Π*² 1349.8 (138–161p.) letter (of technitai?) to an emperor.

Claudius, Clodius, etc.: Κλαύδιος and derived names such as Κλαυδία, Κλαυδιανός, etc. are among the most frequent Roman names at Athens. In addition to the many examples in texts referring to members of the imperial family (cf. e.g. *Π*² 3244–*Π*² 3277), the name is frequent in several prominent Athenian families, notably that of Herodes Atticus (cf. e.g. *Π*² 3596, *Π*²

3597, etc.; stemma at II² 3594) and one of the families holding Eleusinian priesthoods (cf. Clinton, *Sacred Officials* pp. 57–63). With the exception of the Ἀππίος Κλώδιος Πόλχερ of II² 4109 (cited p. 236 supra) there are no demonstrable cases of Κλώδιος in reference to persons normally called Κλαύδιος. Note that the Κλαυδι- names are still very frequent in the third century A.D., e.g. II² 3681, II² 4532 (both init. s. III p.), II² 3704 (ca. 250 p.) dedications; II² 2222.2 (217/8 p. aut paulo post), II² 2239.175 (Κλα), 224 (Κλαυ) (238/9–243/4 p.) (has Κλωδ- cf. infra) (L.), II² 2245.32, 171 (262/3 aut 266/7 p.) eph. catalogs; II² 3710 (ca. 250 p.) ded.; etc. Κλώδιος is not particularly common, but Athenian citizens sometimes bear this name, e.g. II² 1757.28, 51 (40–30, cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 [1937] p. 174, no. 106), II² 1796.31 (186/7 p.) pryt. catalogs; II² 2239.12 (Κλωδ), 232, 233, 234 (Κλω) (238/9–243/4 p.) eph. cat. (has Κλαυ- cf. supra) (L.); cf. also II² 2085.8 (161/2 p.) eph. cat. Cf. Κλωδία, e.g. II² 11881 (fin. s. Ia.), *Hesperia* 23 (1954) p. 279, no. 159 (aet. Rom.), II² 8027 a (in add.) (aet. Rom.), II² 12112 (aet. Rom.) all sep. monuments of non-Athenians.

For the variant in short o, cf. Κλόδιος, II² 11881 a (in add.) (aet. Rom.) sep. mon. (cf. 12.012, no. 55, p. 231 supra).

Cauda. A feminine name Κῶδα occurs on a sep. mon. (non-Athenian), cf. *Neon Athenaiion* 3 (1958–60) p. 11, no. 2 (= SEG 18.128) (s. I/II p.), but it might also be Phrygian.

Paulus, etc.: Πῶλ(λ)ος apparently does not occur (cf. Eckinger p. 13), but Παῦλ(λ)ος is well attested. In Athens Παῦλλος occurs frequently in the early Roman Period as the name of prominent Romans, cf. e.g. II² 4115 (post 34), II² 4128 (ca. 9), II² 4129 (ca. 9), II² 4146 (fin. s. Ia./init. s. Ip.), II² 4147 (fin. s. Ia./init. s. Ip.) dedications. In the later Roman Period Παῦλος is well attested as the name of Athenians, e.g. II² 2103.129 (172/3 p. aut paulo post) eph. cat.; II² 1817.45 (paulo ante 220/1 p.) pryt. cat. (L.); II² 2239.320 (238/9–243/4 p.) eph. cat. (L.); cf. Παῦλος II² 2089.82 (162/3 aut 164/5 p.) eph. cat.

Always AY also in Παυλ(ε)ῖνος, e.g. 2068.124 (155/6 p.) (L.), II² 2171.3 (s. II p.) eph. catalogs; II² 1763.1 (ca. 132/3 p.) pryt. cat.; II² 2191.62 (ca. 200 p.) eph. cat.; II² 1999.32 (init. s. III p., cf. SEG 24.200) cat.; Παυλλεῖνα II² 3199.2 (s. III p.) ded. (L.); cf. perhaps II² 3635.2 (post 150 p.) ded., where spacing favors [Παυλ]εῖναν. In the feminine name AY is fairly rare in Attic texts, cf. Παῦλλα II² 5179 (cf. *Hesperia* 35 [1966] p. 246, no. 7) (fin. s. Ia.) ded. (woman was a Roman); II² 4248.1 (s. I/II p.) ded. (too fragmentary to allow assumption about her parentage); II² 12431/2 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon. (probably non-Athenian). Πῶλλα is very frequent; some of the occurrences are on sep. monuments of Athenians, e.g. II² 6596 (post 50 p.), II² 7389 (s. Ip.), II² 5909 (s. II p.), II² 5623 (aet. Rom.), II² 6997 (aet. Rom.), *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p. 221, no. 82 (aet. Rom.). Cf. II² 4246 (s. Ip.) ded., an unknown Πῶλλα is honored by the demos; Πῶλλης (gen.) II² 2959.7 (ca. 150 p. aut paulo post) ded., mother of an Athenian citizen, married to an alien from Mylasa given Athenian citizenship; II² 2337.15 (init. s. Ip.) fr. of an obscure cat. of women; *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p. 254, no. 59 (s. I/II p.) ded., a prominent Πῶλλα is not an Athenian. Many examples of Πῶλλα are on sep. monuments where there is no indication of the citizenship of the women bearing the name, cf. e.g. II² 10161, II² 12475 (= *Hesperia* 3 [1934] p. 100, no. 140), II² 11826, II² 11253, II² 12030 (all s. Ia.), II² 12382, II² 11937/8, II² 11331 (all s. Ip.), II² 10161 a (in text), II² 12565, II² 10906 (all aet. Rom.); etc. Cf. also Πωλλίττα (always has Ω or O, never AY), e.g. II² 2776.101 (aet. Trajani, cf. *Hesperia* 41 [1972] p. 476) financial document. There is also a variant with short o, Πόλλα, cf. II² 4234 (ca. 2) ded., which honors the wife of the consul suffectus of 2 B.C.; II² 7703 (fin. s. Ip.) sep. mon. of an Athenian; II² 10156 (s. Ia., cf. 6.05, no. 14, p. 137 supra) sep. mon. (cf. 12.012, nos. 1, 4, and 6, pp. 229–230 supra).

Plautus, Plautina, etc.: Πλαύτιος is attested, but AY is very rare in the Greek forms of these names. Only Πλωτ- is attested in Attica, cf. Πλώτιος Π² 2338.73 (27/6–18/7) cat.; Π² 2203.96 (paulo post 200p.) eph. cat.; Πλώτις (cf. 28.01) Π² 12476/7 (ca. 150p.) sep. mon.; Πλωτία Π² 12475 (= *Hesperia* 3 [1934] p. 100, no. 140) (s. Ia.) sep. mon.; Πλωτεῖνα Π² 1099.16 (121 p.) imp. letters, Plotina above in the Latin text.

Saufeius (cf. 22.032): AY is infrequent, cf. Σαυφήιος, one of the epengraphoi on an eph. cat., Π² 2097.276 (169/70p.); cf. [Σαυ]φή(ιος) Π² 2121.11 (s. IIp.) cat. fr. (eph.?). Σωφήιος Π² 3897.4, 8 (ca. 78, cf. *Hesperia* 18 [1949] p. 99) ded., a prominent Roman; Σω[φή] Π² 1775.45 (168/9p.) pryt. cat., an Athenian; Σωφήιος (cf. 7.0112, p. 141 supra) Π² 12713 (s. II/IIIp.) sep. mon., probably not an Athenian. There is a variant in δ, cf. Σοφήιος Π² 6152 (date?) sep. mon. of an Athenian (cf. 12.012, no. 72, p. 232 supra).

Lit.: Eckinger pp. 13–14.

13.00 The more recent δ-vowel [oː] (later [uː]), O or OY

A second long o-vowel was produced in Greek by certain contractions (e.g. o + o in νοῦς ← νόος) and compensatory lengthenings (e.g. ἔχουσι ← ἔχονσι, etc.). In the Attic script this closer long o-vowel is represented by O, the same grapheme as for inherited long o (later spelled Ω) and short o; the grapheme OY is normally only used in those few words which contained an inherited diphthong [oʷ], such as οὐκ, βοῦς, οὔτος, etc. (cf. 21.00a, pp. 349ff. *infra* for a list). But in the fifth century, especially towards the end of it, there are increasing cases of OY as a grapheme for the long o-vowel and of O for the diphthong ou, which suggests that the two sounds, already rather similar, have become identical. The orthography is standardized in favor of OY for original [oː] and the diphthong by about 350 B.C.

13.01 O and OY as graphemes for [oː] before 403 B.C.

An early text from Marathon, probably a deme decree (no. 1), three dedications of the early fifth century (nos. 2a–b, 3), several late sixth-century and early fifth-century dipinti (no. 4), and earlier ostraca (no. 5) contain the earliest examples of OY for the more recent long o-vowel from Attica. Thereafter OY occurs occasionally in texts on stone, even on a few state decrees (cf. nos. 7, 11, 16ab, 17, 20, and 22), of which the earliest is Π² 22 (450/49, no. 7 *infra*), with both φρογ- and φρουγ-. But the number of examples is small, and within a given text O is usually the normal grapheme for [oː]. Although the establishment of OY for [oː] is parallel to the spread of EI for [eː], there is very little overlap between the much more frequent use of EI for [eː] in the later fifth century and the use of OY for [oː]; nos. 16a and 17 (= 9.011, nos. 26a and 29, p. 175 *supra*) are unusual in having both EI and OY. There is also not much connection between the use of Ionic script and OY for [oː]; unusual in this respect are nos. 9, 14, 17, and 22. But in most cases the use of OY is only sporadic, while the Ionic script is used consistently (cf. 2.011 *supra*). Exceptional here is no. 17, with

consistent use of Ionic script and both OY and EI, and its pre-403 date is suspect (cf. 2.011, no. 11, p. 31 *supra*); cf. also the defixio supposedly of ca. 450 date with these same writing practices, *Kerameikos* 3, p. 91, no. 3 (cf. 9.011, p. 173 *supra*; Introduction p. 8 *supra*).

The precise phonological developments are difficult to ascertain because of ambiguities of the script. The sounds of the diphthong [o^u] and of the closer long o-vowel [oː] were close enough to cause difficulties among the semi-literate even without their eventual identity in pronunciation. The tenaciousness of O as the grapheme for [oː] and its extension to the diphthong, as in βῶς, ὄκ, τότο (= τούτου), etc., by the later fifth century points towards monophthongization of ou to [oː] or [uː]; if the monophthongization was to [oː], the rapid increase in the use of OY as the grapheme for both original ou and [oː] in the second quarter of the fourth century and the abandonment of O for this sound by ca. 350 might be evidence that the vowel has moved from [oː] to [uː]. It is also possible that [uː] was already a competing pronunciation (with [oː]) for the now monophthongized diphthong ou and original [oː] in the late fifth and early fourth centuries B.C. Others have thought that the original [oː] moved towards ou, i.e. became a diphthong [o^u], and that this diphthong then moved to [uː] by ca. 350. This view seems less convincing, because it entails the explaining of the fondness for spellings like βολή, τούτο, etc. as due to spelling conservatism and makes ὄκ, βῶς, hard to explain.

Other spellings were occasionally used for [oː] in the late Archaic and early Classical Periods: Ω, not an Attic letter but used in texts in Attic script, on a few early dedications, ostraca, and dipinti (cf. 2.034, pp. 47 ff. *supra*); Y, very rare, probably an inept attempt at OY (cf. 13.04, p. 260 *infra*). In such large groups of ostraca as have thus far been studied, the normal spelling is O for [oː]; only a small percentage has other spellings, and Ω for [oː] is usually slightly more frequent than OY (cf. nos. 5, 12–13 *infra*; 2.034, nos. 7–8, 11–12, pp. 48–9 *supra*). Hesitation between O and Y (or OY?) can be seen in the sep. mon., I² 1002 (= IGAA p. 131, no. 28) (ca. 510–500), where Ἀντιδότῳ has been corrected to Ἀντιδότο; the final intention of the writer was probably -το, rather than -του, as the O has been carved directly on top of the Y (cf. p. 260 *infra*).

M. Guarducci has recently (cf. EG 1 p. 135) returned to the interpretation of the final letters of the oldest Attic text, I² 919 (ca. 725?), as τοτο δε καλμν, rejected by Kirchner (cf. his note to I² 247) and Jeffery (cf. LSAG p. 76, no. 1). Guarducci's interpretation is attractive because it places this text semantically within a common type of vase inscriptions. The isolation of the early example of O for the diphthong ou, while troublesome, is probably not the fatal objection, since [o^u] and [oː] are sounds easily confused. But it must be admitted that the reading of the last letters of the text is in considerable doubt; probably Jeffery's cautious τοτοδεκαλμν = το τοδε καλμ{μ}ν{ν}?? is all that is justified.

Another possible early case of OY for [oː] in a public text occurs in one of the boustrophedon law-code fragments of the early fifth century, cf.]ουριου[in *Hesperia* 17 (1948) pp. 86 ff., Block 2, Face A.c6–7 (= I² 839.6–7; LSAG p. 78, no. 44) (500–480), which has been restored by some as Ἀπατ]ουριου[ς, cf. Hiller's note in IG I², and Sokolowski, *Supplément* p. 10, no. 2 (= SEG 21.4). Although the restoration is subject to doubt, this is probably a case of OY for [oː], as -ουριος with original diphthong is much rarer than -δριος, unless Θ]ουριου[is possible here. Other restorations might be suggested, such as Ἡγεσούρια, cf. BCH 87 (1963) pp. 603 ff., lines B28–29 and p. 620, or some derivative of Ἀρχτοῦρος, but in these cases too [oː], not original ou, is involved. As the expected Attic reflex of -ορφ/—V is -ορ/—V, the [oː] of Ἀπατ]ορ(ι)ος, derived from Ἀπατορφ(ι)ος, is presumably an Ionism, as is also the loss of the

aspiration (cf. *DEG* 1, p.96; Schwyzler, *GG* 1, p.228, p.479, note 9), cf. the ου of Κουροτρόφος, Διοσκουρίδης (cf. 11.041, p.219 supra). The spelling Ἀπατ|ορίων occurs in a phratry decree of 396/5 which has only O for [oː] (65 times), but a mixture of O and OY for the inherited diphthong, cf. *II*² 1237.28–29 (cf. table A, p.244 infra); likewise the masculine personal name ΑΠΑΤΟΡΙΟΣ occurs on several texts of the late fifth and early fourth centuries, cf. *I*² 964.72 (= *SEG* 10.424) (ca. 409, cf. *Hesperia* 33 [1964] p.55) cas. list, *II*² 10708 (init. s. IVa.), *II*² 10707, *II*² 10709 (both ante 350) sep. monuments. But in these ambiguous cases it is more likely that the O is for [oː], rather than that the Attic reflex with short o should appear in these spellings. Note the spelling Ἀπατουρίους in a decree of a genos, *Hesperia* 7 (1938) pp.1ff., no. 1, line 92 (363/2). The name Ἀπατ|ούριος is attested in *II*² 1224.28 (ca. 166) decree (cleruchs).

Lit.: *MS*³ p.6, note 22; pp.26–27, notes 134–142; pp.62–63, notes 530–538; Lademann, p.115; Sturtevant, pp.44–47.

Examples:

1) ἡρακτοῦρος *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p.332, line 10 (fin. s. VIa.). Probably a decree or a law of a deme; for Ἀρακτοῦρος with ō from o + o derived from ἀρακτο- + -ορος (as in φρουρός, κηπουρός, etc.), cf. *DEG* 1, p.110;

2a) ἡπποθερέδε[ς] ἡρακλέους *I*² 777 (init. s. Va.) ded.

and

2b) ἀρ{v}γυρίου *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p.148, no.1 (= *DAA* p.281, no.246) (fin. s. VIa.) ded.;

nos. 2a and 2b are two dedications made by the same individual, cf. *Hesperia*, loc. cit.;

3) δοῦλιο[ν] ἔμαρ *I*² 763 I (= Meiggs-Lewis p.54, no.26 I) (post 480) ded. For [oː] rather than the inherited diphthong in this word, cf. Cretan δῶλος, and now Mycenaean *doer-*, cf. *DEG* 1 p.294; δδλος in *Hesperia* 36 (1967) pp.72ff., no.15, Face C (p.78), line 52 (ca. 478–470) sacred regulations and in *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p.287, no.10, line 3 (= *I*² 328.3) (ca. 414) inv.;

4) Dipinti (cf. Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* p.108) on bf. and rf. vases: e.g. -ρακλέους *ABV* p.331, Priam painter no.5 (= *CVA*, England 9, plates 8.5–6; 7.9; 9.3, and text pp.99–100) (fin. s. VIa.); Λετοῦ, ἡερμου *ABV* p.333, near the Priam painter (i) no.1 (= *CVA*, France 9, plate 71.4, 6, 9); Λετοῦς (retrograde) *ARV*² p.23, Phintias no.1 (= *CVA*, France 8, plate 28.6, 8); Περίθους *ARV*² p.27, Euthymides no.4 (= *CVA*, Germany 12, plate 161.1–2); Αὐτόβουλος (retrograde) *ARV*² p.61, Olto no.68; etc.;

5) Graffiti and ostraca (the latter of the decade ca. 490–480): e.g. Σμικρόγου *Agora* 21, p.31, no.F23 (init. s. Va.) graffiti (originally published as an ostrakon, cf. *Hesperia* 15 [1946] p.277, no.19); Ostraca: Μεγαλῆς [h]o ἡπποκρά[το]ς *Hesperia* 15 (1946) p.271, no.2; Κρατίου *Hesperia*, suppl. 5 (1941) p.141, no.29; [Καλλίχσε]νος Ἀριστονόμου *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p.384, no.13. Of about one hundred ostraca of Kallixenos in the Agora, 93 have O for [oː] (in the genitive of the patronymic), six or seven have Ω, one has OY, one has Y; of the more than sixty Themistocles ostraca, five have Νεοκλέως, and three Νεοκλέους, cf. *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p.385, note 24; E. Vanderpool has pointed out to me that of a group of just under fifty Hippokrates ostraca (cf. *Hesperia* 15 [1946] pp.274–275, no.13) less than five have OY for [oː], less than five Ω for [oː];

6) Φροῦραρχος *I*² 929.49 (ca. 460, cf. *SEG* 14.19) cas. list; Φροῦρος *ib.* 177 (← *προ-ορος);

7) φροῦρῶν *I*² 22.64 (450/49, cf. *SEG* 23.7) decree, but φροῦδε *ib.* 74 (L.);

- 8) Ἀρχιτέλης Νουμένιος I² 1033 (date? “litterae pulchrae formae antiquioris” but probably not earlier than 450 B.C.) sep. mon.; for Νδμένιος, cf. I² 929.120, I² 304.67 (L.);
- 9) Διονύσου, ἀργυρίου I² 186/7A (= AJA 5 [1889] pp.304ff.) inv. from Ikaria; has O and OY in entries IV and V (in Ionic script), only O in entries I–III (in Attic script) and in VI (in Ionic script). The earliest entries (I–II) date ca. 450, the others probably not much later, cf. 2.011, no. 19;
- 10) τεμένους I² 869 (date uncertain, has three-bar sigma, but this could perhaps be later in a text from rural Attica) horos (from Keratea);
- 11) --ελουμε-- (= χσυντ]ελοῦμε[ν?]) I² 38.1 (ante 446/5?) decree (L.);
- 12) Δεινίου I² 911.2 (= AM 40 [1915] p. 12, no. 18) (444/3) ostrakon;
- 13) Ὑπερβόλος Ἀντιφάνους *Hesperia* 8 (1939) p. 246, fig. 47 (418–416) ostrakon;
- 14/5) [Μνασιλό]χου ἄρχοντος I² 298.2 (= Meiggs-Lewis p.250, no.81) (411/0) inv.; in Ionic script (cf. 2.011, no. 23, p. 32 supra);
- 16a) I² 108 I (410/9) decree: OY for [oː] virtually always, cf. οὔσιν in lines 28, 30, βουλῇ ib. 4, 23, 29, 32, 34, genitive singular in -ου ib. 19 (bis); certain cases of O for [oː] are genitive singular in -ο in ib. 20, 36; also has E/EI for [eː] (cf. 9.011, no.26a, p. 175 supra); not in Ionic script, but has H for [eː] (cf. 2.021, no. 13, p. 43 supra);
- 16b) τοὺς I² 108 II.45 (410/9, inscribed by a different hand from I² 108 I) decree, βουλῇ ib. 54; normally O for [oː], including τός, βολή;
- 17) I² 110a (= II² 142) (410/9) decree, always OY (3 cases), in Ionic script (cf. 2.011, no.11, p.31 supra), always has EI for [eː] (cf. 9.011, no.29, p.175 supra); for the evidence for the date, cf. p. 31 supra (L.);
- 18) συνάρχουσιν I² 274.170 (409/8, cf. SEG 10.198) inv., τοῦ ib. 174 (bis), κλεροῦχοι ib. 178, τοῦτο ib. 177 (L.);
- 19) τοῦ παρ(ε)λάβομεν I² 301.67 (409/8, cf. SEG 23.35) inv., but hδ παρ(ε)λάβομεν frequently *al.*;
- 20) ξυνβουλευούσας I² 106.19 (409/8, cf. SEG 24.16) decree, O for [oː] nine times, including βολ- (L.);
- 21) Φροῦραρχος SEG 10.424, stele no.4, line 19 (= *Hesperia* 7 [1938] p.82, no.10; I² 954 + I² 957 + I² 964 + new fr.) (ca. 409, cf. *Hesperia* 33 [1964] p.55) cas. list;
- 22) τοῦ I² 305.13 (406/5) inv., has O for [oː] twice; in Ionic script (cf. 2.011, no.27, p.32 supra);
- 23) δούς *Deltion* 19 (1964) *Chronika* p.67, plate 64c (fin. s. Va.) sep. mon., but Νικοβόλη in heading above;
- 24) τοὺς II² 12.24 (411, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.247, no.80) decree, O for [oː] many times; in Ionic script (cf. 2.011, no. 10, p.31 supra).

13.02 Establishment of the standard orthography OY = [oː] (403/2–ca. 350 B.C.)

For the restriction of the tables of this section to texts of considerable bulk and with good evidence for a fairly precise date, cf. 9.012, p.177 supra. For the correlation of the spread of EI for [eː] and OY for [oː], cf. pp.178, 184 supra; in general the spread of OY is slower than that of EI. For examples of O for ου (in-

herited diphthong), cf. 21.012, pp.351ff. *infra*; the final column of the tables gives incidences of original *ou*.

Throughout this section the symbol [oː] represents the more recent long o-vowel of *βολή*, *τῶ*, *τός*, etc., whether or not the pronunciation was [oː], [uː], or [uː] competing with [oː].

Lit.: MS³ p.27, note 142; cf. 13.01.

13.021 403/2–376/5. In this period the use of OY for [oː] remains rare. Only a very few of the decrees have OY at all, and quite unusual are II² 16 (394/3), with O and OY equally common, and II² 28 (387/6), with OY three times as many times as O. The inventories, catalogs, etc. largely avoid OY. These divisions by quarter-century are naturally arbitrary, and a naval inv., II² 1604–II² 1605 (cf. SEG 24.160) (ca. 376?), with OY more than twice as often as O, really belongs with the lists of the same type in the next period (cf. the treatment of EI in it, p.177 *supra*), while II² 1445, dated 375/4, but with only O for [oː], is like the texts seen here.

In the following table only fairly substantial texts with secure evidence for dating have been included; numerals give frequencies.

In Table A *infra* and in Table B.3 in 13.022 *infra* examples of *Ἰουλιῆται*, *Ἰουλιῆται* have been included with cases of [oː]; but as there are no examples earlier than the fourth c. in Attica, it remains uncertain whether [oː] or [oʷ] was original. Cf. p.350 *infra*.

Table A

Date	Text	O = [oː]	OY = [oː]	E and/or EI	OY (inherited diphthong)
<i>State decrees:</i>					
403/2	Π ² 1 (L.)	always (75 lines)	—	E/EI	τούτων in <i>ib.</i> 28, 31, restored elsewhere
just after 403/2	Π ² 8 (L.)	5 times	—	E	—
just after 403/2	Π ² 6	8 times	—	E	—
403/2 or shortly thereafter	<i>Hesperia</i> 40 (1971) p. 280, no. 7	10 times	—	E/EI	τότων in <i>ib.</i> 6, τ[ότ]ω[ν] in <i>ib.</i> 9
401/400	Π ² 10	3 times	—	E	—
399/8	Π ² 13 (L.)	4 times	—	E/EI	—
394/3	Π ² 16 (L.)	3 times	3 times (also restored <i>al.</i>)	E/EI	τούτ]ο (restored, stoich.) in <i>ib.</i> b 3
394/3	Π ² 17 (L.) + <i>Hesperia</i> 26 (1957) p. 51, no. 8	12 times	—	E/EI	—
just before 387/6	Π ² 24	8 times (restored <i>al.</i>)	*Αρχ[ι]που (in heading)	E	τούτων in <i>ib.</i> b 15
394–387	Π ² 27	5 times	—	E	—
387/6	Π ² 28 (L.)	4 times	14 times	E/EI	τούτων in <i>ib.</i> c 16, ούχ in <i>ib.</i> c 23, οὐδέ in <i>ib.</i> c 24
387/6	Π ² 29	7 times	[παραδοῦ]ναι?	E/EI	τούτων in <i>ib.</i> 15
387/6	Π ² 30 + <i>Hesperia</i> 40 (1971) p. 162, no. 23	at least 12 times	—	E/EI	—

The more recent ô-vowel

Date	Text	O = [o·]	OY = [o·]	E and/or EI	OY (inherited diphthong)
<i>State decrees (continued):</i>					
386/5	Π ² 31 (L.)	5 times	—	E/EI	—
385/4	Π ² 32 (L.)	10 times (restored <i>al.</i>)	β[ουλ]ῆς, βο[υ]λήν	—	τοιούτο[ν in <i>ib.</i> b 14, τούτον in <i>ib.</i> b 22
384/3	Π ² 34 (L.)	at least 14 times (restored <i>al.</i>)	—	E/EI	—
378/7	Π ² 40 (L.)	4 times	το[υ] Μυτιληναίο	E	—
378/7	Π ² 42 (L.)	17 times	—	E/EI	—
378/7	Π ² 43 (L.)	at least 36 times	οὐσ[ῶ]ν, Ἀστραιούσιοι, Ἰουλιῆται	E/EI	τούτοις in <i>ib.</i> 50
378/7	Π ² 44	11 times	—	E/EI	—
377/6	Π ² 95	3 times (very small fr.)	—	—	—
<i>Phratry decree:</i>					
396/5	Π ² 1237.1–113	always (65 times, including Ἀπατορέων [cf. p. 240 supra]); also several cases of O = the inherited diphthong (see last column at right)	—	E/EI	τοτο- in <i>ib.</i> 77, 84, 110, τοσάτωι in <i>ib.</i> 77, ὄα in <i>ib.</i> 36, ὀδένα in <i>ib.</i> 37, τουτο- in <i>ib.</i> 25, 34, 41, 52
<i>Tribal decrees:</i>					
390–380, cf. SEG 16.105	Π ² 1138	always (16 times)	—	EI	τούτων in <i>ib.</i> 12
376/5	Π ² 1141	3 times	οὓ	E/EI	οὐδέξ in <i>ib.</i> 3

Date	Text	O = [o·]	OY = [o·]	E and/or EI	OY (inherited diphthong)
<i>Deme decree:</i>					
ca. 400	Π ² 1172	always (40 lines)	—	E	τούτδς in <i>ib.</i> 14
<i>Sacred laws:</i>					
just after 403/2	<i>Hesperia</i> 4 (1935) pp. 19 ff., no. 2 (+ Π ² 1357)	9 times	—	E	βδς in <i>ib.</i> 22
just after 403/2	Π ² 1356	at least 10 times	—	—	—
<i>Inventories, etc.:</i>					
ca. 400	Π ² 1376 (L.)	12 times	—	E/EI	τούτο- <i>passim</i>
399/8	Π ² 1377 (L.)	5 times	—	E	τούτο- <i>passim</i>
ca. 400	Π ² 1386 (L.)	12 times	—	E	τούτο- <i>passim</i>
398/7	Π ² 1388	always (93 lines)	—	E/EI	τούτο- <i>passim</i> , Βουτάδης in <i>ib.</i> 12; Σονιάδο in <i>ib.</i> 8 (cf. 21.012, no. 6, p. 352 <i>infra</i>)
394–391	Π ² 1656–Π ² 1664, <i>Hesperia</i> 29 (1960) p. 24, no. 31	always (ca. 18 times)	—	E	Σουν Π ² 1659.5, 8 τούτων Π ² 1659.9, 13
init. s. IV a.	Π ² 1396 (L.)	14 times	ἐχουσ- twice	—	τούτδ in <i>ib.</i> b 31
390/89	Π ² 1400 (L.)	always (72 lines)	—	E/EI	Σονίο in <i>ib.</i> 48 (L.) τούτο- <i>passim</i>
ca. 390	Π ² 1401 (L.)	12 times	—	E	—

Date	Text	O = [o·]	OY = [o·]	E and/or EI	OY (inherited diphthong)
<i>Inventories, etc. (continued):</i>					
384/3	Π ² 1407	always (48 lines)	—	E/EI	τούτων in <i>ib.</i> 10
389/8	Π ² 1634 (L.)	9 times	τοῦ	EI	—
init. s. IV a.	<i>Deltion</i> 21 (1966) p. 134 (cat.)	28 times	Θουγείτων	—	—
383/2	Π ² 1930 (cat.)	always (26 lines)	—	EI	—
376/5	Π ² 1411	10 times (small fr.)	—	—	—
377/6	Π ² 1410	5 times (small fr.)	Θουδί[ππο	—	—
ca. 376?	Π ² 1604 + 1605, cf. SEG 24.160	10 times	26 times	EI	τότων Π ² 1605.9, τούτων <i>passim</i> , οὐδέν Π ² 1605.19 Σουνιάς Π ² 1604.30

13.022 375/4–351/0. In the course of the second quarter of the fourth century the use of OY becomes much more frequent, and except for examples early in the period (cf. II² 1445, II² 1635) only a very few texts, usually small fragments, avoid OY altogether. These chronological divisions by quarter-century are of course arbitrary, and II² 1445, II² 1635 just cited belong really with the inventories of the preceding period, while the first of the naval lists (II² 1604–II² 1605), although dated ca. 376, is of the same type as those in Table B.3 *infra*. Most inscriptions of this period have a mixture of O and OY for [oː] (probably pronounced [uː] by many persons?); the decrees II² 107 (368/7), 50 lines, II² 133 (355/4), 27 fragmentary lines, and inventory II² 1541 (356/5), 29 lines, are unusual in the exclusive use of OY. While the frequency of OY can be seen to increase, especially in the decrees, as the dates approach 350, there is by no means a simple chronological progression. Some quite large documents are throwbacks in their preference for O (cf. II² 116, II² 124, II² 1615–II² 1619, etc.). In general the inventories, etc. lag somewhat behind the state decrees in the use of OY. Many texts show no hesitation in using O and OY in close proximity and may spell the same word both ways.

Spellings like $\tau\omicron\tau\omicron$ -, $\delta\omicron\chi$, $\beta\delta\varsigma$, etc. continue to occur in this period (all examples in public documents are in the final columns of Tables B.1 and B.3; cf. also 21.012), usually in texts with marked preference for O (but note II² 1611). The simultaneous occurrence of $\delta\omicron\chi$ and $\sigma\delta\chi$, $\tau\omicron\tau\omicron$ - and $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$ - in the same text, where the original diphthong is not treated any differently from the \bar{o} -sound, is much more frequent in this period (cf. II² 111, II² 1425, II² 1611, II² 1640, II² 1358). Only a very few texts appear to preserve some distinction between the original diphthong and [oː] (probably spelling conservatism?) in their exclusive use of $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$ -, $\sigma\delta\chi$ alongside universal use of O (or very marked preference for O) for [oː] (cf. II² 1445, II² 1421; *Hesperia* 7 [1938] pp. 1 ff., no. 1, lines 1–67; even II² 1638, of 359/8). The opposite phenomenon, use of OY solely for [oː] alongside O for the inherited diphthong, occurs after 350, cf. 13.023, nos. 5, 6.

The following tables show the relative frequency for O and OY for [oː] and $\upsilon\upsilon$ in all the major decrees, inventories, and catalogs that can be dated fairly securely to the second quarter of the fourth century. In compiling statistics, examples in restorations have not been included in the figures; numbers in parentheses give frequencies. O or OY for $\upsilon\upsilon$ (original diphthong) have not been included in the figures in columns three and four.

The genitive singular forms in $-\kappa\lambda\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ pose a special problem. Naturally in texts with marked preference for O over OY these may represent $-\kappa\lambda\epsilon\delta\varsigma$; thus in *Hesperia* 7 (1938) pp. 1 ff., no. 1, line 44, Ἡρακλέος almost surely is for Ἡρακλέους , since the first 67 lines of this text use O almost exclusively. But in other dialects, notably Ionic, the normal genitive of these nouns was in $-\kappa\lambda\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, and the use of this form by some persons in Attica would not be surprising and could explain the continued use of $-\kappa\lambda\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ in certain later texts which otherwise use only OY, cf. 13.023, and Morphology. In table B.3 $-\kappa\lambda\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ has been arbitrarily interpreted as $-\kappa\lambda\epsilon\delta\varsigma$ in texts which exhibit a *marked* preference for OY over O.

Table B.1 Texts with only O for [o·]

Date	Text	Frequency of O	Notes and comments
<i>State decrees:</i>			
373/2	AJA 40 (1936) p.461, no. 2	(at least 2)	Very fragmentary; also has β]όν
368/7	Π ² 104 (L.)	(3)	Very small fr. Σποδίας
362/1	Π ² 114 (L.)	(6)	OY restored once, E/EI
362–355	<i>Hesperia</i> 26 (1957) p. 231, no. 87	(2)	Very small fr., E/EI
<i>Deme decree:</i>			
ca. 360	Π ² 1175 (L.)	(1)	τουῶτον in <i>ib.</i> 20
<i>Inventories, etc.:</i>			
375/4	<i>Hesperia</i> 30 (1961) p. 428 (= Π ² 1446 + new fr.; SEG 21.551)	(2)	Very small fr.; O restored once
375/4	Π ² 1445	(11)	τούτο- in <i>ib.</i> 25, οὐκ in <i>ib.</i> 25, 27; E
post 374/3	Π ² 1635 (L.)	(125 lines)	τότο- in <i>ib.</i> 36, 78, 80, ὁκ in <i>ib.</i> 112, 121, EI
367/6	<i>Hesperia</i> 11 (1942) p. 231, no. 43	(30 +)	pryt. cat., EI
367/6	Π ² 1428 (in add.) (L.)	(10)	E/EI
ca. 365?	Π ² 1427 (L.)	(3)	Very small fr.; ὁκ in <i>ib.</i> 8
355/4	Π ² 1639 (L.)	(4)	τήτων in <i>ib.</i> 10, τούτων in <i>ib.</i> 14

Table B.2 Texts with only OY for [o'] and ov

Date	Text	Frequency of OY	Notes and comments
<i>State decrees:</i>			
368/7	II ² 107 (L.)	(50 lines)	EI
357/6	II ² 125 (L.)	(7) restored <i>al.</i>	E/EI
357/6	II ² 126 (L.)	(2)	Very small fr., EI; O restored in <i>ib.</i> 7
355/4	II ² 133 (L.)	(11)	EI
351/0	II ² 205	(3)	Very small fr.
<i>Inventories, etc.:</i>			
ca. 367/6	II ² 1429	(4)	Quite fragmentary
ca. 367/6	II ² 1432	(3)	Quite fragmentary, EI
365/4	II ² 1451	(5)	
356/5	II ² 1541 (L.)	(10)	EI
ca. 354–350 (354/3 last year mentioned)	II ² 1437 (L.)	(5)	Perhaps carved after 353/2, but at approximately same time as II ² 120, cf. <i>Hesperia</i> 7 (1938) p. 286, and II ² 1438
<i>Uncertain (O in restoration only):</i>			
<i>Tribal decree:</i>			
361/0	AE 1965 pp. 131 ff.	(4)	δοῦναι in <i>ib.</i> 6, ληιτουργιῶν in <i>ib.</i> 3, acc. pl. -ους, etc.

Table B.3 Texts with O and OY for [oː]

Date	Text	O	OY	E and/ or EI	OY (inherited or EI diphthong)
<i>State decrees:</i>					
375/4	Π ² 96 (L.)	(10) δδναι, acc. pl., -δες, gen. sing. -δ, ἡρώσας	(4) βουλῇ, τοῖς	E/EI	τούτων in ib. 18
375/4	Π ² 97 (L.)	(3) acc. pl. -δες, [ε]ύο[ρ]ῶντι	(2) πλῆθους, πολέμου	EI	—
373/2	Π ² 101 (very small fr.)	(4) gen. sing. -δ	(2) τοῦ, Ἰουδαίτης	—	—
ca. 370	Π ² 102 (L.)	(7) gen. sing. -δ, τός	(7) δοῦναι, gen. sing. -ου, acc. pl. -ους	EI	—
369/8	Π ² 103 (L.)	(6) λέγουσιν, gen. sing. -δ, acc. pl. -δες	(12) βουλ-, acc. pl. -ους	EI	—
368/7	Π ² 105 + Π ² 523, cf. <i>Hesperia</i> 7 (1938) p. 627, no. 2	(4) Ναυσιγέινος, αὐτῷ, τός	(13) βουλ-, acc. pl. -ους	EI	—
368/7	Π ² 106 (L.)	(13) βολ-, gen. sing. -δ, acc. pl. -δες	(1) ἀπαγγέλλουσιν	EI	—
363/2	Π ² 109 (L.)	(15) gen. sing. -δ, acc. pl. -δες, gen. sing. -δες, δδναι, οἰκόντι	(17) βουλ-, gen. sing. -ου, acc. pl. -ους, οὐσίας	E/EI	—
363/2	Π ² 110 (L.)	(1) δῆμο	(12) βουλ-, gen. sing. -ου, acc. pl. -ους	EI	—

Date	Text	O	OY	E and/ or EI	OY (inherited or EI diphthong)
<i>State decrees (continued):</i>					
363/2	Π ² 111 (L.)	(75+) βολ-, τολυπ-, φάνυσσιν, ἀφείλουσιν, δδναι, ὀ(σ)ιαις, gen. sing. -ῶ, acc. pl. -ῶς	(13) Ἰουλυπ-, gen. sing. -ου, οῦς, οὐάαν	E/EI	Βοτάδης in <i>ib.</i> 3, ὁ in <i>ib.</i> 58, ὀδέναι in <i>ib.</i> 60, ὀδεμᾶι in <i>ib.</i> 64, οὐ in <i>ib.</i> 59, 60, 63, 71, etc., τούτων in <i>ib.</i> 46
362/1	Π ² 112 (L.)	(2) Ἀγαθάρχο, πρόβουλευσεν	(9) βουλ-, τελουμένων, ἀδικουμένων, acc. pl. -ους	EI	—
361/0	Π ² 116 (L.)	(36) βολ-, ἐξορκώσασιν, ἀρχουσιν, gen. sing. -ῶ, acc. pl. -ῶς	(7) βουλ-, λέγουσιν, gen. sing. -ου, acc. pl. -ους	EI	—
361/0	Π ² 117 (L.)	(6) τός, βολ-, δδναι, τῶ	(3) βουλ-, φαίνουσιν	E/EI	—
376-360	Π ² 141	(8) gen. sing. -ῶ, βολ-, οἰκῶντες, αὐτός	(6) οῦς, δδσναι, gen. sing. -ου, τούς	E/EI	οὐκ in <i>ib.</i> 7-8
357/6	Π ² 123 (L.)	(2) gen. sing. -κλέος, τῇ βολ[ῇ]	(3) gen. sing. -κλέους, φρουροί, δδσναι	EI	—
357/6	<i>Hesperia</i> 8 (1939) p. 12, no. 4	(5) λέγουσιν, βολῇ, τός, gen. sing. -ῶς	(1) πρώτους	E/EI	—
357/6	Π ² 124 (L.)	(12) gen. sing. -ῶ, δδναι, τός	(4) τοῦ, δδσναι, βουλ-	E/EI	—
356/5	Π ² 127 (L.)	(2) αὐ[τῶ], ἡκόσ[τες], ὁ restored <i>al.</i>	(8) gen. sing. -ου, acc. pl. -ους, βουλ-	E/EI	οὐ in <i>ib.</i> 42

Text	O	OY	E and/ EI	OY (inherited or EI diphthong)
<i>State decrees (continued):</i>				
356/5	Π ² 128 (L.)	(2) Ἐλπίνο, τός	(9) βουλ-, gen. sing. -ου, -ους, λέγονται	- τούτων in <i>ib.</i> 19
before 355	Π ² 149	(3) δῆμο, τός	(9) ἀδικούμενοι, βουλ-, ἐποιοῦν, δοῦναι, gen. sing. -ου, acc. pl. -ους	EI -
355/4	Π ² 130	(1) Οἶδ	(6+) βουλ-, gen. sing. -ου, -ους, acc. pl. -ους	EI -
353/2	Π ² 138 (L.) (very small fr.)	(1) Διοφθέο	(3) Θεοδῆμου, βουλ-	-
353/2	Π ² 139 (L.) (very small fr.)	(1) -θέο	(2) Θεοδ-, βουλ-	-
353/2 (cf. <i>Hesperia</i> 7 [1938] p. 286)	Π ² 120 (L.)	(9) χαλκός, ἔχουσιν, σιδηρόν [σί]χ, τὸ πέπλο	(20+) gen. sing. -ου, acc. pl. -ους, βουλ-, δοῦναι	τούτων, οὐ(χ) <i>passim</i> , ἀκούσας
353/2	Π ² 140 (L.)	(1) Χαιρημονίδο	(14) gen. sing. -ου, θου-, βουλ-	-
352/1	Π ² 204 (L.)	(2) δδναι, προέδρος	(40+) δοῦναι, βουλ-, gen. sing. -ου, acc. pl. -ους, μισθοῦν	Σ]ουν[αὐς in <i>ib.</i> 80

Date	Text	O	OY	E and/ or EI	OY (inherited or EI diphthong)
<i>Deme decrees:</i>					
367/6	Π ² 1174	(2) τός	(1) ἐξορκιστώ	—	—
ca. 360	Π ² 1176 + <i>Hesperia</i> 29 (1960) p. 1, no. 1	(2) gen. sing. - δ	(12) βουλ-, gen. sing. -ου, acc. pl. -ους	EI	τούτους in <i>ib.</i> 5
<i>Decree of genos of Salaminiotai:</i>					
363/2	<i>Hesperia</i> 7 (1938) pp. 1ff., no. 1	(65+) gen. sing. - δ , - $\delta\varsigma$, acc. pl. - $\delta\varsigma$, Κοροστρόφο, Ἡρακλέος	(19) τούς, ὁμολογούντας, Ἡρακλέου (gen. of τὸ Ἡράκλειον), Μουνιχι, Κου- ροστρόφωι, βουλ-, gen. sing. -ου, -ους, acc. pl. -ους	E/EI	τούτων in <i>ib.</i> 30, 37, 96, Σουνιεύς in <i>ib.</i> 69, 70, Βουτάδης in <i>ib.</i> 76, 77, βοῦς <i>ib.</i> 86, Σόνιον in <i>ib.</i> 4, 95
<i>Decree of nomothetai:</i>					
375/4	<i>Hesperia</i> 43 (1974) p. 157	(21) gen. sing. - δ , acc. pl. - $\delta\varsigma$, βολή, δδλος, -όντες	(8) τοῦ, τούς, οὐ	E/EI	—
<i>Decree of Cean cities:</i>					
before 350	Π ² 1128	(3) Ἰολιῆται	(28) gen. sing. -ου, acc. pl. -ους, δοῦναι, δοῦλος, βουλ-	EI	—
<i>Inventories, etc.:</i>					
374/3	Π ² 1606	(6) gen. sing. - δ , acc. pl. - $\delta\varsigma$	(9) gen. sing. -ου, acc. pl. -ους	EI	οὐδέν in <i>ib.</i> 9, 13, 31, etc., τούτων in <i>ib.</i> 43
373/2	Π ² 1607 (L.) + Π ² 1608 (cf. SEG 24.160)	Π ² 1607 (11) gen. sing. - δ , acc. pl. - $\delta\varsigma$	(19) acc. pl. -ους	EI	τούτων in <i>ib.</i> 13, etc.
		Π ² 1608 (4) gen. sing. - δ	(15) gen. sing. -ου, acc. pl. -ους	EI	οὐθέν in <i>ib.</i> 20, etc. οὔτος in <i>ib.</i> 8, etc., οὐ in <i>ib.</i> 43, etc.

Date	Text	O	OY	E and/ or EI	OY (inherited diphthong)
<i>Inventories, etc. (continued):</i>					
before 371/0	Π ² 1447				
not after 370/69	Π ² 1609 (L.)	(3) gen. sing. -ō, ἀγγυός (20) gen. sing. -ō, acc. pl. -ōς, ὀφθαλμοῦ	(3) gen. sing. -ou (18+) δούναι, ἔχουσα, Σώζουσα, gen. sing. -ou	-	-
374/3 (cf. SEG 21.549)	Π ² 1421 + Π ² 1423 + Π ² 1424	(16) βολ., Μλησιουφίξ, gen. sing. -ō, χουαός	(1) gen. sing. -ou	E/EI	οὔτοι in <i>ib.</i> 44, etc., τούτων in <i>ib.</i> 60, οὐκ in <i>ib.</i> 74, etc., Σουσι in <i>ib.</i> 89 Σουσιεύς in <i>ib.</i> 70, οὐκ in <i>ib.</i> 97, etc., τούτο- in <i>ib.</i> 114
369/8	Π ² 1424a (in add.) (L.)	Π ² 1423 Π ² 1424 (1) ἔχουσα (8) χουαός, gen. sing. -ō	(1) τοῦ (2) βουλῆ, χουαός		-
368/7	Π ² 1425 (L.)	(25+) χουαός, ἔχουσα, Εὐβολίδης, etc. (75+) χουαός, gen. sing. -ō, -ōς, ἔχουσα, βολ- (30+) gen. sing. -ō, -ōς, Μονυχίωνος (3) acc. pl. -ōς, gen. sing. -ō (+ -άλεος 4 times)	(55+) χουαός, βουλ- ἔχουσα, etc. (15) χουαός, βουλ- gen. sing. -ους, ἔχουσα (10+) gen. sing. -ou, φέρουσα (20) Πράτλων, acc. pl. -ους, Κρατούση, ἔχουσα, gen. sing. -ou	EI E/EI E/EI EI	οὐκ in <i>ib.</i> 292, 294, etc., τούτο- in <i>ib.</i> 298 ὄκ in <i>ib.</i> 206, 208, τούτων in <i>ib.</i> 273, τότων in <i>ib.</i> 216 Σουσι in <i>ib.</i> 46, 63, etc., οὐκ in <i>ib.</i> 13, etc. οὔτοι in <i>ib.</i> 21, etc., τούτων in <i>ib.</i> 143, etc., τότων in <i>ib.</i> 210
356/5	Π ² 1612	(7) gen. sing. -ōς, -ō, acc. pl. -ōς (+ -άλεος 3 times) (2) gen. sing. -ō, -ōς	(17) θάλλουσαν, gen. sing. -ου, acc. pl. -ους (28) gen. sing. -ου, -ους, ἔχουσαν, Μουνιχ- Θου-	EI	τούτων in <i>ib.</i> 91, Σπουδίας in <i>ib.</i> 113
353/2	Π ² 1613-1614 (L.) (cf. SEG 24.160)			EI	τούτων in 1613.166, etc., οὔτοι in 1613.174, etc., οὐκ in 1613.38
after 358/7	Π ² 1615 (L.) + Π ² 1616 (L.) + Π ² 1617 + Π ²	(7) gen. sing. -ō, -ōς	(7) ὀφθαλμοῦσαν, ἔχουσαν, acc. pl. -ους	EI	Π ² 1615 τούτο- in <i>ib.</i> 4, 43, etc.

Date	Text	O	OY	E and/or EI	OY (inherited diphthong)
<i>Inventories, etc. (continued):</i>					
359/8	1618 (L.) + Π ² 1619 (cf. SEG 24.160)	Π ² 1616 (8) gen. sing. -ὄ, -ὄς	(in Π ² 1616 no ou)		Π ² 1616 τούτ- in <i>ib.</i> 43, etc.
		Π ² 1617 (12) gen. sing. -ὄ, -ὄς, Παιμόσιος	(6) ὀφέλουσιν, acc. pl. -οὐς		Π ² 1618 τούτ- in <i>ib.</i> 55, οὐθέν in <i>ib.</i> 87
		Π ² 1618 (11) gen. sing. -ὄ, -ὄς, acc. pl. -ὄς	(6) Μουνιχίας, gen. sing. -ου, ὀφέλουσιν		
354/3	Π ² 1638	Π ² 1619 (1) Μελησιάνδρου	(1) ὀφέλουσιν	-	τούτων in <i>ib.</i> 59
		(13) χρουός, gen. sing. -ὄ, Λητός	(2) χαλασι, λένους		
356/5 – 353/2	Π ² 1640 (L.)	(18) gen. sing. -ὄ, χρουός, χός, σιδηρόν	(5) -άλεους, gen. sing. -ου, λυχρούχα	-	τούτῳ in <i>ib.</i> 5, etc., τό[τ]ων in <i>ib.</i> 21
		(50+) gen. sing. -ὄ, acc. pl. -ὄς, ποιόντα, έχόσας, δδναι	(70+) acc. pl. -οὐς, [π]ο[ι]ο[ν]τ[ι]ν[τα], δ[ο]τ[ι]ν[τα], ποιόντα, δδναι, μέζους	E/EI	τούτ- in <i>ib.</i> B 61, B 85
352/1 or 351/0, cf. <i>Hesperia</i> 7, p. 288	Π ² 1438 + <i>Hesperia</i> 7 (1938) p. 281, no. 16	(2) κινόν, χαλαός	(30+) χρουσι, gen. sing. -ου, -οὐς, θουδῆμον	EI	τούτου in <i>ib.</i> 24
<i>Sacred calendars, laws, etc.:</i>					
375 – 350?	BCH 87 (1963) pp. 603 ff. (= SEG 21.541; Sokolowski, <i>Lois</i> ² p. 36, no. 18)	(20+) gen. sing. -ὄ, Κοροστράφος, Μονιχι-	(15+) gen. sing. -ου, Κοροστράφος, Μονιχι-	E	οὐ in <i>ib.</i> A 5, etc., τούτ- in <i>ib.</i> E 52
		(16) οἶνο, Κοροστράφος	(19) gen. sing. -ου, Εἰββούλον, Μονιχι-, κύουσα, Κοροστράφος	EI	βός in <i>ib.</i> 6, 20, 21, 35, 43, βούς in <i>ib.</i> 8, 9, 41, 55
375 – 350	Π ² 1358 (L.)				

13.023 350/49–325/4

a) By the mid-fourth century the use of O instead of OY for [o·] or ου is very rare in state decrees, e.g. only OY in Π² 206 (349/8), 35 lines, Π² 207 (349/8), more than 40 fragmentary lines, Π² 212 (347/6), 68 lines (O restored once). Such cases of O as occur are sporadic survivals in texts in which OY is almost universal; only two decrees have O for the inherited diphthong (cf. nos. 5–6).

Examples:

- 1) Εὐβολίδης Π² 218.6 (346/5) decree, gen. sing. -ὸ *ib.* 7, 15, 17 (bis), Διοσκο[ρί]δης *ib.* 7, but Διοσκοουρίδης *ib.* 15, etc., βολή *ib.* 9, elsewhere, even in the same line, βουλή, τοὺς στρατηγός *ib.* 18; OY 29 times;
- 2) Εὐβόλ[ου] Π² 219 (345/4) decree, tiny fr. (L.);
- 3) Οἰνοβίο Π² 220.4 (344/3) decree, OY four times (L.);
- 4) β[ολ]ή Π² 229.6 (341/0) decree, cf. Σμικύ[θο] *ib.* 3, OY three times, including βουλή (L.);
- 5) ὅκ Robert, *Etudes* (1938) pp. 296ff., line 9 (= Siewert pp. 5–7) (paulo post 350? cf. *Charisterion Orlandou A*, pp. 79–87) oath (ephebes), probably a careless mistake, οὐκ?; cf. στείχῃω for στοιχῃω in *ib.* 8;
- 6) ὁδέ Π² 236.12 (338/7) decree, οὐκ, etc. three times, φρο[ύ]ριον *ib.* 8 (L.);
- 7) τοῦ δήμο Π² 244.45 (337/6) decree, Τιμωνίδο *ib.* 46, Μονιχίαι *ib.* 47, θεο *ib.* 38, στρατογύλο πύργο *ib.* 82–83, OY frequent *al.* 110 lines of text, including Μονιχίαι *ib.* 92;
- 8) βολή Π² 336.a 7 (cf. add.) (334/3) decree, OY six times, restored *al.* (L.);
- 9) Λυκόργος Π² 337.31 (333/2) decree, OY 26 times (L.);
- 10) πειθομένος *Hesperia* 9 (1940) pp. 59ff., no. 8, col. 1.8 (333/2) decree, Καλλιφάνος *ib.* col. 1.25, τός *ib.* col. 1.33, Τιμοθέο *ib.* col. 2.10, Ἀριστοτέλος *ib.* col. 2.12, OY 15 times, Σουνιά *ib.* 1.16, value of names in -κλεος ambiguous, cf. *infra*;
- 11) ?Πυθοδ[ό]το, δήμου *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p. 40, no. 7, line 1 (343/2?) decree;
- 12) πειθαρχόντας Π² 1156.56 (334/3) decree (tribe) (Reinmuth p. 6 prints πειθαρχοντας, but there is no justification for such a word), OY more than 50 times, including πειθαρχοῦσιν *ib.* 29, also Κτησικλέος *ib.* 53 (L.);
- 13) Λυκόργος (not the same man as in no. 9 *supra*) *Agora* 15, p. 59, no. 49, line 10 (= AE 1917, p. 40, no. 92) (328/7) decree; OY frequent *al.*; has copying errors;
- 14) ἰδίο Θημακεύς *Kerameikos* 3, p. 13, no. 10, line 3 (325/4) decree prescript; OY eight times.

For Π² 254, decree with βολήν in line 5, there is no adequate indication of date.

b) In the inventories, accounts, lists, etc. the practice of abbreviation by cutting off the last letter or letters of words becomes increasingly frequent in the fourth century, especially from about 350 on; this practice may or may not be accompanied by the use of punctuation signs to indicate abbreviation, cf. 5.011. Most of the examples of O for OY in the genitive singular in texts of these types later than 350 B.C. are really merely abbreviatory curtailments of this kind. Thus whereas MS³ p. 6, note 22, cited IG II, no. 836B (then dated 270–262), a large inventory of the epistatai of Asclepius, as evidence for the late continuation of the writing of O for OY, the forms in O are only abbreviatory curtailments of the sort very frequent in this text, cf. Π² 1534B

(now dated 247/6), lines 235 (δέκ), 238 (Φρεαρε), 253 (῾Οαθε), etc. (MS³ corrected by Larfeld, *Handbuch* 2.2 p.463, and Kirchner's note to II² 1534B.199, on p.140 of *IG* II², pars 2, fasc. 1). A similar case is II² 1629, a naval list of 325/4 (= *IG* II, no.809); although Kirchner apparently also failed to understand the spellings in O in this text (cf. his note to II² 2839.4), they very often occur at the end of the line, where it is certain that the shortenings are due to considerations of space, e.g. lines 256, 563, 571, 585, 695, etc. (L.); elsewhere spellings in O are in lines with other shortenings, of which this text has a great many, e.g. Κηφισοδώρο Ἀναγ *ib.* 770, Ἀρχενίκο ξεργ *ib.* 584, Δημοσθένε Παιανι *ib.* 526, etc. The fact that genitives in -ους are shortened to -ου or -ο in this text, but are never spelled -ος, e.g. Ἐπιγένους *ib.* 23, Ἐπιγένο *ib.* 599, Ἐπιγένου *ib.* 838, is also a clue that abbreviation is involved in the genitive in -O.

The number of documents with examples of O for OY in the genitive where O is due to this sort of abbreviation is quite large. In general the presence of other abbreviations in a given text or the occurrence of the O spelling at the ends of lines where there was not sufficient space to complete the word are sufficient grounds for placing it in this category. In view of the Greek practice of abbreviating by dropping letters from the end of the word, texts with genitives in -ός or forms like οἰκόντα, τός, χρυσός, etc. cannot be placed in this group.

It is difficult to decide what to do with genitives in -κλέος, which could either be late cases of O for ου, or be incursions of the genitive in -κλέος of Ionic and elsewhere (cf. Buck, *GD*², p.90, no.108a; Schwyzler, *GG* 1, p.580). Thus in the cat. dated 335/4, II² 1700, there is a case of -κλέος in line 61, and OY is shortened to O in line 36 because of lack of space, but there are no other cases of O for ου. In a pryt. cat. dated by the name of the archon to 341/0, II² 1749, -κλέος occurs twice (lines 56, 79), alongside -κλέους (*ib.* 12, 36), but there are no other cases of O for ου, although the text does contain late instances of E for [e] (cf. 9.013, no.2, p.189 supra). It is not without some hesitation that these two catalogs have not been included in nos.15ff. *infra* as containing late cases of O for ου. But note later occurrences of -κλέος in Attic texts of the Roman Period (cf. 13.03, p.259 *infra*) and on a text from Oropos, cf. *IG* VII no.303.85 (ca. 240). Cf. Ναυκλέως on the sep. mon. of a Spartan, II² 9153 (s. III a.). Cf. Morphology.

Illustrative examples of O for OY due to abbreviatory curtailment: *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p.2, no. S2 (350s); II² 1594.42, 52 (ca. 350); *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p.226, no.13 (350–344); II² 1598 (post 350); II² 1622 (ca. 342/1); II² 1675.14 (ca. 337/6); II² 1700 (335/4); II² 1623 (333/2); H. W. Pleket, *Epigraphica* 1 (1964) p.63, no.43, line 7 (= *SEG* 24.203) (333/2); II² 1496.5, 12, 41 (334/3–331/0); II² 1627 (330/29); *Hesperia* 28 (1959) pp.208ff., *passim*, e.g. lines 115 (= II² 1554.24), 142–3, 146–7 (= II² 1559.30–1, 34–5), 193 (= II² 1555.20), 516 (= II² 1557.74), etc. (ca. 330–320); II² 1566.37 (ca. 330–320); II² 1672.18, 71, *al.* (329/8); II² 1628 (326/5); II² 1629 (325/4); *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p.42, no.11 (324/3); II² 1631 (323/2); II² 1746 + *Hesperia* 37 (1968) pp.1ff. (303/2); *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p.36, no.3 (ca. 290–280); II² 1534B (247/6, cf. *SEG* 16.118); etc.

c) With the elimination of those texts in which O for OY is only due to abbreviation, there remain in the inventories, etc. later than 350 only the same type of scattered survivals of O as in the decrees:

- 15) ἀργυρὸς II² 1440.40 (350/49), χαλκὸν *ib.* 59, OY eight times, including χρυσοῦς *ib.* 36, κανοῦν *ib.* 60;
- 16) ῥέουσα II² 1444.1, 3, 4 (ca. 344/3) very fragmentary; ῥέουσα *ib.* 22 (L.);
- 17) *Hesperia* 5 (1936) p.393, no.10 (new. frr. of II² 1582, cf. *Hesperia* 19 [1950] p.244, no.16) (probably 342/1): κατὰ τὸς νόμος face A.181; φέροσα *ib.* face A.27, face B.303; genitive singular in -ὸ several times, usually followed by : used in this text with abbreviations; OY normally, very extensive text;
- 18) βολή II² 1455.7 (340/39), also genitive singular in -ὸ *ib.* 3, 5, 8(bis), 11, 26; genitive singular in -ὸς *ib.* 18; ἀργυρὸς *ib.* 19; Ἀλμωσῶι *ib.* 5; OY ten times (L.);
- 19) χρυσοῦς II² 1652.21 (334/3), OY three times, cf. χρυσοῦς *ib.* 7;
- 20) Φόρου II² 1524.10 (post 334/3), has genitive singular in -ὸ *ib.* 27(?), 57, 63, all probably shortenings due to lack of space; OY very frequent (L.);
- 21) Καλλίω II² 1544.10–11 (333/2), OY very frequent;
- 22) τὸς II² 1670.6, 13 (ca. 330), ὅπο ἄν *ib.* 24, OY five times, cf. τοῦς *ib.* 9;
- 23) οἰκόντα *Hesperia* 28 (1959) pp.208 ff., face B.10, 13 (p.221) (= II² 1556.35, 38) (ca. 330–320), οἰκόν(τα) *ib.* 16 (= II² 1556.41); OY frequent in this extensive text, note οἰκοῦσα in line B68. As several different hands worked on different parts of this text, it is justifiable to interpret frequent cases of O for OY of the genitive singular on the obverse of the stone as abbreviatory shortenings (cf. b) supra) (L.).
- Lit.:* cf. 13.01 supra.

13.03 Latest examples of O for OY

The late instances of O for OY cited by MS³ p.6, note 22 are due to abbreviation as discussed in 13.023 b, p.256 supra. True cases of O for OY securely dated later than 325 are very rare. The decree of some thiasotai, II² 1261, dated 302/1 by the name of the archon, has κοινὸ in line 21, Μυλωθῆδ *ib.* 24 (OY 19 times) under circumstances where the forms in O need not be explained as due to lack of space: the words are not at the end of a line in the true sense because both are intended to be arranged around a crown—in both cases there is plenty of space for the Y on the stone, cf. line 43 (L.). The date of the account II² 1680, with ὅπο ἄν in line 15, OY *al.*, cannot be pinpointed with any precision: Kirchner dated it to the end of the fourth century on the basis of lettering. Likewise the building inv., II² 1678, with ἀπὸ λιστρῶ in lines 4–5, once put in the period 338–ca. 315, cf. H. Lattermann, *Bauinschriften* p.69, is now more convincingly dated ca. 350 (cf. SEG 13.49). Private texts contain no convincing examples of O for OY later than ca. 330: the examples can only be loosely dated to the second half of the fourth century. The sep. mon., AE 1961 Chronika p.14, no.43, with Εὔβολος Εὐβολίδο, belongs in this category. The sep. mon. II² 7425, with Σονιῶς, must be earlier than 317/6, when Demetrius of Phaleron restricted this type of monument; it has generally been moved as close to that date as possible because of its stylistic affinities with Hellenistic art, cf. H. Möbius, *Die Ornamente der griechischen Grabstelen klassischer und nachklassischer Zeit* (Berlin, 1929) p.45; but such precocious examples sometimes occur earlier than this,

and the lettering points rather to a date of ca. 350 B.C. The ded. II² 2839 + II² 2844, with -οκλέος, probably dates to 357 rather than 398/7, but is certainly not as late as 322/1, cf. SEG 24.209; reading verified by K. Clinton; but for these genitives in -κλέος, 13.023 b, p. 257 supra.

No example of O for OY on a stone text of the third century is very convincing. E. Vanderpool has suggested (cf. *Deltion* 23 [1968] p. 295) that in line 9 of a decree of the deme of Rhamnus, *Deltion* 22 (1967) pp. 38 ff. (= SEG 22.154) (264/3 aut paulo post),]γος is for πύρ]γος (accusative plural), where, however, he assumes a careless omission, of which this text probably contains another (cf. 28.00 b, p. 397). In a decree dated on good evidence to the mid-third century, II² 774.a 13, the letters]PONOΗΣEN could be π]ρουνόησεν, but this is more likely a case of omitted augment (cf. Morphology); one expects προενόησε, not προύνόησε, in this period. Another possible example of O for OY is in πεντεπαλάστως (acc. pl.), in the inv., II² 1682.12 (285/4); the lettering of this text is crude (cf. sigma carved for nu in line 13), and the -ος might be due to careless omission. In lines 25 ff. of the second decree of the genos of the Salaminioi published *Hesperia* 7 (1938) p. 9, no. 2 (now dated 242/1, cf. Meritt, *Athenian Year* p. 234), the ἀρχαίο is probably another case of simple omission, although it might be a survival of an earlier expression as suggested by W.S. Ferguson, *Hesperia* 7, p. 72. The inv. II² 1683 (ca. 289/8) is so fragmentary that it is impossible to tell if lack of space forced the omission of Y in line 7: [Ἄρεσιό Πειραιᾶ]; both lines 6 and 7 are entirely in rasura (L.). For Ναυκλῆως on the sep. mon. of a Spartan, II² 9153 (s. III a.?), cf. 13.023 b, p. 257 supra.

The reading Μυρρινόσιος occurs in line 14 of an ephebic inscription published *Hesperia* 33 (1964) p. 209, no. 54. This orthography would suggest a date of ca. 350 as the latest possible one, and S. Dow has now dated this text to ca. 350 on the basis of prosopographical and other evidence which must be regarded as conclusive. Attempts to place the text in the third century or the year 307/6 (so Reinmuth p. 83, no. 16) must be rejected.

The occurrence of O for OY is fairly frequent on some of the defixiones, cf. τότῳ IG III.3, no. 101.4, τὸς αὐτοῦς *ib.* 6, τοὺς αὐτοῦς *ib.* 7; ἀδικῶσαν no. 102.a 8, Ἀριστοκράτος *ib.* b 12, Χαρικλέδω *ib.* b 8–9; ἀνθρώπος no. 103.a 2, αὐτῶς, τέλῳς *ib.* a 3. The first of these texts is associated with a grave of the early fourth century; there is no external evidence for the date of the other two, but there is no reason why they cannot be placed in the first half of the fourth century.

Careless omissions of later times: II² 1731.3 (init. s. I p.) cat.: λιτοργός, stone now worn, reading could be λιτοργός with omitted rho? (L.); Ελοδαῖος for Ελουδαῖος, cf. REG 77 (1964) p. 157, no. 152 (sep. mon.).

The spelling Κοροτρόφο is an intended archaism on the altar of the period of Hadrian, II² 5004 (cf. p. 219 supra).

The genitives in -κλέος are still found in Roman times, cf. Morphology. The genitive in -κλῆος in the metrical sep. mon., *Deltion* 25 (1970) p. 80, no. 53 (s. II p.), is a poetical artificiality.

Lit.: cf. 13.01 supra.

13.04 Y for [o'], [o''] on early ostraca, vases, etc.

In the Archaic Period Y very rarely occurs for ου, whether original diphthong or ὀ, i.e. [o']. Four of the examples appear on ostraca of the 480s. Thus: Βυταλίον on two ostraca of Βουταλίων with Y = original diphthong ου, mentioned *AJP* 74 (1953), p. 322; Y for [o']: on a single ostrakon of Kallixenos occur both Καλλίχσενος Ἀριστονύμῳ and Καλλίχσενος Ἀριστονύμο, cf. *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p. 384, no. 14;]κράτυς (gen. sing.) on an unpublished ostrakon of Megacles pointed out to me by E. Vanderpool.

Additional examples on bf. vases: Πατροκλῦς ἄτλα on the vase of Sophilos, *ABV* p. 39, no. 16, probably for Πατροκλοῦς; Δυνεικέτυ (= Δυννικήτου) on a vase of the Swing painter, *ABV* p. 307, no. 59 (= *CVA*, England 1, plate 6.2); Θυφειθίδες on two handles, *ABV* p. 178 (= Θουφειθίδης, related to θεοπειθής as Θουκυδίδης to θεοκυδής, cf. J.D. Beazley, *JHS* 52 [1932] p. 194); ἡῦτος on a bf. vase of Neandros, cf. *Paralipomena* p. 69, Boston 61.1073, alongside ναχί.

Less certain: Νῦσαι, on another vase of Sophilos, cf. *ABV* p. 39, no. 15 (= *HBV* p. 336, no. 2), which might be for Μῦσαι, i.e. Μοῦσαι, as suggested by E. Vanderpool (cf. *Lit. infra*). This interpretation accords better with the scene depicted on the vase, although it involves a rare case of N for M (cf. 41.03, no. 2, p. 491 *infra*). Others read Νῦσαι = nurses of Dionysus (cf. *RE* s.v. Nysa col. 1630; *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 5 [1952] pp. 138–9).

This phenomenon is not normally found in inscriptions on stone. Hesitation between Y and O for [o'] can probably be seen in the sep. mon., I² 1002 (= *IGAA* p. 131, no. 28) (ca. 510–500), where Ἀντιδότυ has been corrected to Ἀντιδότο. The O has been carved directly on top of the Y, which suggests that the carver originally intended -τυ, making the same mistake seen in Θυφειθίδες, etc. and then corrected to -το; that the two superimposed letters represent -του seems less likely (cf. p. 239 *supra*).

For Βύλο τὸ σῆμα τουτελιονίδο on a sep. mon. found in north Attica (Ikaria), cf. *IGAA* p. 134, no. 37 (originally published *Hesperia* 17 [1948] p. 141, no. 1) (fin. s. VIa.), the best interpretation is L.H. Jeffery's Βύλο τὸ σῆμα τούτελιονίδο (= τὸ Εὐτελιονίδο, cf. 34.01, p. 428 *infra*). As upsilon was pronounced [u:] in Boeotia at this time (cf. Buck, *GD*² p. 28, no. 24), it had been thought that Βύλο could be for [bu-lo:]; but the Boeotian form of the name would probably be Βῶλος, and the suggestion of Vanderpool (cf. *Lit. infra*) that Βύλο has Y for [o'] as in Θυφειθίδες, -κράτυς, etc. should probably be accepted. A name Βούλος is known from later times, cf. *Hesperia* 17 for examples. Cf. 7.012 c, p. 143 *supra*.

It is difficult to evaluate these examples of Y for [o''] and [o'], especially as they occur in types of texts notorious for spelling irregularities and confusion between similar but certainly not identical sounds, e.g. υ and ι in the ostraca. In some dipinti of the later sixth century OY is already sometimes written for [o'] (cf. 13.01, no. 4), and it is quite likely that the Y of Βυταλίον, Ἰπποκράτυς, etc. is an inept attempt to write OY. Note that on the vase of Neandros just cited ἡῦτος occurs alongside ναχί for ναίχί (cf. 15.011 b, p. 269 *infra*).

On the Kallixenos ostrakon with the name given twice, it is the one with Ἀριστονύμῳ which is larger and in better lettering, perhaps a correction? The normal sound of Attic υ was almost certainly [y] or [y:] by this time, as it is occasionally confused

with ι (cf. 14.01) and qoppa is avoided before it in the earlier sixth century (cf. 1.012). The spelling Βυταλίον, with Υ = [o^u], also points to incomplete rendering of OY as the explanation. Two other ostraca on which Βυταλίον has been changed to Βουταλίον would seem to confirm this explanation (cf. Vanderpool, *Ostracism* figures 12, 13).

For Σουβρίδης and a few later cases of Υ ~ OY, see 14.02 infra.

Lit.: E. Vanderpool, *AJP* 74 (1953) p.322.

14.00 u-vowels

14.01 Confusion of υ and ι

The preference for Κ rather than Ϟ before υ in Attic texts of the earliest period indicates that the change in the pronunciation of υ from [u] to [y] is essentially complete by this time, cf. 1.012 supra. Further evidence that υ and ι are similar, i.e. υ = [y], in the Archaic Period is the occasional confusion of the two vowels in semi-literate contexts, such as ostraca, dipinti on vases, etc. Cf. Ἀριστονύμο on nine of a group of ostraca of Kallixenos (483 aut 482), cf. *Hesperia* 19 (1950) pp.383–384, no.12, of which more than a hundred have the expected Ἀριστονύμο; likewise Χοιφεταόν, Χοιφε[ταιώ]να on two other ostraca of the 480s, *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p.388, no.26; *Hesperia*, suppl. 8 (1949) p.395, no.1b. The dipinto Διονισιγένης occurs on a rf. vase of Hieron with other spelling anomalies, cf. *ARV*² p.468, no.146 (= Richter-Hall plate 52). Ι is for ū here. Διώνισος is said to occur on two other rf. vases, cf. Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* p.119. Ὀλισσεύς is found on another rf. vase, cf. *ARV*² p.1300, Penelope painter no.2 (= *FR* plate 142; Textband 3, p.127) (for -σσ- cf. 43.04, p.540 infra). The spelling ιος may possibly be for ύος on another ostrakon of Kallixenos, cf. *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p.385, no.17.

Κρισεύς and Κρισεῖς are probably actual variants, not misspellings, for Χρυσεύς, Χρυσήις, on a vase of Makron/Hieron, *ARV*² p.458, no.1 (= *FR* plate 85), cf. Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* pp.206–207. For a vase with Μύνιχος, cf. 14.014 infra; for Τύρινθι (= Τίρινθι), cf. 14.016.

After ca. 480 B.C. confusion of υ and ι is confined to certain cases in which assimilation or metathesis is involved. Most of the examples are confined to a few lexical items (cf. 14.011–14.016 infra), but there are a few additional cases, usually on private sepulchral monuments or documents otherwise showing a low standard of orthography.

Assimilation may be seen in:

- 1) Μυτυληναῖος Π² 9967 (s. IV a.) sep. mon.; cf. 14.016 infra;
- 2) Σίβυλλα Π² 1534 A.85 (291/0, cf. *SEG* 16.118) inv.;
- 3) ΣΚΙΟΙΚΟΥ (= Σκυθικοῦ) Π² 1569.67 (ca. 330–320) inv.; the reading is certain, although the fragmentary nature of the text makes any interpretation doubtful (L.);

4) Διονισιῶλην (for Διονυσιαῶλην) *Hesperia* 6 (1937) p.448, no.3, line 15 (ca. 220, cf. *Hesperia* 13 [1944] p.253) decree; has Διονύσια *ib.* 10; is the spelling due to a combination of metathesis and assimilation? Or confusion with δύο? (L.);

5) ΣΥΡΥΛΑ IG III.3, no.8.4 (s. IIIa.?) defixio; generally thought to be for Σύρουλα, cf. F. Bechtel, *Die attischen Frauennamen* (Göttingen, 1902) p.58 (cf. p.267 *infra*);

6) Εὐτυχίς IP² 8661 (s. IIa.?) sep. mon. (L.); for Εὐτυχίς, cf. IP² 8660;

7) Ἰθυκλῆς *Hesperia* 29 (1960) p.72, no.138 (s. II/Ia.) crude sep. mon.;

Doubtful:

8) Κικιννεύς IP² 6457 (date?) sep. mon. (known only from Pittakes).

Reject Λισόστρατος, Λυσυκλῆς known only from a very faulty copy of Wheeler of a fifth-century *cas. list*, *Hesperia* 25 (1956) pp.375–377, lines 32, 57 (ca. 465); Διονισίων (for Διονυσίων) IP² 1042.d8 (= IG II, no.478) (ca. 41/0) decree (known only from a copy of Lebas).

Assimilation cannot be the explanation in the following cases:

9) μισθωτοῖς (for μισθωτοῖς) AE 1971 p.83, no.4, line 44 (p.97) (333/2? cf. AE 1971 p.112) new fr. of the large building inv., IP² 1673, with many spelling anomalies; a simple clerical mistake caused by the occurrence of μυστήρια elsewhere (?) (L.);

10) θιγάτηρ IP² 9437 (s. Ia./s. Ip.) sep. mon. (L.);

11) Φυλοστράτου IP² 5522 a (in add.) 2 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon., Φιλόστρατος *ib.* 1, simple confusion of Φυλ- and Φιλ- (?);

12) Διὶ Μυλ[ιχίωι *Hesperia* 12 (1943) p.51, no.10, line 1 (s. IIIa.) ded. (priv.); careless, has ἀνέθεσαν for ἀνέθεσαν, cf. 7.012b, no.13, p.143 *supra*;

13) Πολύμηλος IP² 2638 (s. IVa.?) horos of mine at Laureion, cf. AM 67 (1942) p.35, no.37.

Doubtful (known only from early copies):

14) Παμφύλη *Hesperia*, suppl. 8 (1949) p.217, no.7 (date?) sep. mon.;

15) Μυλησία IP² 5537.6 (date?) sep. mon.;

16) Πυτθέως IP² 5211 (date?) architrave block giving archon's name.

An Attic decree, IP² 212 (347/6), agrees with texts from the Bosphorus in the spelling Παυροσάδης; in codd. (Demosthenes, Diodorus, etc.) Παρυσάδης and Παρεισάδης (cf. 35.01 c, p.435 *infra*).

Lit.: MS³ pp.28, 30, notes 143–144, 154; Lademann p.116.

14.011 ἥμισυ for ἥμισυ. The fifth-century form is ἥμισυ: e.g.]ισυ IP² 4.21 (485/4) decree (L.); IP² 842.A7–8 (ante 446/5) sacred calendar; *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p.268, no.6, lines 104, 106 (= IP² 325.18, 20) (ca. 414); *Hesperia* 22 p.263, no.4, line 8 (ca. 414) inventories.

In the fourth century and later ἥμισυ, certainly due to assimilation since forms like ἡμίσεα, ἡμίσεος never have υ, is the rule. Note no.8 *infra*, with both ἥμισυ and ἥμισυ in the same line.

Examples:

1) ἥμισυ IP² 43.45 (378/7) decree (L.);

2) ἥμισυ *Hesperia* 7 (1938) pp.1ff., no.1, lines 26, 55–56 (363/2) decree (genos) (L.);

- 3) ἡμυσυ II² 1612.319 (336/5) inv., cf. [ῆ]μ[σε]ος *ib.* 267;
- 4) ἡμυσυν II² 2492.38 (246/5) loc., cf. ἡμίσεα *ib.* 14;
- 5) [ῆ]μ[υ]συ II² 1622.130 (ca. 342/1) inv., cf. ἡμίσεα *ib.* 144;
- 6) ἡμυσυ II² 1629.572 (325/4) inv. (L.);
- 7) ἡμ[υ]συν II² 1632.199 (323/2) inv. (L.);
- 8) ἡμυσυ II² 1678.22 (ca. 350, cf. SEG 13.49) inv., but ἡμυσυ in same line, ἡμυσυ B 66, also ἡμ[σ]η *ib.* 23 (L.);
- 9) ἡμυσυ II² 2679.7 (post 303/2) horos (mortgage);
- 10) ἡμυσυ *Hesperia* 7 (1938) p. 9, no. 2, line 35 (242/1, cf. Meritt, *Athenian Year* p. 234) decree (genos);
- 11) ἡμυσυ II² 1534 B.250 (247/6, cf. SEG 16.118) inv. (L.).

The Roman Period prefers ἡμυσυ, cf. II² 1100.39, 40, 54 (ca. 124 p.) imp. edict; II² 1366.20 (s. Ip.) regulations for the cult of Menes Tyrannos set up by Xanthus of Lycia.

Lit.: MS³ p. 28, note 147; Lademann pp. 116–117.

14.012 βυβλιο- ~ βιβλιο-. The assimilated spelling βιβλιο- occurs in a decree of 403/2 and an edict of the very late Roman Period; elsewhere βυβλιο-. Only υ, never ι, is attested in βύβλος, where no ι follows λ.

Examples:

βιβλιο-:

- 1) βιβλίον II² 1.61 (403/2) decree (L.);
- 2) βυβλείους II² 1121.29 (305/6 p.) imp. edict (L.).

βύβλος, βυβλιο-:

- 3) βύβλων II² 3783.4 (s. IIa.) ded.;
- 4) βυ[βλιοθήκη]ν *Hesperia* 16 (1947) p. 170, no. 67, line 32 (new fr. of II² 1009) (116/5) decree;
- 5) βυβλία, βυβλιοθήκη II² 1029.25 (96/5) decree (L.);
- 6) βυβλίων II² 1042.d 1 (ca. 41/0) decree;
- 7) βυβλιοθήκη II² 1043.50 (38/7) decree (L.);
- 8) βυβλίον, βυβλιοθήκη *Hesperia* 15 (1946) p. 233, no. 64, line 3 (where the text is printed wrongly, cf. *Hesperia* 4 [1935] p. 332, fig. 19) (ca. 100 p.) ded. (L.);
- 9) βυβλίον *Hesperia* 5 (1936) p. 41, fig. 40 (= SEG 21.500) (s. I/II p.) regulations for the library of Pantainos;
- 10) βύβλων II² 3669.12 (ca. 269–270 p.) ded.

Lit.: MS³ p. 28, note 146.

14.013 Ἀμφικτύων ~ Ἀμφικτίων. The etymology and history of this word remain obscure. If the relationship with κτι- is accepted (cf. Frisk, *GEW* 2, p. 35; *DEG* 2, p. 592), a υ is difficult to explain; perhaps from an original κτίφων/κτιύων alternation as suggested by O. Hoffmann, *Die griechischen Dialekte* 3, p. 290. On the other hand, an original Ἀμφικτύων could have developed to Ἀμφικτίων by assimilation or confusion with ἀμφικτίω. Both spellings are found in Attic texts of the fifth and fourth centuries, but there is a definite preference for Ἀμφικτύων, and this is the only spelling which occurs as an anthroponym (nos. 1, 5–7, 10–11). No text

in the Attic dialect contains both spellings (cf. no. 12), but Π^2 1126, a decree in Delphic dialect of the Delphic amphiktyons set up at Athens in 380/79, has Ἀμφικτύων in lines 6, 16, 41, 42, -κτύων in line 20.

Examples:

Ἀμφικτύων:

- 1) Π^2 952.38 (ca. 412/1) cas. list (L., epsilon certain);
- 2) Π^2 1634.1, 7 (389/8) inv. of Delian amphiktyons (L.);
- 3) Π^2 1635.2, 57, 74 (post 374/3) inv. of Delian amphiktyons (L.);
- 4) Ἀμφικτύουσιν Π^2 109.24 (363/2) decree, reading in *IG* Π^2 is not correct (L.);
- 5) Π^2 6927.1 (ca. 360) sep. mon.;
- 6) Π^2 4896.1 (ante 350) ded. (L.);
- 7) Π^2 1541.5 (356/5) inv. (L.);
- 8) Ἀμφ[ικ]τύονες Π^2 1649.1 (ca. 350) inv. of Delian amphiktyons;
- 9) Π^2 1652.20, 22, 26 (334/3) inv. of Delian amphiktyons;
- 10) Π^2 2409.23 (330/29, cf. *SEG* 16.145) cat. (L.);
- 11) *BCH* 94 (1970) pp. 894, 897, fig. 23 (= *Deltion* 22 [1967] *Chronika* pp. 37–39) (s. IV a.?) sep. mon.;
- 12) Π^2 1134.59, 85, 97, 105 (bis) (117/6) decree of Delphic amphiktyons (in Koine), read Ἀμφικ[ικ]τύουσιν in line 59 (L.).

Ἀμφικτύων:

- 13) Ἀμφικ[ικ]τύουσιν Π^2 135.4 (ca. 425, cf. *SEG* 10.78) decree fr.? (L.);
- 14) Π^2 2799.1 (ca. 200) ded. of some amphiktyons;
- 15) Π^2 1132, lines 40ff. (this section of the text is in Attic, Ἀμφικτύων also in the Delphic section) and
- 16) *Hesperia* 39 (1970) p. 309, no. 3, line 1 (= small new fr. of Π^2 1133);

Nos. 15 and 16 are evidently copies of the same decree of the Delphic amphiktyons, dated 130/29 B.C., cf. *Hesperia* 39 p. 310.

Lit.: *MS*³ p. 28, note 145; Lademann p. 116.

14.014 Μουνιχ- ~ Μουνυχ- in Μούνιχος, Μουνιχία, Μουνιχιών. No satisfactory etymology has been proposed, but on the basis of the epigraphical evidence it is easier to start from an original Μουνιχ-. A public horos from the Piraeus (with three-bar sigma and probably dating to the early fifth century), cf. Π^2 894 (= *DGE* p. 384, no. 9.2), has Μόνιχίας, the earliest attestation of the word. Μουνιχ- also occurs in several inventories of the later fifth century and a decree of 401/400 (see list below); Μόνιχος occurs on a rf. vase of the late fifth century, *ARV*² p. 1174, Aison no. 6 (= *HRF* 1 p. 17, no. 5). The spelling with Μουνυχ- is first found in a decree of 307/6, and is very rare at all periods. It is hard to see how it could be a sporadic survival of an original spelling in Μουνυχ- assumed by Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* p. 120, who derives Μούνιχος by analogy from Μουνιχία, etc. (← Μουνυχία by assimilation). Μουνυχιών, etc. probably indicate a variant pronunciation in which ι has been assimilated to the preceding Μο-; the currency of such a pronunciation is the reason for the Μουνυχ- of codd.

The kalos-name Μυνιχος on a late sixth-century bf. vase, ABV p.331, Priam painter no.5 (= CVA, England 9, plates 8.5–6; 7.9; 9.3; text pp.99–100), = Μύννιχος, not Μόννιχος with Y for [ο·] as in 13.04; for the name Μύννιχος, cf. II² 6004 (390–365) sep. mon.

Examples:

Μουννιχ-:

- 1) Μουννιχιῶνος II² 471.6 (306/5) decree;
- 2) Μουννιχιῶνος *Hesperia* 16 (1947) p.170, no.67, line 21 (new fr. of II² 1009) (116/5) decree;
- 3) Μ]ουννιχιῶ[να II² 2125.36 (190–200 p.) eph. cat.;
- 4) Μουννιχιῶ[να] II² 2139.4 (s. II p.) eph. cat. (L.).

Doubtful:

- 5) (Μ)ούννιχος II² 2271.21 (aet. Rom.) eph. cat. (known only from Fourmont).

Examples of the normal spelling are so numerous that only an illustrative list need be given:

Μουννιχ-:

Μουννιχία, Μουννιχίασι(ν): I² 894 (= DGE p.384, no.9.2) (init. s. Va.?) horos; I² 310.50, 277 (429/8), I² 324.88 (426/5–423/2) inventories; II² 10.7 (401/400) decree (in the foregoing texts spelled Μοννιχ-); II² 1604.72, 98 (ca. 376?), II² 1613.68 (353/2), II² 1618.137 (post 358/7) inventories; II² 480.4 (ca. 305/4) decree; *Hesperia* 29 (1960) p.57, no.84 (s. IVa.) ded.; II² 1011.16 (106/5), II² 1028.21 (101/100, cf. SEG 24.188), II² 1029.13 (96/5) decrees; etc.

Μουννιχία: II² 1006.29 (122/1) decree; II² 2130.49 (192/3 p.) eph. cat.; etc.

Μουννιχιών: I² 305.14 (406/5) inv.: Μοννιχ-; II² 1358.19, 21, etc. (375–350) sacred calendar; II² 2490.1 (ante 350) loc.: Μοννιχιώνι; II² 1241.30 (300/299) decree (phratry); II² 389.4 (293/2, cf. SEG 21.354), II² 644.4 (296/5), II² 672.2 (279/8), II² 777.3 (252/1, cf. SEG 21.381), II² 791.19 (247/6) (L.) decrees; II² 1314.2 (213/2), II² 1327.2 (178/7) decrees (orgeones); II² 892.4 (188/7), II² 897.3 (185/4) decrees; *Hesperia* 41 (1972) p.46, no.2, line 1 (= II² 954 + *Hesperia* 37 [1968] p.272, no.11) (166/5) decree; *Hesperia* 36 (1967) p.64, no.10, line 2 (ante 150), II² 967.4 (145/4) (L.) decrees; II² 1335.3 (103/2) decree (sabaziasitai); II² 1345.1 (53/4 p.) decree (eranistai); II² 2007.6 (s. I p.) eph. cat.; II² 1996.87 (84/5–92/3 p.) eph. cat.: Μουννι(χιῶνα) (L.); II² 1367.26 (fin. s. I p.?) sacred calendar; II² 2024.21 (112/3 p.), II² 2046.5 (paulo ante 140 p.), II² 2067.212 (154/5 p.), II² 2068.197 (155/6 p.): Μουννι (L.), II² 2097.25 (169/70 p.) eph. catalogs; *Hesperia* 33 (1964) p.200, no.52, line 2 (post 196 p.) decree; II² 1369.24 (ca. 200 p.) poem preceding a law of eranistai; II² 2233.8 (ca. 230 p.), II² 2239.96 (238/9–243/4 p.) (L.) eph. catalogs; etc.

Μούννιχος: II² 2019.31 (ca. 110 p.), II² 2044.101 (139/40 p.) eph. catalogs; note also Μούννιχ[ε, if it is not Μουννιχ[ία, in *Praktika* 1935 pp.187–188, no.2 (aet. Rom.) ded. (or sep. mon.?).

Lit.: MS³ p.29, note 150.

14.015 Ἰδυμῆς ~ Ἰδυμῆς, Κινδύε ~ Κυνδύε

In the fifth-century tribute documents Ἰδυμῆς, Κυνδύε occur once for the expected Ἰδυμῆς, Κινδύε. The variants are perhaps as much due to difficulty in transliterating the foreign name as to assimilation.

Ἰδυμῆς: ATL 2, no.8, col.1.27 (447/6);

Ἰδუმε-: I² 192.12 (= ATL 2, no. 2, col. 1.15) (453/2); I² 200.22 (= ATL 2, no. 10, col. 5.27) (445/4); ATL 2, no. A.9.140 (= I² 64.30) (425/4).

Read Ἰδουμ[α] in ATL 2, no. A.9.95 (= I² 63.105); Διδυμοτε[ι] in ATL 2, no. 2, col. 10.11 (= I² 197.15).

Κυνδυῆς: I² 195, col. 5.35 (= ATL 2, no. 5, col. 5.23) (450/49);

Κινδυῆς: I² 197.13 (= ATL 2, no. 2, col. 10.9) (453/2); I² 198.102 (= ATL 2, no. 8, col. 1.113) (447/6); I² 205.66 (= ATL 2, no. 15, col. 1.69) (440/39); ATL 2, no. 12, col. 4.16 (= I² 202.16) (443/2); ATL 2, no. A.9.155 (= I² 64.45) (425/4): Κιν[δυ]ῆς.

Lit.: MS³ p. 29, note 148.

14.016 Metathesis of *υ* and *ι*. Four sep. monuments of the Hellenistic Period have Μιτυληναῖος for the normal Μυτιληναῖος:

Μιτυληναῖος: I² 9969 (s. IIIa.) 3 times (L.); I² 9971 (s. IIa.) (L.); I² 9968 (s. IIa.); I² 9966 (s. Ia.) sep. monuments.

Μυτιληναῖος: I² 60.1, 17 (427/6), I² 43.80 (378/7) (L.), I² 40.19 (378/7) (L.), I² 107.12, 14, 27 (368/7) (L.) decrees; I² 1437.14 (ca. 354–350) inv. (L.); I² 213.7, 11 (347/6) (L.); I² 444 (post 336/5) (L.) decrees; I² 1956.133 (fin. s. IVa.) cat. (L.); I² 797.2 (305/4, cf. SEG 21.337) decree:]τιληναι[(L.); I² 9970 (s. IIIa.) sep. mon.; I² 2332.59, 136 (183/2) cat.; cf. Μυτιλήνει *Hesperia* 9 (1940) p. 314, no. 31 G (ca. 375) ded.

For an assimilated Μιτυληναῖος, cf. 14.01, no. 1, p. 261 supra.

Συκιωνίων appears in the decree, I² 448.23 (323/2) (L.), alongside the usual spelling Σικυώνιος in *ib.* 7, 9, 13, etc. Σικυώνιος elsewhere: I² 1643.20 (ca. 350) inv.; *Hesperia* 8 (1939) p. 35, no. 9, lines 10, 12 (303/2) decree; *Deltion* 25 (1970) p. 144, no. 2 (362/1); p. 145, no. 4 (360/59); p. 146, no. 5 (359/8) agonistic dedications; *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p. 212, no. 7, line 9 (ca. 300) decree; I² 10294–I² 10313, sep. monuments; etc.

There is no metathesis of *υ* and *ι* in σικύα ('cupping instrument'), cf. I² 47.8, 11 (init. s. IVa.) decree; I² 1533.34 (post 338/7) inv. In the financial doc., I² 2776.146 (aet. Trajani, cf. *Hesperia* 41 [1972] p. 476), σικύας is accusative plural ('melon patches').

Metathesis of *υ* and long *ι* occurs in the dipinto on a rf. vase, Τύρινθι (for Τίρυνθι), cf. ARV² p. 183, Kleophrades painter no. 15 (= CVA, England 4, plate 8.2).

For υλιν (= ἰλύν), cf. 26.03, p. 391 infra. For Δυονισαλλῆς, cf. 14.01, p. 262 supra. For Τείθια, Ειλύθια, cf. 18.012, p. 342 infra.

Lit.: MS³ p. 29, note 149; p. 30, note 151; Lademann p. 117.

14.02 Confusion of *υ* and *ου*

For Συβρίδης a variant Σουβρίδης is attested in three texts of the late Roman Period: I² 2102.17 (paulo post 169/70 p.), I² 2128.16 (190–200 p.) eph. catalogs; I² 7483 (s. II/III p.) sep. mon. (L.). The tendency of *υ* to move to *ου* is probably due to the following labial β.

In early Roman times only Συβρίδης occurs: e.g. II² 7094.6 (fin. s. Ia.) sep. mon.; II² 2297.2 (aet. Claudii) cat.; II² 1990.13 (61/2p.), II² 2042.16 (ca. 135p.), II² 2068.184 (155/6p.) (L.) eph. catalogs; II² 7475 (s. I/IIp.) sep. mon.; etc.

An anomalous χρουσοῦ was read on the now lost sep. mon. of the late Roman Period, II² 13224 (s. III/IVp.); assimilation(?), if not purely graphic.

Another assimilation may perhaps be seen in Σουρούλα on the sep. mon., II² 12631 (s. IIp.), if it is for Σουρύλλα, rendering an infrequent Roman name Surulla (derivative of Surus, frequent Latin form for Syrus ← Σύρος). It is much more difficult to derive Σουρούλα from the Greek name Σύριλλα (or Σύρυλα, cf. 14.01, no. 5, p. 262 supra). Cf. 26.01 b, p. 390 infra.

Of the two texts with regulations for the cult of Menes Tyrannos, II² 1365–II² 1366 (s. Ip.), set up by the Lycian named Xanthus, it is the first one, II² 1365, which has other non-Attic spellings (e.g. αὔθεμερῖ for αὔθημερόν; σζ for ζ, cf. Kirchner's note in IG II², and 44.02, no. 29, p. 549 infra; στ for σθ, cf. 46.02, p. 559 infra), with καθειδρούσατο in line 3, καθιδρούσαμένου *ib.* 12–13 (L.); but the more Atticized text has καθειδρουσαμένου, cf. II² 1366.8 (L.). The ου of II² 1365 = [uː], the Lycian pronunciation of υ, cf. K. Hauser, *Grammatik der griechischen Inschriften Lykiens*, pp. 32–33.

Simple clerical omission in ποιούμενος, *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p. 525, no. 39, line 22 (226/5) decree; Μηνοδώρῳ II² 9862a (in add. nova) (s. IIp.) sep. mon. Correct Διοσκουρ[ιδ]ης, published *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p. 71, no. 37, line 113, to Διοσκουρ[ιδ]ης, cf. *Hesperia* 24 (1955) pp. 220 ff., line 179 (cf. 11.041).

For the rare use of Υ for ΟΥ or Ο [oː] in the Archaic Period, cf. 13.04, p. 260 supra.

Lit.: MS³ p. 30, note 155.

14.03 E for υ. The only example of ε for υ that could conceivably be anything other than a graphic mistake is Εὔθεμένης for Εὐθυμένης on a sep. mon., II² 11996 (ante 350); even here the anomaly could as well be a graphic error as an assimilation.

14.04 Y for η. All the examples look like graphic mistakes: Κυθηρ for Κηθηρ in a mining inv., *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p. 2, no. S2, line 28, of the 350s B.C., is probably due to confusion with Κυθήριος. Perhaps assimilation, but more likely an error of the eye: γυνύ for γυνή in a sep. mon., II² 10621/3 (s. I/IIp.) (L.). Ευτυχουστη (for Εὐτυχίς χρηστή) on the sep. mon., II² 11482 (s. III/IVp.), is a purely graphic mistake. β[ο]ουλῶσιν (for βουλῆσιν) in the metrical text on a sep. mon., II² 13009a (in text) (= GVI 1, p. 665, no. 2055) (s. II/IIIp.), is known only from a copy made by Pittakes, which has other anomalies.

In II² 1630.6 read Πολυκλέους; the Ποληκλέους printed *Hesperia* 37 (1968) pp. 244 ff., line 384, is a misprint (L.).

15.00–20.00 Diphthongs with short first element

15.00 The diphthong αι

The normal development of αι was monophthongization to ε [e] (probably via [æ]). This sound change was probably completed in Attica by ca. 125 A.D. Confusion of αι and ε probably does not occur in Attic texts of pre-Roman date, although it is frequent in Ptolemaic papyri (cf. Mayser-Schmoll p.85), cf. 15.013 *infra*. In pre-vocalic position αι was frequently simplified to α through loss of iota, especially in the fourth century B.C. In some lexical items the iota is permanently lost, e.g. Ἀθηνᾶ ← Ἀθηνάα ← Ἀθηναία, Πτολεμαῖς ← Πτολεμαίς, etc.; in others the iota never entirely dies out, and the αι develops normally to ε, e.g. Πειρεεὺς, Βησεεὺς, variants for Πειραιεὺς, Βησαιεὺς in Roman times after the change of αι to ε, cf. 15.012 *infra*. Confusion of αι and α before consonants is scarcely attested, cf. 15.011.

Good evidence for the diphthongal character of αι may be seen in Αεθρα (= Αἶθρα), dipinto on a r.f. vase, cf. ARV² p.239, Myson no.16 (= Smith, *Catalogue* 3, p.280, no. E458) (cf. Κροεσος, p.323 *infra*).

15.01 αι ~ α

15.011 αι ~ α / __C

a) A few examples of αι for α before consonants in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods look like no more than graphic mistakes:

- 1) Ἀθηναία|ἀυπαρχέν I² 456 (fin. s. VI a./init. s. Va.) bronze ded.; clearly a graphic mistake, probably caused by beginning a new line: AIA|AI was accidentally inscribed for AIA|IA (cf. 22.012, p.358 *infra*);
- 2) Οἰνηδι Παιν[διον]ίδι *Hesperia* 29 (1960) p.85, no.165 (= new fr. of II² 3064) (384/3) ded.; looks like a copying error for Οἰνήτιδι Πανδιονίδι, cf. p.354 *infra*;
- 3) Ἀναικαιεὺς II² 5649 (390–365) sep. mon.;
- 4) ποιήσαντι II² 1672.172 (329/8) inv., probably a graphic mistake. For the orthographical peculiarities of this text, cf. Introduction, p.14;
- 5) Ἐκαταῖος II² 10512 (s. II a.) sep. mon.

In nos.3 and 5 assimilative tendencies may be at work (cf. Nachmanson in Lit. *infra*), but it is just as possible the spelling may be a graphic mistake only, caused by the αι of the next syllable. In II² 971.14 (140/39) decree, the correct reading is πᾶσι, not παισι (L.).

There are also a few cases of αι for α in the Roman Period:

- 6) Πυαινο(ψιώνα) II² 2017.8 (paulo post 102 p.) eph. cat.;
- 7) μαιντεῖαν II² 4758 (aet. Hadriani) ded. (priv.);
- 8) Πυαινοψι(ώνα) II² 2050.9 (143/4 p., cf. SEG 24.191) eph. cat. (L.);
- 9) Διαιδολ[υ]μενός II² 2124.34 (190–200 p.) eph. cat. (L.);
- 10) Ἐλευθέριν Αἰθηναγόρα II² 7458 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.

In these examples of Roman times the value of αι is presumably [e]. In all of them assimilation could be the explanation, progressive assimilation in nos. 6, 8, and 9; regressive in nos. 7, 10. But graphic mistakes may also be involved. By this time α and ā are the same, as are āι and ā; the unwanted iota may be related to spellings like ηι βουλῆι, etc. (cf. 22.031, pp. 365 ff. *infra*). There are so few cases of AI for α/—C in Attic inscriptions that one could tie it in with the tendency for ι to develop between α and following consonants in the modern language (as in -αικης, -αικι, etc.) only with some hesitation.

b) Examples of A for αι/—C are very rare on stone inscriptions and doubtless due to careless omission: ταῖς ολκίαις (if not careless writing of accusative for dative) Π² 2499.6 (306/5) loc. (orgeones); Ἀγεῖδος *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p. 109, no. 53, line 12 (188/7) decree; final -αι written -α in ξυμβάλλεσθα τῆς, cf. Π² 663.14 (286/5, cf. SEG 16.62) decree. But in *Hesperia* 36 (1967) p. 59, no. 6, line 31 (= Π² 937 + new fr.) (ca. 170) decree, read Εὐχαρίστου ναεῖ---, not εὐχαριστοῦνα(ι), cf. SEG 24.135.

Rare cases of A for αι/—C among dipinti and graffiti are due to careless incomplete rendering of diphthongs: e.g. ναχί for ναίχι on a bf. vase of Neandros, cf. *Paralipomena* p. 69, Boston 61.1073, where there is a similar treatment of ου in ἡῦτος (cf. 13.04, p. 260 *supra*); ναίχι and ναί occur on the same vase; cf. κανός for καινός, graffito from the Agora, cf. *Agora* 21, p. 8, no. B2 (= Lang, *Graffiti* no. 22) (ca. 500). Cf. c) *infra*.

c) ἡέφαστος is an infrequent variant for ἡέφαιστος in the dipinti. It is uncertain whether this is an earlier form of the word before development of α to αι/—στ (cf. Τροιζήν from Τροζήν, cf. 17.01 *infra*), or just another case of incomplete rendition of the diphthong as in ναχί for ναίχι (cf. b) *supra*).

ἡέφαστος: ABV p. 82, Nearchos no. 1 (= LSAG p. 77, no. 24); ARV² p. 1145, Kleophon painter no. 36 (= CVA, Germany 6, plate 74).

ἡέφαιστος: e.g. ABV p. 76, Kleitias no. 1 (= HBF p. 150, no. 2); ABV p. 135, Group E no. 44 (= CVA, England 4, plate 24.1 a–b); ARV² p. 319, Onesimos no. 3 (= Smith, *Catalogue* 3, p. 72, no. E47); ARV² p. 494, Birth of Athena painter no. 1 (= Smith, *Catalogue* 3, p. 256, no. E410); ARV² p. 869, Tarquinia painter no. 55 (= Smith, *Catalogue* 3, p. 389, no. D4) (ἡέφα[ι]στος); ARV² p. 1268, Kodros painter no. 2 (= CVA, Germany 22, plate 113.1–2); etc.

d) παλαστή ('palm,' unit of measurement) and derivatives have only α; παλαιστής ('wrestler'), only αι:

Examples (all texts inventories unless otherwise noted):

παλαστή: I² 372.35, 196, 205 (409/8); Π² 1666.A33, 37, 47, 51, etc., B7, 11, 22, 26, 62, 76 (356/5–353/2); Π² 1668.18–19, 41, 43, 47, etc. (347/6); Π² 1678.37, 40, 44, 51, etc. (ca. 350, cf. SEG 13.49); Π² 463.65, 67 (307/6) decree; Π² 1680.7 (fin. s. IV a.?). Π² 1685.B₃12 (init. s. III a.).

τριπάλαστος, πεντεπάλαστος, etc.: I² 373.10, 82, 237 (409/8); I² 372.133, 158, 164, 177, 219, 232 (409/8); Π² 1666.B70, 73, 79, 82, 84 (356/5–353/2); Π² 1672.154, 157 (329/8); Π² 1685.B₂12 (init. s. III a.); Π² 1682.12 (285/4).

παλαστιαῖος; II² 1675.13 (ca. 337/6); II² 1672.153, 157, 169 (329/8); II² 1693.7 (s. IV a.?).

παλαιστής: I² 846.5 (post 446) cat.: παλαιστής; II² 2311.29, 44 (400–350) cat.

e) The Attic decree, II² 212 (347/6), agrees with texts from the Bosphorus in the spelling Παιρισιάδης against codd. with Παρυσιάδης, Παρεισιάδης (cf. 35.01c, p.435 infra).

Lit.: MS³ p.18, notes 85–87; Schwyzler, GG 1, p.276; Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* pp.127, 233; E. Nachmanson, *Altgriechische Volkssprache* pp.45 ff.

15.012 αι ~ α/___V

An αι before an a-, e-, or i-vowel is frequently simplified to α-. In the case of α(ι)εῖ, ἄθηνα(ι)α, α(ι)ετός, there is a clear chronological development from αιV to αV, although ατεῖ is used in Roman times, chiefly as a poetical form; a similar development from αιV to αV may be seen in all cases of -αι-, cf. 15.0128. In the case of the demotics and other words in -αιεύς the omission of iota is confined chiefly to the period ca. 500–ca. 150 (most common ca. 400–ca. 250), and is usually less frequent than the original spelling; it is clear from later spellings like Πειρεεύς, etc. that αι remained in this morpheme (except perhaps in a few special cases, cf. Φωκαεύς) and eventually passed to [e]. The loss of iota in these cases, or a tendency to its loss in -αιεύς, is due to the tendency of the second element of the diphthong to become a glide before vowels with subsequent deletion, i. e. [Vⁱ-V] → [VⁱV] ~ [V^jV] → [V-V].

The loss of iota in αι/___o-vowels is very rare, and analogy prevented spellings like δικαία, βουλαία, etc. for δικαία, βουλαία, etc. because of the absence of δίκαιος, etc. for δίκαιος (cf. 15.0129 infra).

For δικαίαν, scanned ◡◡–, alongside δικαιοσύνη, scanned ◡–◡◡–, in a third-century B.C. sep. mon., cf. 10.04a, p.213 supra.

Intrusive iota after αι/___V is virtually unattested, cf. 10.03, p.210 supra.

Lit.: MS³ pp.30–33, notes 156–182; Lademann pp.8–9, 117.

15.0121 ἄθηναία, ἄθηνάα, ἄθηναῖ

15.0122 ατεῖ, ἀτεῖ

15.0123 α(ι)ετός, etc.

15.0124 ἐλα(ι)α, etc.

15.0125 Ποτείδα(ι)α

15.0126 (Προ)πύλα(ι)α, etc.

15.0127 Demotics, ethnics, toponyms in -αιεύς ~ -αεύς

a) Ἄλα(ι)εύς b) Ἀνακα(ι)εύς c) Γραεύς(?) d) Ἐλα(ι)εύς e) Ἑστια(ι)εύς f) Κυδαθηνα(ι)εύς g) Μυλαιεῖς h) Πειρα(ι)εύς i) Φηγα(ι)εύς j) (ᾠ)α(ι)εύς k) ethnics in -α(ι)εύς.

15.0128 -αι- ~ -αι-

a) (Παν)αθηνα(ι)ικός b) Ἀθηνα(ι)ίς c) Ἀχα(ι)ία d) Ἀχα(ι)ικός e) ἐλα(ι)ι- f) Ἑρμα(ι)ικός g) Ἑρμαίς, Ἑρμα(ι)ίσκος h) Ἥρα(ι)ίς, Ἥραικός i) Θηρα(ι)ίς j) Ληνα(ι)ίς k) Πειραικός m) Πλατα(ι)ικός n) Πτολεμα(ι)ίς, -τις, -ισσα.

15.0129 α for αι before o-vowels

15.0121 Ἀθηναία, Ἀθηνά, Ἀθηνᾶ. Here there is clear chronological development from Ἀθηναία, normal before 400 B.C., to Ἀθηνᾶ, the only form found after 300 B.C., via an intervening Ἀθηνά found only ca. 500—just after 350 B.C.

15.01211 ἈθENAIA is standard on fifth-century public documents; cf. e.g.:

Decrees: P² 6.118 (ante 460); P² 16.22 (= Meiggs-Lewis p.66, no.31) (469–450); P² 73.18 (ante 430?); P² 91/2.3, etc. (434/3, cf. SEG 22.7; 24.3); P² 75.2, 3 (430–420?); P² 76.40 (435–414, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.222); P² 84.17 (421/0); etc.

Inventories: P² 237.54, P² 238.65, P² 241.101, P² 242.112, P² 243.122, P² 245.152, P² 254.280 (all in the period 429–407); P² 257.7, P² 258.13, *Hesperia* 35 (1966) p.337, line 38 (= P² 262), P² 270.131, SEG 22.31.1 (= P² 273) (all in the period 433–412); P² 279.52, P² 281.93, P² 282.126, 127, P² 283.129, 141 (bis) (all in the period 431–418); P² 293.8 (post 440); P² 295.4 (433/2); P² 298.18 (411, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.250, no.81); P² 301.15 (409/8, cf. SEG 23.35); P² 304A.2, etc. (410/9); P² 304B.47, 59 (407/6); P² 310.188, 216 (429/8); P² 324.50, 51 (426/5–423/2); P² 1655.8 (405/4, cf. SEG 10.298) (L.); P² 366.1 (434/3); P² 376.3 (ca. 424/3, cf. SEG 10.304); P² 374.277 (408–406): Ἀθηναία (L.); etc.

Horos: P² 866 (= DGE p.384, no.9.3) (fin. s. Va.?, cf. p.24 supra).

A very few fifth-century public texts have Ἀθηνά or Ἀθηνᾶ:

Ἀθηνά:

- 1) ἈθENAIA SEG 10.366 (= *Praktika* 1933 pp.9, 42) (ca. 500?) horos (found at Marathon) (L.);
- 2) ἈθENAIA P² 25.5 (424/3 cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.204, no.71) decree, --'A|[[θην]αίας ib. 10–11 (L.);
- 3) ἈθENAIA [*Hesperia* 10 (1941) p.31, no.2, line 11 (411–401) law code.

Ἀθηνᾶ:

- 4) ἈθENᾶ P² 355.a.1 (= Meiggs-Lewis p.146, no.54) (440/39) abandoned false start of an inv.;
- 5) ἈθENᾶ καὶ K. J. Dover, *Hist. Comm. Thuc.* 4 p.227, fr. e, line 2 (= Meiggs-Lewis p.236, no.78; P² 99.38, corrected) (416/5) decree (L.);
- 6) Ἀθηνᾶς *Hesperia* 7 (1938) p.74, no.3 (late fifth, but could be fourth.c. B.C.) horos (of the οἰκία of Athena Polias).

Ἀθηναία is by far the most common spelling found on private texts before 400 B.C.: more than 55 examples occur on the dedications P² 400–P² 759; cf. also *Hesperia* 1 (1932) p.46, no. III (= DAA p.334, no.312) (init. s. Va.) ded.; as well as the sep. mon. (fin. s. Va. aut init. s. IVa.) published AE 1948–49, pp.146 ff. (= SEG 12.80).

But Ἀθηνά and Ἀθηνᾶ also occur occasionally:

ἈθENAIA:

- 7) P² 579 (= DAA p.43, no.41) (ca. 510–500) (L.);
- 8) DAA p.274, no.238 (= P² 613 + new fr.) (fin. s. VIa.?)
- 9) DAA p.334, no.313 (= P² 696, corrected) (init. s. Va.);
- 10) P² 615.1 (init. s. Va.? cf. DAA p.219, no.184);
- 11) P² 711 (init. s. Va.) (L.);

'Αθενάα also on three bronze dedications, I² 415, I² 424, I² 461 (the earliest of such texts not before 550, cf. LSAG p. 68, note 1); graffito on a black-glazed sherd, I² 644; most of the dipinti are on later rf. vases: 'Αθηνάα: JHS 76 (1956) p. 18, plate 1.1, 3 (= SEG 16.41; ARV² p. 1144, no. 16) dipinto on a vase of the Kleophon painter (ca. 425); ARV² p. 1174, Aison no. 1 (= CVA, Spain 2, plates 1–5); ARV² p. 1177, Aison no. 48 (= HRF 2 p. 184, no. 12); ARV² p. 1318, Aristophanes no. 1 (= HRF 1 p. 51, no. 1); ARV² p. 1315, Painter of the Karlsruhe Paris no. 1 (= CVA, Germany 7, plate 22.4); ARV² p. 1339, Near the Talos painter no. 4 (= HRF 2 p. 450, no. 4); etc.

But some earlier rf. vases have the 'Αθενάα spelling: ARV² p. 31, Dikaïos painter no. 2 (= CVA, England 4, plate 3.1); ARV² p. 869, Tarquinia painter no. 55 (= Smith, *Catalogue* 3, p. 389, no. D4). Three dipinti with 'Αθενάα on bf. vases cited by Kretschmer, *Vasenschriften* p. 127, note 5 are dubious.

'Αθενᾶ:

- 12) I² 699 (init. s. Va., cf. DAA p. 291, no. 263). Only 'Αθενᾶ actually occurs on the fr., which is broken at the left, but has its original right lateral surface; perhaps the end of a hexameter as suggested by DAA, *loc. cit.*

The other alleged example on a stone text probably does not exist: the :TAΘENAIA-ΠAPXEN published IG I, suppl. p. 43, no. 373 w cannot be located; the ΑΠAPX[part (called IG I, suppl. p. 43, no. 373 w fr. b by DAA p. 386) is probably fr. d of the complex DAA p. 385, no. 351 (contains parts of I² 752 and I² 758); the :TAΘENAI part becomes fr. c. of DAA p. 384, no. 350 (contains remainder of I² 752, I² 758; cf. AAA 1 [1968] p. 65) and should read τᾶθε-ναί[αι or τᾶθεναί[αι].

'Αθενᾶς is said to be inscribed on one fr. of a bronze vase, cf. I² 460.9 (s. VI a.?).

'Αθενᾶ is rare as dipinto on rf. vases, cf. ARV² p. 494, Painter of the birth of Athena no. 1 (= Smith, *Catalogue* 3, p. 256, no. E410); ARV² p. 1325, Manner of the Meidias painter no. 49 (= Smith, *Catalogue* 3, p. 344, no. E696) (this last in Ionic script).

A few of the early dedications have non-Attic spellings (examples in Ionic script denoted by asterisks): 'Αθηνᾶη: I² 574 (init. s. Va., cf. DAA p. 32, no. 29); I² 530 (ca. 475? cf. DAA p. 126, no. 121); I² 604 (ca. 475–465 cf. DAA p. 122, no. 119); I² 732* (ca. 470–450? cf. DAA p. 40, no. 39); I² 524* (470–450? cf. DAA p. 321, no. 298) (L.);

'Αθηνῆ (always end of a hexameter): I² 510 (ca. 525–500? cf. DAA p. 8, no. 4), cf. Hiller's note in IG I² on non-Attic character of the writing; I² 686 (ca. 500 cf. DAA p. 224, no. 190);

'Αθᾶνα: I² 643 (init. s. Va., cf. DAA p. 53, no. 53), also has πολυέσχε.

15.01212 In the fourth century 'Αθηνᾶ replaces 'Αθηνᾶία and 'Αθηνάα. Of the public texts which can be dated with precision the inventories offer the most examples; in them 'Αθηνᾶ is usual by about 360. Any spelling of the word is rare in decrees before 350, but 'Αθηνᾶ is attested several times in such texts after that date. Two decrees have more than one spelling (cf. nos. 2, 5) and there are two rather late examples of the uncontracted spellings (nos. 2, 6).

Decrees:

'Αθηνᾶία:

- 1) II² 44.17 (378/7) (L.);
- 2) II² 212.38 (347/6) 'Αθηνᾶίαι in the quotation of a projected ded., but 'Αθηνᾶ a few lines before in the text (34).

Ἀθηνά:

- 3) *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p. 51, no. 8, line 32 (= II² 17.32, corrected) (394/3);
- 4) II² 111.67 (363/2) (L.);
- 5) *Hesperia* 7 (1938) pp. 1 ff., no. 1, line 10 (363/2) decree (genos); Ἀθηνᾶ *ib.* 52, 88, 90, 93 (L.);
- 6) II² 218.1 (346/5) in the heading.

*Inventories (for sacred calendars, cf. infra):***Ἀθηναία:**

- 7) II² 1370.2 (403/2);
- 8) II² 1374.1–2 (400/399): Ἀθηνᾶ||ίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν;
- 9) II² 1400.2 (390/89) (L.);
- 10) II² 1428(in add.).108 (367/6);
For II² 1655, cf. 15.01211 *supra*.

Ἀθηνά:

- 11) II² 1388.2 (398/7);
- 12) II² 1412.13 (post 385/4) (L.);
Cf. the cat. II² 2344.1 (init. s. IV a.).

Ἀθηνᾶ (cf. also nos. 2, 5 *supra*):*Decrees:*

- 13) II² 112.7 (362/1) (L.);
- 14) II² 127.38 (356/5) (L.);
- 15) II² 223.B 4 (343/2);
- 16) Sokolowski, *Lois*² p. 63, no. 33, lines 5, 18, B 9, B 22 (= II² 334.9, 22) (335–329);
- 17) II² 333.c 17 (335/4);
- 18) II² 411.32 (post 336/5): τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ[.]Α[?]Δ;

Cf. also II² 674.16 (273/2), II² 687.54 (265/4), II² 776.23 (255/4), etc.

Inventories:

- 19) II² 1425.169 (368/7);
- 20) II² 1437.73 (ca. 354–350) (L.);
- 21) II² 1436.47 (349/8) (L.);
- 22) II² 1590.3 (343/2);
- 23) II² 1443.126, 129 (344/3) (L.);
- 24) II² 1474.19 (318/7);
- 25) II² 1475.16 (ca. 318);
- 26) II² 1480.3 (314/3?);
- 27) II² 1492.54 (post 311/0).

Ἀθηνᾶ occurs also in the heading and text of the oath of the ephebes from Acharnae, cf. Robert, *Études* (1938) pp. 296 ff., lines 2, 18 (= Siewert pp. 5–7) (paulo post 350? cf. *Charisterion Orlandou* A, pp. 79–87). The various sacred calendars of this period contain all three spellings, sometimes two in the same text. Thus the extensive calendar from Erchia, *BCH* 87 (1963) pp. 603 ff. (= *SEG* 21.541; Sokolowski, *Lois*² p. 36, no. 18) (375–350?), has Ἀθηνᾶ in lines B 31 and Δ 15, but Ἀθηνά in line A 62. Probably both Ἀθηναία and Ἀθηνά occur in

another large calendar dated just after 403: Ἀθηναῖαι occurs in *Hesperia* 4 (1935) pp. 19 ff., no. 2, line 49, but the restorations Ἀθηναῖ(αι) (12), Ἀθηναῖ(αι) (7, 14) are probably correct; the left margins of this stoich. text are sometimes indented, but the system seems recoverable (cf. *HSCP* 66 [1962] pp. 256–9; *SEG* 21.540). In other fr. associated with this calendar (cf. J.H. Oliver, *Hesperia* 4 [1935] pp. 6, 29–30) Ἀθηναῖαι occurs, viz. II² 1357 a.26, II² 1357 b.1–2 (= Sokolowski, *Lois*² p. 33, no. 17, lines B18, C1–2). The Ἀθηναῖα spelling is also found in three more such calendars, but for them there is no precise indication of date within the (earlier?) fourth century, cf.: I² 844/845 B.11 (= Sokolowski, *Lois*² p. 32, no. 16); *ZPE* 25 (1977) p. 243, lines 53, 54 (post 403/2); II² 1358.35 (= Sokolowski, *Lois*² p. 46, no. 20). The calendar from Teithras has only an example of Ἀθηναῖ, cf. *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p. 293, no. 1, line 8 (= Sokolowski, *Supplément* p. 218, no. 132; *SEG* 21.542) (400–350).

All three spellings are found on fourth-century dedications; all these texts are set up by private individuals. There is often no very precise indication of date, but two instances of Ἀθηναῖαι cannot be pushed back much before ca. 360–350 (cf. nos. 32, 33).

Ἀθηναῖα:

- 28) II² 4319 (ante 350);
- 29) II² 4322 (ante 350);
- 30) II² 4323 a (in add.) (ante 350);
- 31) II² 4324 (ca. 350);
- Cf. II² 4337 (s. IV a.).

Ἀθηναῖαι:

- 32) *Hesperia* 9 (1940) p. 58, no. 7 (ante 350). This man was a diatetes ca. 325 B.C., hence this text probably dates 25–35 years earlier;
- 33) II² 4329 (ante 350). This man was the brother of the man in no. 32;
- 34) II² 4326 (ca. 350).

Ἀθηναῖ:

- 35) II² 3453.3 (ca. 360) in verse;
- 36) II² 4327.9 (ca. 350);
- 37) II² 4328 (ca. 350);
- 38) II² 4330 (ca. 350);
- 39) II² 4331 (post 350);
- 40) II² 4332 (post 350);
- 41) II² 4335.2 (350–300);
- 42) II² 4336.2 (s. IV a.);
- 43) II² 2939 (= II² 4339) (s. IV a.).

Examples of the earlier spellings in later periods are virtually unknown. The rather crude ded. (priv.) published *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p. 63, no. 29 has Ἀ[θ]ηναῖαι (L.). There is no indication of date, although sigma has the form Σ, and omega W, which would normally make the later Roman Period come first to mind for a stone inscription. It is uncertain if the text was in verse. Surely wrong is the Ἀθηναῖαι restored in a decree of 118/7 by B.D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 32 (1963) p. 22, no. 23, line 10 (“stoich. 46–58”!). Doubtful: Ἀθηναῖα II² 3191 (ca. 150 p.) ded.; if correct, perhaps a learned revival.

15.0122 αἰεῖ, ἀεῖ. αἰεῖ is the only form found before 450 B.C., e.g. I² 1014 (= IGAA p.138, no.46; LSAG p.78, no.29) (ca. 540?) sep. mon. (in verse, scanned as --); I² 920B (= GVI 1, p.660, no.2042) (ca. 500) sep. mon. (on reverse, uncertain if this part of text also metrical).

Both αἰεῖ and ἀεῖ are found in state decrees of the period 450–350 B.C., but αἰεῖ is unusual after the early part of the fourth century, and it is no more frequent than ἀεῖ even in the second half of the fifth century.

αἰεῖ: I² 91.25 (434/3, cf. SEG 22.7; 24.3); II² 12.26 (411, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.247, no.80); I² 110.33 (410/9); I² 113.12–13 (ca. 410); II² 78.8 (ante 378/7); II² 109.b14 (363/2); II² 116.12 (361/0), has ἀεῖ *ib.* 4; II² 146.3 (ante 361/0); II² 287.10 (ca. 350, cf. SEG 24.90). αἰεῖ twice in the genos decree, *Hesperia* 7 (1938) pp.1ff., no.1, lines 9, 83 (363/2). But in the Bendis decree read in line 14: ἐμ Περ[α]αεῖ, cf. Sokolowski, *Supplément* p.20, no.6 (= SEG 10.64; 21.52) (413/2?).

ἀεῖ: I² 59.15 (ca. 427/6); I² 79.10 (ca. 425, cf. SEG 21.41); I² 118.17 (408/7); I² 106.a.4 (fin. s. Va., cf. SEG 24.17; probably earlier than 405/4); *Hesperia* 32 (1963) p.39, no.38, line 4 (s. Va.); II² 32.15 (385/4); II² 77.17 (ante 378/7); II² 79.12 (ante 378/7); II² 43.34 (378/7); II² 97.2 (375/4); II² 105.12 (368/7); II² 116.4 (361/0), has αἰεῖ *ib.* 12; II² 145.21 (ante 358/7, cf. *Hesperia* 10 [1941] p.266, no.68); II² 133.26 (355/4); II² 162.b.8 (360–350, cf. SEG 23.51); II² 195.4 (ante 353/2); II² 140.14 (353/2); II² 204.21 (352/1).

But in the decree, I² 63.46 (425/4), ἡνᾶεῖ should be read ἡνᾶεῖ as in ATL 2, no. A.9.46.

In other types of texts occur: ἀεῖ I² 10954 (fin. s. Va.), I² 7268.4 (init. s. IVa.) both sep. monuments; also ἀεῖμνηστος (cf. *infra*). Date and Attic origin are quite uncertain for the metrical sep. mon. with εὐμενὲς αἰ[τ]ε[ί], cf. GVI 1, p.691, no.2070 a (s. IVa.?).

Examples of αἰεῖ are very rare in all kinds of text in the period ca. 350 B.C. to the end of the Hellenistic Period:

I² 551.6 (paulo ante 307/6, cf. SEG 24.109) decree (L.); II² 1165.19, 24 (300–250) decree (tribe), but ἀεῖ occurs in line 32, where ΤΟΥΣΔΕΙΚΑΘΙΣΤΑΜΕΝΟΥΣ must be for τοὺς ἀεῖ καλοσταμένους (L.); II² 1326.6 (176/5) decree (dionysiastai).

ἀεῖ is very common in this period, cf. e.g.: II² 223.14 (343/2); II² 226.9 (ca. 343/2); II² 235.21 (340/39) decrees; Robert, *Études* (1938) pp.296ff., line 11 (= Siewert pp.5–7) (paulo post 350? cf. *Charisterion Orlandou A*, pp.79–87) oath (ephebes); II² 237.29, 30 (338/7); II² 244.36 (337/6); II² 275.9 (ante 336/5); II² 338.22 (333/2); II² 416.15 (ca. 330); II² 365.b.7 (323/2); II² 385.17 (319/8); II² 448.75 (318/7); II² 505.57 (302/1); II² 580.9 (fin. s. IVa.); II² 594.3 (fin. s. IVa.) decrees; AM 66 (1941) p.218, no.1, line 12 (313/2) decree (deme); II² 646.14, 35 (295/4); II² 657.29, 65 (283/2); II² 659.9, 21 (283/2); II² 682.34, 83 (post 256/5) decrees; *Deltion* 18 (1963) p.103, no.1, line 37 (= SEG 21.525) (282/1) decree (hippeis); AE 1953/4, Part 1, p.130, no.3, line 19 (= SEG 15.112) (ca. 225) decree (demesmen of Rhamnus); II² 1324.12 (ca. 200?) decree (orgeones); *Hesperia* 36 (1967) p.59, no.6, line 9 (= II² 937 + new fr.) (ca. 170) decree; II² 1330.50, 62 (post 163) decree (synodos of technitai); II² 1013.16, 49 (fin. s. IIa.) decree; etc. In private texts: ἀεῖμνηστος, ἀεικέλιος in sep. monuments (cf. *infra*).

In public texts of the Roman Period ἀεῖ is normal:

Cf. II² 1042.b.20 (ca. 41/0); II² 1035.26 (10/9–3/2, cf. p.124 *supra*, no.59) decrees; II² 1343.36 (ca. 37/6) decree (soteriastai); II² 1346.5, 9 (init. s. Ip.) decree (hierateuousai); II² 1075.9

probably not reliable (cf. 9.022, Notes and Corrections, p. 198 supra). The restoration of δίστ- in Π² 1050.1, 12 (ca. 80?) is dubious since the lines vary in length.

The word becomes well attested again after the beginning of the second century after Christ. The spelling δέιστοι has passed out of use, and the usual spellings are δίστοι and δίσσειτοι (with EI for ī). Cf. δῖμνηστος in the ded., Π² 3969.10 (148–150 p.) (prose). That the αι of δίσ(ε)ιτοι was not monophthongized to [e] can be seen from the presence of a diaeresis in δῖσειτοι in the pryt. cat., Π² 1782.48 (177/8 p.), cf. 4.031, no. 3, p. 96 supra.

δίστοι: *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p. 252, no. 52, line 3 (init. s. II p.); Π² 1764.11 (138/9 p.) (L.); *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p. 43, no. 12, line 4 (146–165 p.); *Hesperia* 16 (1947) p. 175, no. 77, line 7 (146–165 p.); *Hesperia* 12 (1943) p. 60, no. 15, line 6 (152/3 aut 153/4 p.); *Hesperia* 33 (1964) p. 220, no. 65 (= Π² 1768), line 6 (ante 165 p.); Π² 1773.6–7 (166/7 p.); Π² 1774.8 (167/8 p.); Π² 1775.7 (168/9 p.); *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p. 52, no. 19, line 6 (169/70 p.); Π² 1788.7 (= *Hesperia* 11 [1942] p. 55, no. 21, line 4) (174/5 p.); Π² 1791.11 (181/2 p.); Π² 1794.4 (180/1 p.); Π² 1798.13 (190/1 p.); *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p. 64, no. 30, line 5 (= Π² 1812) (ca. 200 p.); *Agora* 15, p. 299, no. 419, line 11 (= Π² 1807 + new fr.) (188/9 p.) pryt. catalogs; etc.

δίσσειτοι:]σειτοι *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p. 37, no. 8, line 3 (ca. 100 p.) pryt. cat.; *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p. 193, no. 121, line 3 (= Π² 1073 + Π² 1074) (ca. 120 p.) decree;]σειτοι *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p. 213, no. 61, line 1 (paulo ante 138 p.); Π² 1765.7 (138/9 p.); Π² 1773 a(in add.).5 (post 150 p.); Π² 1776.7 (169/70 p.); Π² 1782.48 (177/8 p.); Π² 1802.3 (post ca. 218 p.); Π² 1808.21 (fin. s. II p.); Π² 1806 a(in add.).8 (195/6 p.); Π² 1816.3 (paulo ante 220/1 p.); Π² 1819.2 (ca. 200 p.) pryt. catalogs; Π² 1077.38 (209/10 p.) decree; Π² 1828.35 (post ca. 218 p.); Π² 1817.17 (paulo ante 220/1 p.) (L.) pryt. catalogs; etc.

δέιστοι: There is only the doubtful δεισ[το]ς-- in the pryt. cat., *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p. 246, no. 97B, line 4 (= *Agora* 15, p. 287, no. 400) of ca. 180 A.D.; there is no doubt of the reading of the letters ΕΙΣ (cf. *Hesperia* 26, plate 62), but the fragment is so small as to make their interpretation as part of this word uncertain. The δεισ[of the pryt. cat., *Agora* 15, p. 292, no. 407 (= Π² 1795) (184/5 p.), involves a graphic mistake (on the stone or due to J. Spon, only witness to the text?); metathesis of the C and E of δέιστοι (or crossing the C by mistake instead of the E) is more likely to have occurred than metathesis of I and E of δέιστοι.

The [~]ναος of the now lost metrical sep. mon. of the second century A.D., Π² 12628 (= GVI 1 p. 35, no. 117), should probably be restored [δέ]ναος, although, in view of the fondness for αεί in verse texts of this type whenever -- is needed, one might also consider possible [αλέ]ναος, a spelling attested in a fourth-century text from Geronthrai, cf. IG V.1, no. 1119.

15.0123 α(ι)ετός, etc. Only αι is found in texts earlier than 300 B.C.:

αλειτός (all examples = architectural term except no. 2):

- 1) Π² 373.95, 115 (409/8) inv.;
- 2) Π² 1425.373 (368/7) inv. (= artifact representing the bird);
- 3) Π² 1668.39 (347/6) inv.;

Cf. Αλειτός, personal name on a rf. vase, ARV² p. 1253, Eretria painter no. 58 (= CVA, Poland 1, plate 38).

αλειτιαός:

- 4) Π² 372.181 (409/8) inv.

ἐναιέτιον:

5) I² 349.21, 23 (437/6) inv.;

6) I² 350.49 (436/5) inv.

καταιέτια:

7) I² 1668.39 (347/6) inv.

παραιετίς:

8) I² 1666.B 15–16 (356/5–353/2) inv.;

9) I² 1627.302 (330/29) inv.

In the third century ἀέτωμα occurs twice, αἰετός once:

There is no reason to assume the earlier form of ἀέτωμα was not αἰέτωμα.

10) [τ]δ̄ [ά]έτωμα I² 1271.6 (299/8?) decree (thiasotai) (non-stoich.);

11) ἀπαετώμ[ατος] I² 1685.B₄ (init. s. IIIa.) inv., the word not otherwise known, cf. *LSJ*, suppl. p. 17;

12) αἰετός (= statuette of an eagle) I² 1534.A.103 (291/0, cf. *SEG* 16.118) inv (L.).

Both αἰετός and αέτός occur as names of brands on third-century B.C. pinakia identifying horses of the hippeis. Cf. e.g.: αἰετός: *AM* 85 (1970) p. 206, no. 24; p. 208, no. 66; p. 227, nos. 430, 435; p. 229, no. 468; p. 231, no. 504; p. 234, no. 566; *Hesperia* 46 (1977) p. 119, no. 50; p. 127, no. 64; p. 135, no. 87; αέτός: *AM* 85 (1970) p. 207, no. 43; p. 209, no. 78; p. 210, no. 109; p. 220, nos. 295, 306; p. 221, nos. 322, 321, 328; p. 217, no. 247; p. 226, no. 418; p. 229, no. 471; p. 232, no. 519; *Hesperia* 46 (1977) p. 128, no. 66; p. 136, no. 102.

The Ἀέτου of I² 836.17 (paulo post 229) decree, is most likely the genitive of the personal name Ἀέτης (e.g. I² 1939.70), probably not derived from αἰετός (but related to ἀημ?).

The only later attestation is the peculiar αἰτωμα of the Roman Period: τὸ Αἰτωμα I² 4771.1 (ca. 120p.) ded. (priv.). Does ΑΙ = [e] here, or has E of αἰέτωμα been omitted? Perhaps crossbars of E only forgotten, i.e. ἀέτωμα.

15.0124 ἐλα(ί)α, etc. The distinction between (cf. *Suda* s.v. ἐλαία) ἐλαία = 'olive tree' and ἐλάα = 'olive' is not maintained in Attic texts. Both spellings are found in both senses, and an inv. of the late fifth century has both ἐλαῖαι and ἐλαδν = 'fruit' (cf. no. 3 infra).

1) ἐλαῖαι 'tree' *Hesperia* 12 (1943) p. 28, no. 6, line 7 (= I² 376.7) (ca. 424/3) inv.; cf. ἐλαο[ib. 12, probably = ἐλαοδ[ν]; ἐλαοδ[ib. 16;

2) ἐλαδν 'tree' I² 94.33 (418/7) decree;

3) ἐλαῖαι 'fruit' *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p. 249, no. 2, lines 84, 89 (ca. 414) inv., [ἐ]λαδν 'fruit' ib. 118;

4) ἐλάας I² 2492.34, 36, 41, 47 (346/5) loc., ἐλαῖαι ib. 45, ἐλαῶν ib. 40, all = 'tree';

5) ἐλαῖαι 'tree' *Hesperia* 7 (1938) p. 9, no. 2, lines 10–11 (242/1, cf. *Meritt, Athenian Year* p. 234) decree (genos). Printed text: ἐλαῖαι, in error, cf. the photograph on p. 11;

6) ἐλαῶν 'tree' I² 1211.B3 (s. III a.?) decree (deme);

7) [ἐ]λάας 'fruit' I² 1013.21 (fin. s. IIa.) decree.

The iota of ἔλαιον = 'oil' is never omitted, e.g. I² 76.59 (435–414 cf. *Meiggs-Lewis* p. 222) decree; *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p. 240, no. 1, lines 123, 124 (= I² 334.5, 6) (ca. 414) inv.; I² 10.B8 (401/400) decree: ἐλαιοπ-(ώλης) (cf. *Tod, GHI* 2, p. 9); I² 47.3 (init. s. IV a.) decree; I² 903.10 (176/5) decree; I² 1100.2 (ca. 124p.) imperial edict; etc.

The tribute lists never omit iota in the toponym Ἐλαιέα, cf. I² 199.17 (= *ATL* 2, no. 9, col. 1.17) (446/5), I² 205.12 (= *ATL* 2, no. 15, col. 1.12) (440/39), I² 206.4 (= *ATL* 2, no. 16, col. 1.16) (439/8), I² 213.26 (= *ATL* 2, no. 23, col. 1.33) (432/1), I² 220.9 (= *ATL* 2, no. 34, col. 2.8) (421/0). Once ΕΛΑΙΑ (= Ἐλαιά or Ἐλαιᾶ, or Ε just accidentally omitted?), I² 201.29 (= *ATL* 2, no. 11, col. 2.28) (444/3). The ethnic is Ἐλαιίτης, cf. 15.0128 e.

Cf. Ἐλαιά of the inv., I² 370.8 (421/0–416/5), perhaps some Attic locality.

15.0125 Ποτείδα(ι)α. Ποτείδαα is virtually certain in a fifth-century decree, Ποτειδ[ά]αι I² 57.28 (423) (stoich.); for Ποτειδαεύς cf. 15.0127k.

Elsewhere Ποτείδααι: I² 200.4 (= *ATL* 2, no. 10, col. 2.4) (445/4), I² 201, col. 3.14 (= *ATL* 2, no. 11) (444/3) tribute lists; I² 945.7, 11 (432/1) cas. list (in verse, = *GVI* 1 p. 8, no. 20); I² 397 (429/8) ded. (pub.); I² 949.40 (423, cf. *SEG* 25.57) cas. list; *ATL* 2, no. D21.9, 21 (= I² 55 + new frr., cf. *Hesperia* 13 [1944] p. 211, no. 2) (428/7) decree. For Ποτειδαίτης, cf. 15.013, p. 296 *infra*; 16.021 c, p. 311 *infra*.

15.0126 (Προ)πύλα(ι)α, etc. The small private ded., I² 4597 (post 350), offers the only example of -λαα: Δήμητρι Προπυλάαι Διόδοτος.

Elsewhere -λαι-: πυλαίας I² 26.6 (ca. 448) decree; Προπυλαίο I² 363.2 (437/6) inv.; Πηροπύλαια I² 366.45 (434/3) inv.; Προπύλαια I² 1187.25–6 (ca. 350) decree (deme); Προπυλαιου I² 1668.5 (347/6) inv. Cf. πυλαίας εαρινᾶς, a non-Attic term in I² 1132.3 (copy inscribed in 130/29 of a text originally of 248/7) amphiktyonic decree (this section not in Attic).

15.0127 Demotics, ethnics, toponyms in -αιεύς ~ -αεύς

In certain of these spellings without iota occur. The demotics are best attested and an analysis of the data for them indicates the following points:

1) Spellings without iota are best attested in the fourth century B.C., but can also be found occasionally earlier and in the period ca. 300–200 B.C. A very few sepulchral monuments may be as late as the second century, but for these there is no precise indication of date (cf. I² 5489 in a) *infra*; I² 7191 in h) *infra*; I² 7634 in i) *infra*). Spellings like Πειρεεύς, etc. are found in the Roman Period (cf. 15.013 *infra*) as well as contractions like Πειρεύς (cf. Morphology), and these are clear indications that the tendency to reduce iota in these words to a glide or delete it was a variant which did not win out, as αι was ultimately retained. These developments explain the virtual cessation of the spellings without iota by the end of the Hellenistic Period. That such variants in -αεύς were still current in some places in Roman times seems indicated by Herodian's mention of them (cf. Herodian 2, p. 276.21 [= p. 518.11], ed. Lentz [*Gramm. gr.* 3.2.1]); he uses Νικαεύς as an example, which in Attic texts of Roman times appears only as Νικαιεύς and Νικεύς (← Νικεεύς). Extremely rarely similar spellings without iota occur in Attic texts of Roman date: thus there are four cases of Πειραε- (cf. h) *infra*) and Φωκαεύς is also found (cf. k) *infra*).

2) Even in fourth-century sep. monuments the -αεύς spellings are usually considerably less frequent than the normal ones, and they are normally rather rare in public documents, especially decrees (but cf. b) *infra*). The demotic and toponym Πειραιεύς (especially in the dative sing. Πειρα(ι)εῖ) is exceptional here, for the spellings without

ι are found in various types of public texts, and Πειραιῖ is actually more frequent than Πειραιεῖ in fourth-century inventories; it even occurs in a decree, although fourth-century decrees offer very few examples of this word.

3) Omission of iota does not normally occur before the contracted -ῶς, -ῶν, and -ᾶ. Thus -αέως is well attested, but the only instance of -αῶς is Πειραιῶς in an inv. of 329/8, Π² 1672.64, which has Πειραιῶς several times elsewhere (cf. h) infra); although -αέων is found, an alleged example of Ἀλαῶν is doubtful (cf. a) infra); Πειραέα is well attested, but Πειραᾶ never occurs. The avoidance of -αῶς and -αῶν might be due to the following o-vowel (cf. 15.0129).

4) There are some strange inconsistencies. Although Ἀλαεύς (deme name Ἀλαί) is frequent enough, Βησαεύς (deme name Βῆσαι) is apparently never attested, and there is only one case of Θοραεύς (deme name Θόραι, cf. Θ]ΟΡΑΗΣ (= Θοραῆς), in *Hesperia* 36 (1967) p.226, no.35, line 5 (ca. 350) pryt. cat. In Π² 6214.2 (= IG II, no.2081) read Θοραειεύς. Although Κυδαθηναεύς is frequent in the fourth century, Κυδαθηναεύς is quite rare, although one of the examples is in a state decree (deme name Κυδαθηναίων).

5) Many of the ethnics are rare. The tribute lists use -αιεῖς exclusively, and some words are found only there. Where a reasonable sample of examples can be assembled from fourth-century texts, it appears that the behavior of the ethnics in -αιεὺς does not differ much from that of the demotics.

a)–j) *Demotics, Attic toponyms*

a) Ἀλα(ι)εύς. The spelling without iota occurs in a catalog of silver phialai dedicated by manumitted slaves, Ἀλαέα Π² 1569.28 (also has Πειραιεῖ, cf. h) infra), dated ca. 330–320; in another of these texts Ἀλαεῖ- : *Hesperia* 28 (1959) pp.208 ff., lines 141, 143, 521 (= Π² 1557.79, Π² 1559.29, 31), and Ἀλαί[ib. B209 (ca. 330–320). Otherwise Ἀλαεύς, etc. are found only in private documents, chiefly sep. monuments. All the examples are of fourth-century date except the sep. mon. Π² 5489 (= IG III, no.1542), which Kirchner, following Wilhelm, placed in the second century.

Other examples of Ἀλαεύς:

Hesperia, suppl. 7 (1943) p.12, no.1a (400–350) dikast's pinakion;

Ἀλ|αεῖ *Hesperia*, suppl. 9 (1951) p.33, no.17, lines 10–11 (= *AJP* 69 [1948] p.203, no.3) (315/4) horos, but Ἀλαί|εῖ in ib. 13–14; Π² 2701.4 (s. IV a.?) horos;

sep. monuments: Π² 5482, Π² 5492 (ca. 350); Π² 5511a (in add.): Ἀλαεύς 3 times in all (ca. 350); Π² 5470 (340–317); Π² 5485, Π² 5529/30, *Hesperia* 28 (1959) p.275, no.3 (all three s. IV a.).

In Π² 2686.6 (= IG II, no.1144) (s. IV a.?), horos, read: Ἀλαίεῖ; on the ded., Π² 2820 (= IG II, no.1208) (ca. 365, cf. *SEG* 18.66), Ἀλα[ῶν or Ἀλα[ῶν might be restored, but the rarity of -αῶν for -αιῶν (cf. no. 3 supra) makes the former much more likely (L.).

Ἀλαειεύς is very frequent in all types of text in the fourth century and throughout the Hellenistic Period: cf. Indices to IG I², p.325; to IG II, p.74; to IG II.5, p.331; note also χαλαίεῖς, [χαλα]ιεύς on dedications of the demesmen dated ca. 500, cf. *Deltion* 11 (1927/8) pp.22 ff. (= *SEG*

10.328 a, b). In the sep. monuments, II² 5455–II² 5527; II² 5495 a, II² 5522 a (both in add.; II² 5518 a = II² 5508); II² 7481; II² 6853, there are more than eighty occurrences of Ἀλαιοεύς, of which more than 35 date to the fourth century B. C.

b) Ἀνακα(ι)εύς. In one decree Ἀν[ακ]αέως is certain, cf. *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p. 268, no. 69, line 2 (319/8, cf. SEG 21.310); three more examples are on fourth-century sep. monuments: Ἀνακαέος II² 5645 (ca. 350); Ἀνακαέως II² 6197 (ca. 350), II² 5647 (s. IV a.).

Otherwise Ἀνακαί-: e.g. *Hesperia* 32 (1963) p. 144, no. 1, line 12 (404/3?) inv.; II² 5649 (390–365) sep. mon.; II² 4373.3 (ca. 350) ded.; II² 1436.44 (349/8) inv.; *Hesperia* 9 (1940) p. 345, no. 44, line 3 (319/8) decree; II² 478.95 (305/4) decree: Ἀνα[κα]ί[ε]ις; II² 2765.6 (s. IV a.?) horos: Ἀνακαίως, in *ib.* 4 Ἀνακαίαθεν; II² 700.8 (258/7, cf. SEG 21.375) decree; II² 1299.83 (post 236/5) decree (troops and Eleusinians); II² 1706.19, 76 (fin. s. III a.) cat.; II² 913.36–37 (ca. 211/0–202/1); *Hesperia* 9 (1940) p. 118, no. 24, line 45 (176–169); II² 974.2 (= *Hesperia* 28 [1959] p. 188, no. 10) (137/6) decrees; II² 5646 (s. II a.); II² 10304 (s. II a.); II² 5648 (s. II/1a.); II² 5644 (date?) sep. monuments; II² 1939.32 (130–120) cat.; etc.

The locative Ἀνα[κα]ίσι occurs in the financial document of the reign of Trajan, II² 2776.104–105 (aet. Trajani, cf. *Hesperia* 41 [1972] p. 476). Note also the Ἀνακαίαθεν of the fourth-century horos just cited, II² 2765.

c) Γραεύς(?). The Γραῆς of the list of demes and demotics, II² 2362.30 (ca. 200), are not otherwise attested. The catalog has been suspected on several grounds, cf. S. Dow, *AJP* 84 (1963) p. 172; W.K. Pritchett, *TAPA* 85 (1954) pp. 159ff.; J.S. Traill also doubts the existence of the deme, cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 14 (1975) p. 82 and note 26.

d) Ἐλα(ι)εύς. Apparently this was a variant for the toponym Ἐλαιοῦς, cf. Stephanus of Byzantium, Περὶ Πόλεων s.v. Ἐλαιοεύς (p. 263 of Meineke's 1849 Berlin ed. [= Graz, 1958 reprint]), where Dionysius Periegetes is named as the source. Ἐλαεῖ occurs in two of the fifth-century inventories concerning the Parthenon, cf. I² 283.132 (419/8), I² 286.155 (414/3, cf. SEG 24.40); two others have Ἐλαιοεῖ, cf. I² 279.57 (431/0), I² 280.75 (422/1); the spelling with iota is also attested in a sacred law, cf. I² 190.10 (ca. 420). Cf. Πειραιεῖ/Πειραιεῖ infra. Ἐλαιοεύς is a demotic on a sep. mon. of the later fourth century, *Polemon* 6 (1956–57) Symmeikta p. 39, no. 8 a (= SEG 17.97).

For the Attic toponym Ἐλαία, cf. 15.0124 supra. Iota is never omitted in Ἐλαιοῦς, Ἐλαιοῦσιος, where it precedes an o-vowel.

e) Ἐστια(ι)εύς. The demotic Ἐστιαεύς is comparatively rare and is normally used only in the plural, cf. II² 1749.31 (341/0) pryt. cat. (L.); *Hesperia* 30 (1961) pp. 30ff., p. 32, line 101 (336/5) cat.; II² 1926.43 (325/4) cat. The only possible case without iota occurs in a small fragment of an inv. of the Eleusinian epistatai, II² 1546.9 (init. s. III a.), where]ΤΙΑΕΙ[has been interpreted as Ἐσ]τιαεῖ, Σ[---. If the demotic does occur here a better interpretation might be Ἐσ]τιαεῖς[---. The name of the deme occurs in a list of demes, II² 2362.22 (ca. 200), as Ἐστίαια. The normal form of the demotic in the singular is Ἐστιαιώθεν, e.g. I² 335.41 (ca. 450) inv.; II²

6140 (ca. 350) sep. mon.; II² 1749.71 (341/0) pryt. cat. (L.); II² 678.28 (256/5, cf. SEG 21.377) decree; *Praktika* 1958 p.35, line 34 (= SEG 22.128) (ca. 240–235) decree (troops at Rhamnus): Ἰστιαῖόςθεν (for the ι, cf. 7.012c, p.143 supra); II² 6141 (s. IIa.) sep. mon.; II² 1010.81 (ca. 116) decree; II² 6137/8 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.; *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p.48, no.11, line 36 (182/3p.) pryt. cat.; etc. The spelling Ἑστιαῖόςθεν would not be expected, as the omission of iota before o-vowels is avoided.

The ethnic Ἑστιαῖεύς/Ἰστιαῖεύς has always the -αιεύς spelling: ἡεστιαῖες in I² 197.20 (= ATL 2, no.5, col.4.34) (450/49), I² 196.6 (= ATL 2, no.7, col.3.6) (448/7) both tribute lists, cf. [Ἑ]στια[ι]εύς πρὸς etc. in I² 40.9 (ca. 446/5) decree (stoich.); II² 43.B18 (378/7) decree: [Ἑσ]τιαῖης; II² 8939 (s. IVa.?) sep. mon.: Ἰστιαῖεύς (for initial ι, cf. 7.012c, p.143 supra); II² 8502a (in text) (s. II/Ia.) sep. mon.: [Ἑ]στιαῖεύς. Cf. k) infra.

The ethnic of Thessalian Hestiaiotes is Ἑστώτης, attested once in the decree, II² 175.8 (361/0, cf. SEG 21.244): [Ἑ]στ[ι]ωτ[ῶ]ν. But the Euboean town is Ἑστίαια/Ἰστίαια with the ethnic Ἑστιαῖεύς/Ἰστιαῖεύς.

f) Κυδαθηνα(ι)εύς. This demotic is very well attested in the period 450–200 B.C., and the rarity of Κυδαθηναῖεύς thus cannot be an accident of preservation. The only examples are: Κυδαθηναῖως, alongside Κυδαθηναῖεύς, II² 6592 (ca. 350) sep. mon.; Κυδαθηναῖα II² 1247.16–17 (ca. 250) decree (mesogeioi), but Κυδαθηναῖεύς *ib.* 2. The restoration Κυδαθηνα[ε]ύς in the stoich. decree, II² 106.5 (368/7), may be correct, but it is barely possible that iota was crowded in, as was ἀνα- in ἀναλίσκομένων in *ib.* 19 (cf. IG II, no.50). In II² 6578 read: Κυδαθηναῖεύς (= IG II, no. 2237).

The normal spelling Κυδαθηναῖεύς is well attested in this period, cf. Indices to IG I², p.325; to IG II, p.73, p.76; to IG II.5, p.330, p.332; *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p.71, no.28, lines 82–83 (229/8 aut 228/7) decree; II² 1428(in add.).6 (367/6) inv.; *Hesperia* 30 (1961) pp.30 ff., line 147 (336/5) cat.; *Hesperia* 2 (1933) p.149, no.1, line 6 (394/3); *Hesperia* 34 (1965) p.90, no.3, lines 3, 4, 5, 6 (210/9) dedications; etc. Cf. numerous sep. monuments of the fourth century, e.g. II² 6587.3, 6 (post 450); II² 6580.2, II² 6578, II² 6566 (cf. add. nova) (all init. s. IVa.); II² 6572 (390–365); II² 6573, II² 6582, II² 6589.3, 6 (all ante 350); II² 6567 (ca. 360); II² 6575 (365–340); II² 6560, II² 6565, II² 6588 (ca. 350); II² 6602 (post 350); II² 6569.3, 6 (fin. s. IVa.); II² 6584, II² 6598 (s. IVa.).

The iota is never omitted in the name of the deme Κυδαθήναιον, where the αι precedes an o-vowel (cf. 15.0129 infra). It is likely that the rarity of Κυδαθηναῖεύς is due to the influence of the deme name on the demotic.

g) Μυλαιεῖς. This toponym is known only from one of the Attic Stelai, cf. *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p.249, no.2, line 82 (ca. 414): ἐμ Μυλαιεῦσι. Cf. note of W.K. Pritchett, *Hesperia* 22, p.258.

h) Πειρα(ι)εύς. Spellings without iota are frequent in both the demotic and the toponym. Attested are: Πειραεῖς, Πειραεῖως, Πειραεῖ, Πειραεῖα, Πειραεῖων, Πειραεῦσι, and Πειραεῖας. Πειραῶς occurs once only (in II² 1672.64) and Πειραῖ is not found at all. These spellings are uncommon in decrees, but frequent in inventories and catalogs.

Decrees: Πειραεῖ Π² 380.9 (320/19), restored with virtual certainty in *ib.* 36 (stoich.); Πειραέων, Πειραέας *Hesperia* 3 (1934) p. 44, no. 33, lines 5, 9 (init. s. IIIa.); Πειραεῖ *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p. 86, no. 38, line 3 (197/6, cf. *Agora* 15, p. 144, no. 165); Πειραεῖ *Hesperia* 24 (1955) pp. 220 ff., p. 228, line 25 (= *Hesperia* 15 [1946] p. 201, no. 41; *Hesperia* 4 [1935] p. 71, no. 37) (127/6). Also in the decree of the demesmen of the Piraeus, Π² 1176 (ca. 360, cf. SEG 21.516), occur Πειραέα in line 32, Πειραέων *ib.* 17, Πειραεῖσι *ib.* 25, Πειραέας *ib.* 14–15, 16, but Πειραεῖς *ib.* 24, Πειραέα *ib.* 33. In Π² 945.8 (= *IG* II.5, no. 441 d) read: Πειραεῖς.

Inventories: Πειραεῖ: *Hesperia* 5 (1936) p. 393, no. 10, lines 138–139 (p. 401) (= new fr. of Π² 1582, cf. *Hesperia* 19 [1950] p. 244, no. 16) (probably 342/1); Π² 1673.18, 19 (333/2? cf. *AE* 1971 p. 112), but Πειραεῖς *ib.* 10, Πειραιῶς *ib.* 20; in several catalogs of phialai dedicated by manumitted slaves, e.g. Π² 1563.4, 7, 10; Π² 1564.7, 11, Πειραεῖ *ib.* 2; Π² 1569.9, 13 (L.), 16; Π² 1570.18 (all ca. 330–320); in naval inventories, e.g. Π² 1628.367 (326/5), Π² 1629.888 (325/4), but Πειραι(εῖς) *ib.* 647, 649. The unparalleled Πειραιῶς occurs in Π² 1672.64 (329/8), alongside Πειραιῶς *ib.* 125, 146, 150, 165, 173, Πειραι(εῖ) *ib.* 88, Πειραεῖ *ib.* 106 (L., not 125, 146, 165). In Π² 358.17–18 read: Πει[ρ]αι[ε]α[ε]ῖς (L., cf. *BCH* 91 [1967] p. 67).

Other public documents: Πειραεῖς Π² 1955.6, 25 (ca. 320) cat.; Πειραεῖ Π² 2496.9 (post 350) loc.; Πειραέων Π² 2623 (s. IV/III a.?) horos.

Dedication: Πειραεῖς occurs twice in Π² 4905 (ca. 350) (priv.).

Sep. monuments: Πειραεῖς: Π² 1065 (fin. s. Va.?), in Ionic script; Π² 7196 (400–350); Π² 7192 (init. s. IVa.); Π² 7319 (ante 350); Π² 7181 (s. IVa.); *AE* 1956, p. 46, no. 5, line 4 (init. s. IIIa.), but Πειραιεῖς *ib.* 8; Π² 7191 (s. III/IIa.); Πειραεῖς(?) Π² 7186 (date?); Πειραεῖς Π² 7786 (post 350); Πειραέος *AM* 67 (1942) p. 219, no. 6 (ca. 350). Apparently an original Πειραεῖς was altered to Πειραιεῖς in Π² 7188 (s. IVa.), cf. Kirchner's note in *IG* II².

The examples in defixiones are: ΠΕΡΑΕ *IG* III.3, no. 95.b21 (ante 350?) at the end of the line for Πειραεῖς; Πειραεῖς, cf. *IG* III.3, no. 55.a7–8 (325/4? cf. A. Wilhelm, *JOAI* 7 [1904] pp. 107 ff.), the omission of the iota might be due to beginning a new line, cf. συριγες for σύριγγες in *ib.* a3–4.

The spellings without iota occur in less than half as many fourth-century sep. monuments as the original spelling. The dative of the toponym, however, usually in the phrase ἐν Πειραεῖ, is slightly more common in inventories and catalogs in the spelling without iota, also attested in decrees. But it is clear that Πειραεῖ is preferred to Πειραεῖ in decrees after 300 B.C. Πειραεῖ occurs alongside other forms of Πειραεῖς without omitted iota in Π² 1673, Π² 1629 (cf. *supra*), but the opposite phenomenon occurs in Π² 1672, and both Πειραιεῖ and Πειραεῖ occur within a few lines of one another in Π² 1564.

The spelling Πειραεῖ is by no means rare, cf. e.g.: Sokolowski, *Supplément* p. 20, no. 6, line 14 (= SEG 10.64; 21.52) (413/2?) Bendis decree; *BSA* 47 (1952) p. 109, line B80 (= SEG 12.84; Π² 10) (401/400); Π² 783.4, 6 (ca. 244); Π² 785.6 (196/5); Π² 850.3 (init. s. IIa.); *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p. 47, no. 7, line 3 (173/2–168/7); Π² 910.4 (169/8); Π² 946.5 (166/5); Π² 971.10 (140/39); Π² 974.4 (137/6); Π² 978.7 (189/8); Π² 1013.1 (fin. s. IIa.); Π² 1028.36 (101/100, cf. SEG 24.188); Π² 1029.22 (96/5) decrees; Π² 302.53 (418–414, cf. Meiggs–Lewis p. 229, no. 77) (L.); *Hesperia* 32 (1963) p. 144, no. 1, line 7 (404/3?); Π² 1388.68 (398/7); Π² 1400.47 (390/89); Π² 1672.88, 106 (329/8); Π² 1553.11, 12, 19 (ca. 330–320) inventories; Π² 2336.140 (102/1–97/6) cat.; etc. Other forms of Πειραεῖς are also frequent, cf. Indices to *IG* I², p. 326; to

IG II, pp. 74, 77; to IG II.5, pp. 331, 332; *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p. 211, no. 6, line 5 (285–282) decree; *Hesperia* 37 (1968) pp. 1ff., line 165 (p. 14) (303/2) cat.; *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p. 379 (= SEG 21.695) (init. s. IV a.) ded.; etc. Among the sep. monuments of the group II² 7150–II² 7203, II² 5404, II² 6054 there are more than 40 instances of Πειραιε(ν)-, of which 16 may be assigned to the fourth century, three to the third, seven to the second.

Examples of the spellings without iota are rare in the third and second centuries B.C. Spellings like Πειρεεῦς, Πειρεῦς in Roman times show that αἰ was retained in this word (cf. 15.013 infra). But very rarely there are exceptions: Πειραεῖ occurs in the imperial letters II² 1103.12 (ca. 124/5 p.); *Hesperia*, suppl. 13 (1970) pp. 3ff., line E 85 (ca. 175 p.). These may show a tendency in the toponym to continue to delete the iota or they may reflect a non-Attic phenomenon (cf. Herodian's mention of these variants in -αεῦς, cf. p. 279 supra). Πειραῖ[ων] occurs on a crude sep. mon. in prose, II² 7185 (= *Hesperia* 3 [1934] p. 83, no. 95) (probably as late as s. II p.). Πειραῖως, on another sep. mon., II² 12476/7 (ca. 150 p.), was perhaps written without iota to facilitate the scansion (cf. 10.04b, p. 213 supra); it is the toponym.

i) Φηγα(ι)εῦς. In view of the comparative rarity of the -αεῦς spellings in decrees, the restoration [Φ]ηγα[εῦς] in II² 128.7 (356/5) is not quite certain: sometimes an iota may be crowded into a stoichedon text, although such crowding does not occur elsewhere in this fragment in the stoichedon part (cf. IG II, no. 66). The Φ[εγα]εῦς proposed by B.D. Meritt (*AJP* 59 [1938] p. 501) for lines 56–7 of the inv., I² 264 (422/1), seems even more doubtful. Another public text, a dedication of the boule, has Φηγαῖα on both the obverse and reverse surfaces, cf. II² 2797.6, 13 (ante 271/0). Φηγαῖως is found on three private texts, cf. II² 2664.5 (350–300?) horos; *Hesperia* 15 (1946) p. 220, no. 47 (ca. 200) ded. (priv.); II² 7634 (s. III/II a.) sep. mon.

For the usual spelling Φηγαε(ν)-, cf. Indices to IG I², p. 326; to IG II, pp. 73, 77; to IG II.5, pp. 330, 332; *Hesperia* 3 (1934) p. 31, no. 21, line 25 (155/4) decree; *Hesperia* 30 (1961) pp. 30ff., line 75 (336/5) cat.; *AE* 1961, *Chronika* p. 18, no. 66 (s. IV a.) sep. mon.; etc.

j) (')Ωα(ι)εῦς. In the fifth and fourth centuries the omission of iota in (h)οαεῦς, 'Ωαεῦς is clearly abnormal: hoαεῦς in four fifth-century inventories, cf. I² 236.48 (430/29), I² 237.55 (429/8), I² 238.69 (428/7), I² 261.33 (429/8); hoαῖος in only one, I² 370.8 (421/0–416/5). In the decree, I² 144.2 (416/5?), 'Ωαεῦς should probably be corrected to 'Α]λαεῦς, cf. *ATL* 2, no. D 23 (L.) (cf. 12.0111, p. 228 supra).

In the fourth century only -αεῦς occurs: e.g. 'Ω[α]ιῆς II² 1740.48 (ca. 400–350) pryt. cat.; 'Ω[α]ιῆς *Polemon* 7 (1965–66) p. 47, line 17 (= *REG* 73 [1960] p. 88; *SEG* 23.87) (400–350) pryt. cat.; 'Ωαῖῆς II² 2370.15 (for this improved reading, cf. *Agora* 15, p. 36, no. 15, line 24) (ca. 360) cat. (cf. S. Dow, *AJP* 84 [1963] pp. 170ff.); 'Ωαῖῆς II² 1751.16 (post 350) pryt. cat.; 'Οαῖῆς *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p. 174, no. 39 (= new fr. of II² 1952, fr. c, to be disassociated from II² 1952a) (as late as ca. 350? cf. 12.0111, p. 227 supra) cat. (small fr.). Only case without ι is 'Οαεῦς in the deme decree of ca. 350, *AM* 49 (1924) pp. 1ff., no. 2, line 4 (= *SEG* 24.152). The ['Ωα]εῦς of *Hesperia* 36 (1967) p. 100, no. 33 (s. IV a.) sep. mon. is doubtful.

In the fourth century Ὠαιεύς is infrequent and usually in the plural; the normal form of the demotic is Ὠαθεν or Ὠαθεν (cf. 12.0111 supra for the ω→ο), never spelled with iota except on one sep. mon., II² 7822 (post 317/6, cf. p.334 infra), with Οἶαθεν. Here the influence of the other deme Οἰθηθεν can be suspected (cf. 17.022, no.7, p.334). An example in Roman times in II² 7832 (now lost) is doubtful (cf. Dow, *op.cit.* p.170, p.173). Two cases of the rare demotic in -αιεύς after 300 B.C. are both without iota: Ὠαεύ(ς) II² 1958.11 (post 250) cat.; Ὠαῖς II² 2362.31 (ca. 200) list of demes and demotics.

The alternation Ὠαθεν/Ὠαιεύς is easiest to understand if the name of the deme was Ὠαι, cf. Ἀλαιεύς, Βησαιεύς from Ἀλαί, Βῆσαι (cf. e.g. Βῆσαζε in II² 1582.91, II² 1583.26, etc.); Θοραιεύς alongside Θόραθεν from Θόραι. Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Ὠα) knows Ὠαζε, which was doubtless originally Ὠαζε (← **(h)ōans-de*). In the cat., II² 1951.219 (406, cf. SEG 22.53), either singular or plural could be restored, e.g. ἐν Ὠ[α]ῖς οἰκῶ(ν) or ἐν Ὠ[αι οἰκῶν]. A locative Ὠ[α]σι is also attested in the financial doc., II² 2776.43–44 (aet. Trajani, cf. *Hesperia* 41 [1972] p.476), but such plural locatives are formed from demes whose names are feminine singular, cf. Ἀνακᾶσι in lines 104–105 of this same text (cf. b) supra, p. 281) and Δεκέλεια and Δεκελειᾶσιν in II² 1237.53, 67 (396/5), decree (phratry). But if *hoaiá* (rather tentatively suggested by Dow, *op.cit.* p.167) were the deme name, one might expect Ὠαίαθεν or Ὠαιόθεν as demotics on the analogy of Ἀνακαία/Ἀνακαίαθεν and Ἑστία/Ἑστιαόθεν. The word almost certainly had initial [h] in the Classical Period and the smooth breathing printed here is purely conventional (cf. 42.0114, no.2, p.502 infra). For the change of omega to omicron, cf. 12.0111, p.228 supra.

k) *Ethnics* (for Ἑστιαιεύς cf. e) supra). Examples of the spellings without iota are not numerous even when the ethnic is well attested and are usually of fourth- or third-century B.C. date:

The Κασσαναεῖς of the public sep. mon., II² 5227 (ca. 300), are not otherwise found in Attic texts; the town was Κασταναία or Κασθαναία.

Κρηταέων occurs in the decree, II² 687.25 (265/4), but Κρηταιεῖς is found in another decree of the next century, II² 844.12 (181/0, cf. TAPA 95 [1964] p.239).

Μελιταέως is found on a sep. mon., II² 9333. Kirchner's dating to the first century B.C. seems suspiciously late. Elsewhere Μελιται-, e.g. II² 1132.57, II² 1133.5 (130/29) amphiktyonic decrees (both in Attic), and II² 9332 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.

Πλαταεύς occurs alongside Πλαταιική (cf. 15.0128 m) in a sep. mon. dated ca. 350, II² 10096. Elsewhere -αιεύς: II² 10092 (ante 350) sep. mon.; II² 10090 (ca. 350) sep. mon.; II² 345.10 (332/1) decree; II² 351.1 (330/29) decree; *Polemon* 6 (1956–57) *Symmeikta* p.39, no.8 b (= SEG 17.97b) (fin. s. IVa.) sep. mon.; II² 1299.115 (post 236) decree (troops and Eleusinians); II² 10093 a (in add. nova) (s. IIIa.) sep. mon.; II² 8818 (s. II/1a.) sep. mon.; II² 10101 (s. II/1a.) sep. mon.; II² 10087 (s. Ia.) sep. mon.; II² 1043.124 (38/7) decree (L.); II² 10098 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.; II² 10099 (date?) sep. mon. For Πλατεεύς, cf. 15.013.

Ποτειδαεύς is attested in II² 10109, a sep. mon. of ca. 350 (L.); the word is not otherwise found in Attic texts; cf. 15.0125.

Φωκαεύς occurs in a text dating to the Roman Period, II² 10491 (s. I/IIp.) sep. mon., but this spelling is frequent in med. codd. and is said by the *Etyim. mag.* s.v. to have been more correct than Φωκαιεύς. But in Attic texts of the Classical and Hellenistic Periods the iota is not omitted: Φοκαιεῖς (= Φωκαιῆς) occurs in tribute lists, viz. I² 193.4 (= *ATL* 2, no. 3, col. 5.4) (452/1); I² 194.13 (= *ATL* 2, no. 4, col. 2.13) (451/0); *ATL* 2, no. 7, col. 3.9 (= I² 196.9) (448/7); I² 199.11 (= *ATL* 2, no. 9, col. 1.11) (446/5); I² 203.12 (= *ATL* 2, no. 13, col. 1.12) (442/1); I² 205.11 (= *ATL* 2, no. 15, col. 1.11) (440/39); Φωκαιεύς in a fr. of a fourth-century cat., II² 2421.2; Φωκαιεύς in a sep. mon., II² 10492 (s. IIa.). It is possible that a Φωκαιεύς normal in classical times at Athens was replaced by Φωκαεύς by the Roman Period; this would explain the practice of codd. and the late example in -αεύς. However, in view of the pronounced preference of the tribute lists for -αιεῖς, it is also possible that lack of an example of Φωκαεύς in the fifth and fourth centuries may be purely coincidental, since all examples but one are from tribute lists. Here it is worth noting that -αιι- never occurs in Φωκαῖς, Φωκαικός, frequently attested in fourth-century texts (cf. 15.0128).

Some ethnics in -αεύς are attested only in the normal spelling. Some of these are rare, e.g. Αιγυαεύς found only in II² 7946 (fin. s. Va.) sep. mon.; Φολαιεύς in II² 10036 (410–390), II² 10482 (date?) both sep. monuments. Others are not frequent until after the period in which the -αεύς spellings are common (ca. 450–250):

Νικαεύς in II² 9996 (s. II/1a.), II² 9995 (aet. Rom.) both sep. monuments (for Νεικεύς ← Νικεεύς, cf. Morphology). Herodian cites Νικαεύς as an example of the -αεύς spellings (cf. p. 279 supra).

Πτολεμαεύς: II² 10130 (post 300) sep. mon.; II² 2313.50 (194/3 et 190/89) cat. of Panathenaic victors; II² 10122 (s. 1a.), II² 10124 (s. 1a.), II² 10132 (s. 1p.), II² 10129 (aet. Rom.) all sep. monuments.

The tribute lists never have -αιεῖς, only -αιεῖς (some ethnics are attested only here): Ἀστυπαιεῖς I² 192.7 (= *ATL* 2, no. 2, col. 5.10) (453/2), I² 202.17 (= *ATL* 2, no. 12, col. 4.17) (443/2), I² 204.57 (= *ATL* 2, no. 14, col. 1.74) (441/0), I² 205.65 (= *ATL* 2, no. 15, col. 1.68) (440/39), *ATL* 2, no. 22, col. 1.18 (= I² 212.18) (433/2), I² 214.21 (= *ATL* 2, no. 27, col. 2.29) (428/7);

ἡνδαιεῖς: I² 64.59 (= *ATL* 2, no. A 9, col. 2.150) (425/4);

Κυδαίεας: I² 194.48 (= *ATL* 2, no. 4, col. 5.25) (451/0), I² 195.49 (= *ATL* 2, no. 5, col. 2.40) (450/49);

Ῥεναιεῖς: I² 194.30 (= *ATL* 2, no. 4, col. 1.22) (451/0), I² 196.4 (= *ATL* 2, no. 7, col. 3.4) (448/7), I² 204.76 (= *ATL* 2, no. 14, col. 2.94) (441/0), I² 212.79 (= *ATL* 2, no. 22, col. 1.84) (433/2), I² 63.82 (= *ATL* 2, no. A 9, col. 1.82) (425/4);

cf. *ATL* 2, no. 2, col. 1.17 (= I² 192.14) (453/2): ΟΛΑ[.]ΕΣ (= Ὀλαιεῖς?).

The ethnic Ἐσσιαεύς/Ἰσσιαεύς occurs in tribute lists, the fourth-century decree, II² 43, and two sep. monuments, one of the fourth century and the other of the Hellenistic Period (cf. e) supra).

Καρθαεύς is the only spelling found: Καρθαιεῖς II² 43.B25 (378/7) decree; Καρθαιῶν II² 111.54 (363/2) decree; Κ|αρθαιεῦσι II² 1128.5 (ante 350) decree (of Cean cities); Καρθαιεῖ[(gen.) II² 978.15 (189/8) decree; Καρθαιεύς II² 1011, col. 6.97 (106/5) decree.

For Φωκαεύς cf. supra.

(h)αιραιεῖς, always -αιεῖς in tribute lists, cf. 42.0111, p. 496 infra for examples.

15.0128 -αι- ~ -αι-. Where the diphthong αι is followed by syllabic ι, as in the suffixes -ία, -ίς, -ικός, -ίτης, -ίτις, -ιστής, -ίσκος, one iota is frequently omitted at all periods. Examples of -αι- ~ -αι- are numerous and not confined to the fifth and fourth centuries, and it is clear that in most words -αι- is on the wane by the early Hellenistic Period; examples of -αι- of Roman date are unusual (cf. g) no.5; n) nos. 14, 54–55).

The -αι- spellings are often frequent from the period of the first examples, e.g. a), b), e), j), k), m), and -αι- is abnormal after ca. 200 B.C. The tribal name Πτολεμαίς undergoes this same chronological development, but at a later time: -αίς ~ -αίς during the later Hellenistic Period, -αίς universal after 100 A.D. (cf. n) infra). Here the influence of Πτολεμαῖος is apparent, and a similar influence explains Δικαΐδης (cf. p.292 infra).

There is no trace of -αι- in: Πυθαίς, Πυθαιστής, Φωκαίος, Φωκαίς (cf. after n) infra).

a) (Παν)αθηνα(ι)ικός. The only certain instance of Ἀθηναϊκ- occurs in an inventory of mines dated to the last quarter of the fourth century; this same text has Ἑρμαιικός twice (no.1). Ἀθηναϊκ- is already well attested in the late fifth century: Παναθηναϊκοί occurs ten times in a single text dated ca. 414 (no.4).

Ἀθηναϊκόν:

- 1) Π² 1587.14 (= *Hesperia* 19 [1950] p.279, no.32) (ca. 325–300) inv. (mine). Cf. f) infra, no.1.

Ἀθηναϊκόν:

- 2) *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p.210, no.5, lines 74, 83 (ca. 350) inv. (mine);
- 3) *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p.236, no.14, line 29 (ca. 350–340) inv. (mine).

NB: For the ambiguous -αικόν of one of these texts, cf. f) infra, no.1.

Παναθηναϊκός:

- 4) *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p.249, no.2, lines 41ff. (ca. 414) inv., ten examples;
- 5) Παναθη[ν]αϊκόν Π² 457.b7 (307/6) decree (stoich.);
- 6) Π² 1035.50 (10/9–3/2, cf. p.124 supra, no.59) decree;
- 7) Π² 1043.5 (38/7) decree (L.).

Cf. Παναθη[ναι]κοῦ (stoich.) Π² 351.17–18 (330/29) decree.

b) Ἀθηνα(ι)ίς. Ἀθηναίς is rarer and found only in the fourth century and earlier Hellenistic Period; Ἀθηναίς is found as early as the fourth century, when it is already more common than Ἀθηναίς.

Ἀθηναίς:

- 1) Π² 10579 (s. IV a.) sep. mon.;
- 2) Π² 10580 (fin. s. IV a.) sep. mon.;
- 3) *Hesperia* 17 (1948) p.51, no.56 (ca. 300) sep. mon.;
- 4) Π² 8436 (s. III/II a.) sep. mon.;
- 5) Π² 8556 (s. III/II a.) sep. mon.

᾿Αθηναίς:

- 6) Π² 11858 (init. s. IV a.) sep. mon.;
- 7) Π² 10262 (ante 350) sep. mon.;
- 8) Παναθηναίς Π² 12013 (ca. 350) sep. mon.;
- 9) Π² 10581 (ca. 350) sep. mon.;
- 10) Π² 1514.48 (post 344/3) inv.;
- 11) Π² 1517.155 (353/2–341/0) inv.;
- 12) *Hesperia* 29 (1960) p. 84, no. 161 (s. IV a.) sep. mon.;
- 13) Π² 8077 (s. II a.) sep. mon.;
- 14) Π² 10506 (s. II a.) sep. mon.;
- 15) Π² 10584 (s. I/II p.) sep. mon.;
- 16) Π² 10582 (s. II p.) sep. mon.;
- 17) Π² 10583 (date?) sep. mon.

Cf. also ᾿Αθηναί[ι]ς in the inv., Π² 1516.26 (post 344/3); ᾿Αθηναίς (with EI for ι, cf. 9.024, no. 22, p. 201 supra) Π² 6639 (ca. 200 p.) sep. mon.

c) ᾿Αχα(ι)ία. The -αυα spelling occurs in the fifth century and in the early second century; ᾿Αχαία occurs twice in the Roman Period.

᾿Αχαία:

- 1) I² 93.13, b 12 (425–412, cf. SEG 13.11; 23.19) decree;
- 2) Π² 2314.48, 50, 54 (182/1 et 178/7) cat.

᾿Αχαία:

- 3) Π² 3538.6 (aet. Neronis) ded. (L.);
- 4) Π² 4071.20 (ca. 150 p.) ded.

d) ᾿Αχα(ι)ικός. ᾿Αχαιικός, ᾿Αχαιός occur once each in the later fourth century; ᾿Αχαιικός is the spelling of the Roman Period.

᾿Αχαιικός:

- 1) Π² 1463.7 (ca. 350) inv.

᾿Αχαιικός:

- 2) Π² 1473.3 (ca. 319) inv. (L.);
- 3) Π² 1774.34 (167/8 p.) pryt. cat. (L.);
- 4) Π² 2103.15 (172/3 p. aut paulo post) eph. cat.;
- 5) Π² 2161.46 (s. II p.) eph. cat.

e) ἐλα(ι)ι-. The spelling ἐλαινός is not found; read ἐλαιη[ρ]ός in Π² 1425.345 (368/7) inv. (= IG II, no. 678.B10); ἐλαινός occurs in two fourth-century texts: Π² 1672.128 (329/8) inv.; Π² 463.44 (307/6) decree. For the Aeolian town of ᾿Ελαία the ethnic ᾿Ελαιίτης is attested in two tribute lists: I² 193.4 (= ATL 2, no. 3, col. 3.4) (452/1); I² 194.7 (= ATL 2, no. 4, col. 4.7) (451/0). An honorary decree of the early third century B.C. mentions the ᾿Ελαιτῶν, cf. Π² 695.11, probably ethnic of the same town as in the tribute lists.

f) Ἐρμα(ι)κός. The two certain examples of Ἐρμαικόν are found in the same mine inv. as the only certain case of Ἀθηναϊκόν (no. 1, cf. a), no. 1 supra). Ἐρμαικόν was the normal spelling for these mines, although some cases are ambiguous. All texts are inventories of mines.

Ἐρμαικόν:

- 1) Π² 1588.4, 5 (= *Hesperia* 19 [1950] p. 279, no. 32) (ca. 325–300). Cf. a), no. 1 supra. The -αικον of *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p. 225, no. 12, line 3 (ca. 350) might be Ἀθηναϊκόν or Ἐρμαικόν.

Ἐρμαικόν:

- 2) *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p. 10, no. 54 (346/5);
- 3) Π² 1582.16, 64, 78 (cf. *Hesperia* 19 [1950] p. 244, no. 16) (342/1);
- 4) ΕΡΜΑΙ[.]ΟΝ (= Ἐρμα{α}ι{κ}όν (stoich.) *Hesperia* 19, p. 263, no. 20, line 39 (338/7?);
- 5) *Hesperia* 19, p. 269, no. 22, line 13 (330–320?);
- 6) *Hesperia* 19, p. 277, no. 29, line 12 (330–320).

Ambiguous: Ἐρμαικόν (stoich.) *Hesperia* 19, p. 222, no. 9, line 18 (ca. 350); Ἐρ[μ]α[ικ]όν *Hesperia* 19, p. 260, no. 19, line 28 (339/8?).

g) Ἐρμαίς, Ἐρμα(ι)σίος. Only Ἐρμαίς is found (three cases, nos. 1–3); Ἐρμαίσιος occurs first ca. 350 B.C., is found in the Roman Period; the rare Ἐρμαίσιος occurs in the fourth century B.C. and on a sep. mon. of the early Roman Period (no. 5).

Ἐρμαίς:

- 1) Π² 11314 (post 300) sep. mon.;
- 2) Π² 11314 a (in add.) (ca. s. II a.) sep. mon.;
- 3) Π² 2361.77 (init. s. III p.) cat.

Ἐρμαίσιος:

- 4) Π² 8858 (fin. s. IV a.) sep. mon.;
- 5) Π² 11316 (= *Hesperia* 3 [1934] p. 110, no. 171) (s. I p.) sep. mon. Originally read as Ἐρμαήσιος, but I see no trace of a cross-bar on the stone to make the eta; it is better to read two iotas, crowded together (L.).

Ἐρμαίσιος:

- 6) Π² 11315 (post 350) sep. mon.;
- 7) *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p. 281, no. 145 (s. II a.) sep. mon.;
- 8) Π² 1714.11 (ca. 90) cat. of archons;
- 9) Π² 2461.126, 127 (ca. 50/49, cf. SEG 23.92) cat. (L.);
- 10) *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p. 186, no. 116, lines 25, 38 (ca. 20) decree;
- 11) Π² 11317 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.

h) Ἡρα(ι)ίς, Ἡραϊκός. The feminine personal name Ἡραίς occurs on the sep. mon. of a person from Carystus, Π² 8974, dated to the third century B.C., and a Ἡραίς is one of the names of an Athenian woman on another sep. mon., cf. AM 67 (1942) p. 103, no. 189 (s. II p.); the stone is now lost. Ἡραϊκόν is found as the name of one of the mines at Thorikos, cf. *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p. 263, no. 20, line 18 (338/7?)

inv. (mine); cf. Ἡραίων in *Hesperia* 19, p.270, no.24, line 4 (340–330?) inv. (mine).

i) Θηρα(ι)ίς. One example of Θηραίς occurs on a sep. mon. of a woman from Thebes, Π² 8872 (s. IIIa.). The personal name is not otherwise attested in Attic texts.

j) Ληνα(ι)ίς. A non-Athenian Ληναίς is known from a sep. mon. of the second century B.C., AE 1957 p.165, no.7 (= Π² 8555, corrected). Ληναίς occurs as the name of non-Athenians on two other sep. monuments, *Polemon* 4 (1949) p.33, no.31 (s. II/Ia.); Π² 11968 (aet. Rom.).

k) Πειραικός. Only the -αικος spelling is attested, but were there more attestations of the word, Πειραικός would not be unexpected.

1) Π² 456.33 (307/6) decree;

2) *IG* III.3, no.55.a.9, b.4 (325/4? cf. Wilhelm, *JOAI* 7 [1904] pp.107ff.) defixio;

3) Π² 4256.B 1 (s. II/Ia.) ded. (list of names inscribed on a statue base to Menander). It is masc. personal name here.

m) Πλατα(ι)ικός. The datable examples of the -αικός spelling are not later than ca. 200 B.C.; Πλαταικός first appears ca. 350 B.C., and occurs in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods (cf. nos. 10–12).

Πλαταικός:

1) Π² 10091 (s. IV a.) sep. mon.;

2) *Hesperia* 28 (1959) p.277, no.5 (s. IV a.) sep. mon.;

3) *Hesperia* 23 (1954) p.273, no.123 (s. III a.) sep. mon.;

4) Π² 10088 (ca. 200) sep. mon.;

5) Π² 10102 (date?) sep. mon.

Πλαταικός:

6) Π² 10096 (ca. 350) sep. mon.; also Πλαταεύς (cf. 15.0127k, p.285 supra);

7) Π² 10086 (s. III a.) sep. mon. (bis);

8) *Polemon* 3 (1947–48) Symmeikta p.14 (= SEG 16.210; Π² 10097) (s. III/II a.) sep. mon.;

9) Π² 10100 (ca. s. II a.) sep. mon.;

10) Π² 10094 (fin. s. I a.) sep. mon.;

11) Π² 10095 (fin. s. I a.) sep. mon.;

12) Π² 10093 (s. I p.) sep. mon.

n) Πτολεμα(ι)ίς, Πτολεμα(ι)ῆτις, -ισσα. In the name of the tribe the -αίς spelling appears less than forty years after the earliest example of -αίς (cf. nos. 1 and 15), but remains rare until the Roman Period, when it is apparently universal. There is a dearth of examples in the period 99 B.C.–125 A.D. (cf. nos. 14 and 19). Πτολεμαῖτις occurs in the early Hellenistic Period for the first time, appears again in two texts of early Roman date (cf. nos. 53–55); Πτολεμαῖτις occurs on two texts of the Roman Period (cf. nos. 56–57); Πτολεμαίισσα occurs once in the Roman Period (cf. no. 58).

Πτολεμαίς, Πτολεμαίδος:

- 1) Π² 2314.42 (182/1 et 178/7) cat.;
- 2) Π² 896.2, 29 (186/5) decree;
- 3) Π² 897.1 (185/4) decree;
- 4) Π² 2316.18, 22, 24, 26, 28, 58 (ca. 166/5) cat.;
- 5) Π² 949.1 (165/4) decree;
- 6) Π² 950.1 (cf. *Hesperia* 28 [1959] p. 185, no. 7) (165/4) decree;
- 7) Π² 2317.5, 21 (162/1 et 158/7) cat.;
- 8) Π² 957.70 (157/6) decree;
- 9) *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p. 77, no. 23, line 1 (ca. 150–100) decree;
- 10) *Hesperia* 21 (1952) p. 359, no. 7, line 37 (135/4) decree;
- 11) Π² 1009.79 (116/5) decree;
- 12) Π² 1011.100 (106/5) decree;
- 13) Π² 1028.141 (101/100, cf. SEG 24.188) decree;
- 14) Π² 1043.81 (38/7) decree (L.).

Πτολεμαίς, Πτολεμαίδος (all eph. catalogs unless otherwise noted):

- 15) Π² 958.47, 72 (154/3) decree (L.);
- 16) Π² 960.30 (ca. 142/1) decree;
- 17) Π² 964.16 (ca. 130) decree;
- 18) Π² 1960.14 (= *Hesperia* 24 [1955] pp. 220 ff., line 178) (127/6) decree;
- 19) Π² 1963.53 (13/12);
- 20) Π² 2039.21 (126/7 p.) (L.);
- 21) Π² 1762.5 (131/2 p.) pryt. cat.;
- 22) *Hesperia* 33 (1964) p. 219, no. 64, line 3 (post 126/7 p.) ded.;
- 23) Π² 3597.4 (ca. 138 p.) ded.;
- 24) Π² 2050.71 (143/4 p., cf. SEG 24.191);
- 25) Π² 2052.54 (145/6 p.) (L.);
- 26) Π² 2051.32 (144/5–149/50 p.);
- 27) Π² 2063.12 (ca. 150 p.);
- 28) Π² 2065.72 (150/1 p.);
- 29) Π² 2067.62 (154/5 p.);
- 30) Π² 2066.21 (inter 150–160 p.);
- 31) Π² 2084.17 (post 150 p.);
- 32) Π² 2086.77 (163/4 p.);
- 33) Π² 2097.74 (169/70 p.);
- 34) Π² 2102.50 (paulo post 169/70 p.);
- 35) Π² 2103.103 (172/3 p. aut paulo post);
- 36) Π² 2107.22 (paulo ante 180 p.);
- 37) Π² 2111/12.45 (182/3–190/1 p.);
- 38) Π² 2119.51 (180/1–191/2 p.);
- 39) Π² 2122.20 (paulo ante 190 p.);
- 40) Π² 2128.38 (190–200 p.);
- 41) Π² 2130.126 (192/3 p.);
- 42) Π² 2191.22 (ca. 200 p.);
- 43) Π² 2193.68 (198/9–205/6 p., cf. Graindor, *Album* p. 55) (L.);
- 44) Π² 2194.9 (ca. 200 p.);

- 45) Π² 2207.6 (init. s. III p., ante 212 p.);
 46) Π² 2208.58 (212/3 p. aut paulo post);
 47) Π² 2216.2 (post 212 p.);
 48) Π² 2223.63 (ca. 218/9 p.): Πτολεμ[α]ίδος (L.);
 49) Π² 2235.130 (226/7–234/5 p.);
 50) Π² 2239.150 (238/9–243/4 p.), now legible: Πτολ[...]ίδος (L.);
 51) Π² 2243.110 (post 243/4 p.) (L.);
 52) Π² 2245.150 (262/3 aut 266/7 p.).

Πτολεμαίτις:

- 53) Π² 10127 (post 300) sep. mon.;
 54) Π² 10120 (s. Ia. – s. Ip.) sep. mon.;
 55) Π² 10123 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.

Πτολεμαίτις:

- 56) Π² 10128 (fin. s. Ia.) sep. mon.;
 57) Πτολεμαίτις Π² 10131 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.

Πτολεμαίισσα:

- 58) AM 67 (1942) p. 221, no. 20 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.

Although a text from Delos of the second century B.C. has Φωκαίδιον (cf. *ID* 3, no. 1429. B68), Attic texts have only Φωκαίς, Φωκαίδος, Φωκαιός. All the instances are from inventories of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.: Π² 310.105 (429/8); *Hesperia* 32 (1963) p. 144, no. 1, line 5b (ca. 404/3?); Π² 1382.18 (405/4, cf. *SEG* 10.201); Π² 1386.14, 15 (ca. 400); Π² 1388.42 (bis), 44 (398/7); Π² 1400.19, 44 (390/89); cf. Φω[κα]ίδ[ες] (stoich.) Π² 1409.16 (ca. 384).

Always with single iota are Πυθαίς, cf. *Hesperia* 12 (1943) p. 237 (= *Agora* 3 [1957] p. 224, no. 730) (s. IV a.) terminus; Π² 3477 (post 150) ded. (boule, demos); and Πυθαιστής *BCH* 87 (1963) pp. 603 ff., B50, Γ36, E36 (= *SEG* 21.541; Sokolowski, *Lois*² p. 36, no. 18) (375–350?) sacred calendar.

Always spelled with -αίδης is the personal name Δικαίδης, although the four attestations all involve the same family and are of about the same date, cf. Π² 1011, col. 4.105 (106/5) decree and Π² 7369.2 (s. Ia.) sep. mon.: Τιμαγόρας Δικαίδου (= *PA* no. 13597; Kirchner finally decided these two men were the same, cf. his note to *IG* Π² 7369). The Δικαίδης Δικαίδου of Π² 1028.126 (101/100, cf. *SEG* 24.188) decree, is probably a brother (= *PA* no. 3770); cf. Δικαίδου Ῥαμνουσίου γυνή in Π² 5801 (s. Ia.) sep. mon. Cf. also Π² 4339 a (in add.) 3 (s. III/II a.) ded. (priv.): [Δικ]αίδ[ης].

Also attested only with -αι-: Δαναίς; in the cat., AM 51 (1926) p. 129, plate 5.1, line 13 (450–400), and sep. mon., Π² 8613 (s. IV a.); Θαίς; in the sep. mon., Π² 11615 (s. II p.); Κλεψαίς; in the sep. mon., *Polemon* 5 (1952–53) p. 150, eikon 3 (ca. 350); Μελεταίς; in the sep. mon., Π² 9331 a (in text) 3 (s. III a.), where it is the ethnic for Μελίτεια (or Μελιταία).

15.0129 α for αι before o-vowels. The omission of iota in αι before o-vowels is very unusual. Thus Ἀθηναία, Ἀθηναίς, Ἐλαεύς, ἐλάα, Κυδαθηναεύς occur, but never Ἀθηναός, Ἐλαούσιος or Κυδαθήναον. Likewise ἐλάα and Ἐλαεύς are found, but never ἔλαον for ἔλαιον (but ἐλαῶν is found as gen. pl. of ἐλάα). Possibly the rarity of -αῶς- and -αῶν in contracted genitives of the demotics in -αίεύς (in comparison with fairly frequent occurrence of -αέως and -αέων) is due to the following o-vowel,

although the contraction itself may be the reason, for Πειραᾶ is also avoided (Πειραέα is common). The only example of -ᾰῶς is Πειραᾰῶς in the inv., II² 1672.64 (329/8), which has Πειραᾰῶς several times elsewhere (cf. 15.0127h) (L.). A single case of Ἀλάῶν is doubtful (cf. 15.0127a supra).

Exceptions are rare. A catalog (init. s. IVa.) has Θρασυδάο, cf. II² 1929.14, but mention of the same man in an inv. of about the same date provides a virtually certain example of -αῖος, cf. in II² 1635.126 (post 374/3): Θρασυ[δαί]ο (there is no crowding of iota in this stoich. text). In this name there is hesitation between -αῖος and -ᾰος in Byz. codd., cf. Pape-Benseler s.v. Θρασυδαῖος. Two ostraca of the 480s have -αόν in the demotic Ξυπεταίων: *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p.388, nos.26, 27. For -αῖόν on a contemporary ostrakon, cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 8 (1949) p.394, no.1. One might assume these examples in -αόν were due to the careless style of writing seen in ostraca, but a fifth-century inv. has an example, I² 355.8 (= Meiggs-Lewis p.146, no.54) (440/39): Χουπεταόν (cf. *BCH* 91 [1967] p.68, no.5, with photograph opposite p.68). Elsewhere only -αῖών in this demotic: I² 211.2 (= *ATL* 2, no.21) (434/3) tribute list; I² 916 (date?) object (?); I² 373.121, 152 (409/8) inv.; II² 12.6 (411, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.247, no.80) decree; II² 1663.6 (part of II² 1656–II² 1664, building inv. dated ca. 394–391, cf. *SEG* 19.136–144); II² 1635.8–9 (post 374/3) inv.; *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p.14, no.1 (367/6) inv.; II² 1615.51, II² 1617.97 (cf. *SEG* 24.160) (post 358/7) inv.; II² 1598.5 (post 350) inv.; II² 1557.82–3 (ca. 330–320) inv.; II² 1628.450 (326/5) inv.; II² 410.VII (ca. 330) decree; II² 1955.5, 20 (ca. 320) cat.; II² 674.4 (273/2) decree; II² 683.9 (248/7) decree; II² 1235.1 (ca. 248/7) decree (genos); II² 775.20–21 (241/0) decree; II² 778.9 (250/49) decree; II² 779.1 (250/49) decree; II² 787.8 (236/5) decree; II² 1534B.165 (247/6, cf. *SEG* 16.118) inv.; II² 2332.261 (183/2) cat.; II² 971.11 (140/39) decree; II² 1008, col.3.101 (118/7) decree; dedications: II² 4397.3 (priv.) (350–300), II² 3023.2 (338/7), II² 2857.1 (220/19); sep. monuments: at least 18 cases of -αῖών in II² 6926–II² 6943 alone, of which 15 are dated to the fourth century (for the Ξυπετεῶν of Roman times, cf. 15.013 infra). Another isolated exception may be seen in Ἀθηνάων for Ἀθηναίων, in the decree, II² 49.2 (paulo post 385/4, cf. *SEG* 21.224); the spelling is perhaps related to the error of the stone-cutter, who originally carved the letters ΕΥΕΡΓΑΘΗΝΑΩΝ and then corrected them to ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΑΙΑΘΗΝΑΩΝ, cf. *AE* 1957 p.85, fig.1 (L.).

The Attic demotic Παιωνίδης is spelled Παιωνίδου in a ded. (of an Athenian) on Delos, cf. *Annuario* n.s. 14–16 (1952–4) p.175 (= *SEG* 16.452) line 11 (109/8); but this text has other non-Attic features, cf. Ἀγγήμου in *ib.* 12, for Attic Ἀγγείου (cf. Buck, *GD*² p.142, no.182.17).

Only -α-, never -αι-, is attested in Ἀμφιάραος and derivatives if -α- appears after the -ρ-. For the examples cf. 6.012 supra and note Ἀμφιάρ[α]ον (toponym) in the decree, II² 1006.70 (122/1). The word had original -ᾰος, cf. Ἀμφιάρεως on vases (cf. p.125 supra).

The decree, II² 654.37 (285/4), agrees with Macedonian coins in the spelling Πατράος (cf. *HN*² p.237), although a blank space has been left between the Α and the Ο: ΠΑΤΡΑΨΟΥ.

In the dipinti -ΑΟ- for -ΑΙΟ- is very rare. Among the signed bf. and rf. vases of the potter Pamphaios there are 28 cases of -αιος (cf. *ABV* pp.235–236, p.324; *ARV*² pp.128–130,

p.1627; *Paralipomena* pp.109, 333) and only one of -αος (ARV² p.130, no.33). A few other dipinti show similar omissions: Ἀναῖος ABV p.96, Tyrrhenian group no.16 (= Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* p.244, no.1705); Μοσῶν ABV p.367, Leagros group no.90 (= CVA, Germany 3, plates 50–51); Ἀκτῶν ARV² p.1154, Dinos painter no.36 (= D.v.Bothmer, *Ancient Art from New York Private Collections*, plate 86); Πανᾠθενάου[ς] ARV² p.1044, Epimedes painter no.9. But Ἀλκαῖος ARV² p.385, Brygos painter no.228 (= FR plate 64) (L.); Ἀκταῖον ARV² p.1045, Guglielmi painter no.7 (= Pfuhl, *Malerei* no.515); ARV² pp.1560–1561; etc.

The avoidance of -αος, -άωι, etc. for -αιος, etc. combined with analogical pressures to prevent the occurrence of -άα, etc. in the feminine (and neuter nom. plural) of these adjectives. Thus Ἀθηναία → Ἀθηνάα, but always βουλαία, δικαία, etc. There are few, if any, exceptions. Doubt remains about the reading of alpha in τεῖ δ[ἐ]||[ύστερ]άι, in *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p.282, no.55, lines 15–16 (= Sokolowski, *Supplément* p.54, no.20; SEG 21.530) (init. s. IIIa.) decree (orgeones) (cf. the photograph in *Hesperia*, loc. cit.); if correct it is an isolated case. Ἀγέλαα occurs as an epithet of Athena in the decree of the genos of the Salaminioi, cf. *Hesperia* 7 (1938) pp.1ff., no.1, line 90 (363/2). But the word is probably not the feminine of the adjective ἀγελαῖος (= 'belonging to the herd, ordinary'), attested in the inv., II² 1672.209 (329/8): κεραμίδες ἀγελαῖαι (= 'ordinary tiles'), but another word, a derivative of ἄγω and λαός and related to the masculine personal name Ἀγέλαος, which never has -αιος in Attic, cf. Ἀγέλαος Ἀγελάου ἐξ Οἴου *Hesperia* 24 (1955) pp.220ff., line 172 (= II² 1960.8) (127/6) decree; Ἀγέλαος Ἀγελάου Ἀλαιοῦς *Hesperia* 17 (1948) p.25, no.12, lines 36, 47 (95/4) decree; etc. Cf. *Hesperia* 7, pp.29–30 (see also Morphology).

The scansion of -αι- as short in δικαίαν, alongside δικαιοσύνη in the same text (in a metrical sep. monument of the mid-third century B.C., cf. p.213 supra) is in accordance with an established metrical licence, and is thus not any indication that the ι of αι in δικαία was occasionally dropped in everyday speech but retained in δίκαιο- (cf. 10.04 a, p.213 supra).

15.013 Confusion of αι and ε (αι → ε [e])

Only one example of confusion of αι and ε in a public text is probably as early as the first century A.D.: Πεανιεύς, seen only by Pittakes, in a cat. of pyloroi (the other documents of this type date to about 50 A.D.) (cf. no.1), although perhaps some of the sep. monuments (nos.31–35, 88–89), dated rather imprecisely in or near the first century A.D., are as early. There is one certain example of AI for ε in the first quarter of the second century, Ἐρικαιεύς in an eph. catalog of ca. 110 A.D. (no.73), but instances of αι~ε are no longer unusual ca. 125 A.D. By this time examples like ἐλεώναι[ς] (no.2) and γίγνετε (= γίγνεται) (no.8) make it certain that the development of the diphthong αι to a monophthong ε (= [e]) has taken place.

From about 125 A.D. on, and especially after 150 A.D., examples of E for αι are frequent; AI for ε is much less common, but it too is not rare by this time. As in other cases, however, the orthography of inscriptions remains conservative. The majority

of examples of E for αι and virtually all examples in public texts (such as eph. catalogs) involve -εεύς and are in demotics ending in -αιεύς, e.g. Πειρεεύς, Βησεεύς, etc. Likewise most of the examples of AI for ε involve demotics spelled with -αιεύς which properly should be spelled with -εεύς, e.g. Διομαιεύς, Τρινεμαιεύς. Once αι and ε were identical in sound the spellings of these demotics were easy to confuse, and it seems clear that many persons no longer knew the "correct" orthography; however, in the case of those lexical items which occur frequently enough to allow statistics, the normal spelling remains considerably more frequent. Also fairly frequent in public texts are Πεανιεύς (nos. 1, 10, 15); Ἐλεούσιος (nos. 12, 17, 19–20, 38, 40–41). Many of the remaining examples in public texts before 300 A.D. are personal names (nos. 7, 22, 25, 30, 83, 84), as are a good many in private texts (cf. nos. 39, 48, 49, 55, 56, 90, 96).

Exceptional in public documents are: διετίαν in the regulations of the Iobacchi (no. 14); κέ alongside καί in a decree (no. 26); ἐλεώναις, ἐλαιῶναι, ἡμαιῶν in imperial edicts (nos. 2, 82). Cases of ε~αι of this type are somewhat more frequent in private documents. To them also are usually restricted the more severe orthographical anomalies where inflectional terminations are involved, such as γίγνετε (= γίγνεται), etc. The number of examples like these certainly earlier than 200 A.D. is very small (nos. 8, cf. 43–44).

The edict of Constantius Chlorus and Galerius Maximianus of 305/6 A.D. (no. 98) with εἴται, διφθέρες, etc. indicates a new and much laxer standard of adherence to the traditional orthography for a major document of public character. This text and a collection of metrical hymns (no. 97), almost certainly as late as the third century and exhibiting a very substandard orthography, are the only Attic texts in which both AI for ε and E for αι occur alongside each other.

Note that the demotics Πειρεεύς, etc., are frequently contracted to Πειρεεύς, etc.; for these see Morphology.

Since the period in which η and ε occasionally interchange extends to about the middle of the second century after Christ, there is a possibility of confusion of αι and η in the Roman Period. Of the three instances of this confusion only one can be confirmed and dated precisely to ca. 120 A.D. (cf. 8.01, nos. 52–54, p. 164 supra).

Although the confusion of αι and ε is found in the Ptolemaic papyri (cf. Mayser-Schmoll p. 85), there is no convincing example in an Attic text of pre-Roman date. While it does seem likely that the Ἀρισταίου and Ἀριστέου of lines 3 and 4 of the sep. mon., I² 1063 (ca. 450) (L.), are the same individual, the error is probably due to confusion of two similar lexical items rather than an indication of confusion of [a'] and [e]. Nor can the possibility that there were two persons named Ἀρισταῖος and Ἀριστέας respectively be entirely excluded, as the fondness within families for names only slightly different is well documented for Athens (cf. the examples discussed on p. 145 supra for example).

Properly spelled with αι are: (h)αιραῖοι, (h)αιραιῆς, ethnics of Αἰγαί by Teos (cf. 42.0111, p. 496 infra for the examples, all in tribute lists); the codd. have Ἐγαί, which should be corrected, cf. T. Bergk, *Archäologische Zeitung* 5 (1847) Beilage no. 3, p. 36; the demotics Ξυπεταιῶν, Ἐλαιούσιος, and those terminating in -αιεύς discussed in 15.0127 supra

(spellings like Βησεύς, Ἐλεούσιος, Ξυπετεών, etc. are only found in Roman times after the change of αι to [e], cf. the examples *infra*).

Properly spelled with ε are: The demotics Διομεεύς, Ἐρικεεύς, Τρινημεεύς, etc. in 16.021 a, pp. 304ff. *infra* (these originally had -ειεύς); in the decree, Π² 774.a 7 (= IG II.5, no. 371 c), read Ἀ]λαιεύς, not Διο]μαιεύς (spellings like Διομαιεύς, etc. are not found before the change of αι to [e], cf. the examples *infra*); Ποτειδεάτης, the ethnic of Ποτειδαία (cf. 15.0125 *supra*), e.g. I² 205.50 (= ATL 2, no. 15) (440/39), I² 210.5 (= ATL 2, no. 20) (435/4), I² 212.65 (= ATL 2, no. 22, col. 2.70) (433/2) trib. lists; the restoration Ποτει[δαιατῶν] in the decree, Π² 118.6–7 (361/0?), is likely to be erroneous, as too little of the text is left to make the stoicheidon pattern certain; Schwyzler corrected the Ποτειδαί[αται of IG I, no. 236.14 to Ποτειδαί[α], cf. MS³ p. 35, note 190; I² 201, col. 3.14 (= ATL 2, no. 11) (for Ποτειδαεύς, cf. 15.0127k *supra*); Ἀλκμείων, Ἀλκμεωνίδης, cf. Ἀλκμεωνίδης I² 472 (ca. 550–540? cf. LSAG p. 77, no. 25) ded.; I² 929.135 (ca. 460, cf. SEG 14.19), *Hesperia* 29 (1960) p. 65, no. 114, line 11 (ca. 450) cas lists; ostraca of Hippokrates, cf. Vanderpool, *Ostracism* p. 34, figures 39, 40 (480s); Π² 1929.14 (init. s. IV a.) cat.; Π² 1635.126 (post 374/3) inv.; also Ἀλκμεωνίδης, Ἀ]λκμέονος on a monument set up by the Athenian family at the sanctuary of Apollo on Mt. Ptoion in Boeotia, I² 472 (= LSAG p. 78, no. 30; ca. 546–527); Ἀλκμέον, on rf. vases, e.g. ARV² p. 384, Brygos painter no. 210 (= HRF 1, p. 134, no. 70), ARV² p. 1635, Berlin painter no. 185 bis; ARV² p. 1563, two more instances; Kretschmer, *Vasenschriften* p. 123 (three additional examples? the vase in Leningrad = ARV² p. 279, Flying-angel painter no. 6); Beazley suggested Ἀ]λκμ[έ]ον on a bf. amphora of the early fifth century, cf. AE 1953/4 Part 1, p. 204, no. 9 (= SEG 16.39f, ABV p. 401, Group of Würzburg 221, no. 6); Ἀλκμέον on ostraca of Alkmeon, cf. *Delton* 23 (1968) Chronika p. 28; Ἀλκμέων (title of a play) Π² 3091.6 (400–375) ded.; probably Ἀλκμέ[ωνος] on Π² 2630 (aet. Augusti) horos; an Ἀλκμέων of Miletus occurs on the sep. mon., Π² 9381 (ca. 400); there is no evidence in Attic texts for the Ἀλκμαιω found in codd.

An anomalous Θυμητάδης occurs for the usual Θυμαϊτάδης in the sep. mon., Π² 6270 (s. II a.); the date seems too early for this to be an example of H for αι = [e] as in 8.01, nos. 52–54, p. 164 *supra*. Pittakes is the only source for a single case of Θυμοιτάδης in another sep. mon., Π² 6269 (post 300); this spelling is found in codd. to Pollux and the *Suda*.

Lit.: MS³ pp. 33–34, notes 185–186; Lademann p. 117; Sturtevant, pp. 48–49; Mayser-Schmoll pp. 83–87.

Examples:

E for αι: Nos. 1–30, *Texts with good evidence for date*:

- 1) Πεανιεύς Π² 2297 a (in add.) 10 (ca. 50 p.) cat. (seen only by Pittakes);
- 2) ἐλεώναι[ς] Π² 1100.9 (= *Hesperia*, suppl. 8 [1949] pp. 221–3) (ca. 124 p.) imperial edict, ἐλαιῶναι *ib.* 66 (L.);
- 3) Βησεεύς Π² 2041.22 (128/9 p.) eph. cat. (L.);
- 4) Πλατεαῖς Π² 3162.2, 6 (post aet. Hadriani) ded.;
- 5) Πειρε(εύς) Π² 2046.28 (paulo ante 140 p.) eph. cat.;
- 6) Φηγγεεύς Π² 2055.11 (145/6 p.) eph. cat.;
- 7) Ἐτερεῖος *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p. 45, no. 14, line 16 (148/9 p.) pny. cat.;
- 8) τεταρτέω (= τεταρταίω) Π² 13209.11 (ca. 150 p.) sep. mon., γίγνεται (= γίγνεται) *ib.* 12;
- 9) Βησεεύς Π² 2067.209 (154/5 p.) eph. cat. (L.);
- 10) Πεανιέων Π² 2887.2–3 (154/5 p.) ded. (L.);

- 11) Βησεώς Π² 1775.2–3 (168/9 p.) pryt. cat. (L.);
- 12) Ἐλεούσιος Π² 2097.29 (169/70 p.) eph. cat., Ἐλε(ούσιος) *ib.* 86, Πειρε(εύς) *ib.* 221;
- 13) Κυδαθηνε[ύς] Π² 2105.16 (inter 173/4–178/9 p.) eph. cat. (L.);
- 14) διετίαν Π² 1368.147 (ca. 162/3 p.) Iobacchi regulations (L.);
- 15) Πεα(νιεύς) Π² 2107.11 (paulo ante 180 p.) eph. cat.; Πε(ανιεύς) *ib.* 12;
- 16) Πιρεώς Π² 2109.4 (post 180 p.) eph. cat.;
- 17) Ἐλεουσίου Π² 2111/12.5–6 (182/3–190/1 p.) eph. cat.;
- 18) Πειρε(εύς) Π² 2123.9 (inter 190–200 p.) eph. cat.;
- 19) Ἐλε(ούσιος) Π² 2194.30 (ca. 200 p.) eph. cat.;
- 20) Ἐλεουσίω Π² 2193.11 (198/9–205/6 p., cf. Graindor, *Album* p. 55) eph. cat. (L.);
- 21) Πειρεεῖς Π² 1811.6 (post 217 p.) pryt. cat.;
- 22) Φεδυν[τοῦ] Π² 1828.27 (post ca. 218 p.) pryt. cat.;
- 23) Μεμακτηριῶνα Π² 2226.9 (ca. 218/9 p.) eph. cat., Βησεεύς *ib.* 27 (L.);
- 24) Ἐαντίδος Π² 2228.36 (ca. 220 p.) eph. cat.;
- 25) Πολύενος *Hesperia* 40 (1971) p. 321, no. 13, line 20 (ca. 205 p.) pryt. cat.;
- 26) κέ *Hesperia*, suppl. 6 (1941) p. 125, no. 31, line 14 (= new frr. of Π² 1064) (ca. 230 p.) decree, alongside καί *ib.* 17, *al.*;
- 27) Βησεεύς Π² 2239.250 (238/9–243/4 p.) eph. cat., Μεμακτηριῶνα *ib.* 84, Ἐκατονβεῶνα *ib.* 102 (L.);
- 28) Κυέστωρ Π² 2243.50, 55 (post 243/4 p.) eph. cat. (L.);
- 29) Νεικέα (= Νικαῖα) Π² 3169/70.23 (253–257 p.) ded. (L.);
- 30) Ἀθηνέος (= Ἀθηναῖος) Π² 2245.33, 50 (262/3 aut 266/7 p.) eph. cat.

Nos. 31–72, Texts with no precise indication of date:

- 31) Πλατεεύς Π² 10089 (s. Ia./s. Ip.) sep. mon.;
- 32) Ἐξωνεύς, Ἐξωνήθεν Π² 5403 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.;
- 33) Ἐξωνεύς Π² 5411 (s. I/Ip.) sep. mon.;
- 34) Πεανι[έων] Π² 7097 (s. I/Ip.) sep. mon.;
- 35) Πειρεέων Π² 9815.4 (s. I/Ip.) sep. mon.;
- 36) Ἀλεώς, Ἀλαιεύς *Hesperia* 23 (1954) p. 261, no. 59 (ca. 150 p.) sep. mon.;
- 37) Πειρεέων Π² 7187 (ca. 150 p.) sep. mon.;
- 38) Ἐλεούσιοι Π² 1770.12 (ca. 150 p.) pryt. cat.;
- 39) Χερέας Π² 5956/60.1 (post 150 p.) sep. mon.;
- 40) Ἐλεούσιοι Π² 1793.18 (paulo ante 180/1 p.) pryt. cat.;
- 41) Ἐλεούσιοι Π² 1795.12 (184/5 p.) pryt. cat.;
- 42) Κυδαθηνεών Π² 6594.1–2 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.;
- 43) Ἀθηνέων Π² 12767 a (in text).3 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.;
- 44) ἀνῦξε (= ἀνοῦξει) Π² 13216.C4 (ca. s. Ip.) sep. curses; μεθέξετε (= μεθέξεται) *ib.* C. 6–7 (cf. 17.04, no. 3, p. 337 *infra*) (L.);
- 45) ἐγ Βησεέ[ων] Π² 5909.2 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.;
- 46) Πεανι[εύς] Π² 7024.2 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.;
- 47) Πεανιεύς Π² 7048.3 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.;
- 48) Χερεστράτη Π² 9045.1 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.;
- 49) Εἰρηνέου Π² 4789.2 (s. Ip.?) ded. (priv.);
- 50) Ἐξωνής Π² 5428.3 (s. II/Ip.) sep. mon. (L.);
- 51) ὑ[πὸ μ]ακρῆς Π² 2930.6–8 (s. II/Ip.) ded.;
- 52) κέ Π² 3761 (s. II/Ip.) ded.;

- 53) Ἀθηνέου Π² 5198 (s. II/III p.) inscribed marble tile;
 54) Περνιεύς, Περνιεύς Π² 7086.3, 5–6 (s. II/III p.) sep. mon.;
 55) Ὑγιένος Π² 8469.2 (s. II/III p.) sep. mon.;
 56) Κεσάρεος Π² 11834 (s. II/III p.) sep. mon.;
 57) ὑγειένοντος Π² 9087 a (in add.).5 (s. II/III p.) sep. mon., πέ[δων] (= παίδων) *ib.* 7–8, cf. Peek, AG 1, p. 21, no. 67 (= SEG 13.148) (L.);
 58) Μεωτικῆς Π² 11329 (ca. 200 p.) sep. mon.;
 59) Πειρεε[ύς] Π² 1950.11 (post 250 p.?) cat.;
 60) κέ *Hesperia* 6 (1937) p. 389, no. 3, lines 2, etc. (found in a deposit of s. I p. material, but orthography and writing look like s. III p.) defixio, κατατίθεμε *ib.* 6; ἐξεροῦμε *ib.* 1, 29; μοῖρες (dat. pl.) *ib.* 5, κενον (= καινόν) *ib.* 11, etc. (new readings are from a greatly improved text of the tablet by D. Jordan). In fact E is used consistently for αι throughout the text except in θεαῖν, written underneath θεοῖς in line 7;
 61) βειάσητε (= βιάσεται) Π² 13220.1 (s. III p.) sep. mon.;
 62) ἀνασκυβαλίσε (= ἀνασκυβαλίσει) Π² 13221.7 (s. III p.) sep. mon.;
 63) κέ Π² 11120.3, 16 (s. III p.) sep. mon., Φέδιμο[ν *ib.* 1 (L.);
 64) κείμε Π² 8395.2 (s. III/IV p.) sep. mon., μοῖρε *ib.* 5, γέης (= γαίης) *ib.* 1 (L.);
 65) κῖτε (= κείται) Π² 11815 (s. III/IV p.) sep. mon.;
 66) κῖτε (= κείται) Π² 13224.3 (s. III/IV p.) sep. mon., καταβαλῆτε (= καταβαλῆται);
 67) κῖμε Π² 13167.3 (s. III/IV p.) sep. mon.;
 68) ἡσελεύσονται (= εἰσελεύσονται) Π² 5207.2 (s. III–V p.) entrance sign;
 69) Πει[ρεε]ών *Neon Athenaiion* 2 (1957) p. 39, no. 5 (= SEG 16.200) (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.;
 70) κείμε Peek, AG 2, p. 55, no. 194 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.;
 71) χερε (= χαιρε) *Praktika* 1935 pp. 187–188, no. 2 (aet. Rom.) ded. (or sep. mon.?).
 72) Κολενίδι Π² 4860 (aet. Rom.) ded. (priv.).

AI for ε: Nos. 73–87, *Texts with good evidence for date:*

- 73) Ἐρικαιεύς Π² 2019.12 (ca. 110 p.) eph. cat.;
 74) Ἐρικαιεύς Π² 2037.22 (125/6 p.) eph. cat.;
 75) Ἐρικαιεύς Π² 1765.31 (138/9 p.) pryt. cat., Διομαιεύς *ib.* 48;
 76) Ἐρικαι(εύς) Π² 2052.39 (145/6 p.) eph. cat. (L.);
 77) [Δι]ομαιεύς Π² 2090.45 (165/6 p.) eph. cat.;
 78) Ἐρικαι(εύς) Π² 1781.48 (169/70 p.) pryt. cat. (L.);
 79) Διομαιεύς Π² 2103.34 (172/3 p. aut paulo post) eph. cat. (L.);
 80) [Τ]ρινεμαιεύς *Hesperia* 16 (1947) p. 180, no. 85, line 11 (ca. 180 p.) pryt. cat.;
 81) Τρινεμαιεύς Π² 1782.40 (177/8 p.) pryt. cat. (L.);
 82) ἡμαιρῶν Π² 1104.13 (aet. Severianorum, cf. SEG 24.150) imp. edict;
 83) Σαίδιος Π² 1817.35 (paulo ante 220/1 p.) pryt. cat. (L.);
 84) Σαίδ(ιος) Π² 1784.37 (post 216 p.) pryt. cat. (L.);
 85) Ἀμφικρείων Π² 2237.58 (230–235 p.) eph. cat. (L.);
 86) Διομα[ιεύς] Π² 2773.5 (ca. 240 p.) testamentum;
 87) ἀναίθηκα Π² 4842.7–8 (386/7 p.) ded. (priv.).

Nos. 88–96, *Texts without certain indication of date:*

- 88) Διομα[ιεύς] Π² 5991.3 (s. I p.) sep. mon.;
 89) ἐλαίου (for ἐλέου) Π² 4786 (s. I p.; early, cf. SEG 24.227, 19.223) ded. (priv.);
 90) Δωρωθαία Π² 12367 (ca. 150 p.) sep. mon.;

- 91) [Ἀμυμ]οναίεϋς II² 5604 (s. II p.) sep. mon. (L.);
 92) Διομαιεύς II² 4266.2 (s. II p.) ded. (L.);
 93) Τρινομαιεύς II² 7573 (s. II p.) sep. mon. (bis);
 94) παιδαις (= παῖδες) II² 12403.5 (s. II/III p.) sep. mon.;
 95) Ἐλευθεραίως II² 5035.3 (s. II p.? this line added later, cf. Maass, *Prohedrie* pp.116–117) theatre-seat;
 96) Λαίτλου (= Λέων-τλου?) Peek, AG 2, p.21, no.47 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.; for the syncope (= Lentulus), cf. 28.03, p.406 infra; for the omission of ν, cf. 41.011, no.22, p.486 infra.

E for αι and AI for ε in the same text:

- 97) νειν (= ναῖειν) II² 4533.9–10 (s. III p.) hymns to Asclepius (various metres), ded. (priv.);
 ἔγραω (= ἔγραο) *ib.* 2, 7; καίκλυτι (= κέκλυθι) *ib.* 8; MAKE..ΥΓΕΙΑ probably = μάκε[ρα] Ὑγεία *ib.* 16; exhibits crude standard of orthography throughout;
 98) συνστή (= συνσταίη) II² 1121.44 (305/6 p.) imperial edict, εἴται, διφθέρες (= εἴτε, = διφθέραις) *ib.* 29; στρατόπαιδον *ib.* 39.

Note: In II² 3014.3–4 read ΚΑΓΩ, not ΚΑΙΩ (L.).

16.00 The diphthong ει

Although the inherited diphthong ει is kept distinct from the more recent long e-vowel in the earliest texts, the two sounds eventually became identical, and there is no difference in the treatment of the diphthong and ει = [eː] after 350 B.C. Except before vowels the sound develops to [iː] before the end of the Hellenistic Period (cf. 9.022, pp.195 ff. supra). In pre-vocalic position ει was frequently simplified through loss of iota, especially in the fourth century B.C. In some lexical items iota was permanently lost, e.g. Διομεεύς ← Διομειεύς (cf. spellings like Διομαιεύς in the Roman Period which show that ε, not ει, preceded the -εύς, cf. 15.013 pp.294 ff. supra); but in most cases the iota was retained and the spellings without iota die out after ca. 250 B.C. (cf. 16.021 infra). In pre-vocalic position ει also eventually went together with ι, but at a later date: thus in early Roman times one finds spellings with H for ει/ιV (cf. 9.031, pp.202 ff. supra), but later on spellings with I for ει/ιV (cf. 9.032, pp.205 ff. supra).

16.01 E for ει (inherited diphthong)

From ca. 460–450 B.C. on EI is an increasingly frequent grapheme for the more recent long e-vowel as in εἶναι, βαλεῖν, etc. (cf. 9.011, pp.173 ff. supra), and this is most easily explained by assuming the identity of the original ει and [eː] through monophthongization of [eː] to [eː]. This view is supported by the occasional use of E as grapheme for the original diphthong during the period ca. 450–350, when E and EI are competing graphemes for [eː]. But examples are rare and are largely lacking in public texts (nos.5, 9, 11, 12, 13, 16, 19, 20, and 25 are exceptions). Most of the examples are on sep. monuments.

The comparative rarity of E for εi in comparison to O for ου, which is found on a number of public texts (cf. 21.012, pp.351ff. *infra*), is due to the greater frequency of original εi in the language and its occurrence in many morphemes. Spellings like ἔπεν, ἄρχες (for ἄρχεις), ἔτε, λέπω, etc. would be difficult and confusing, so that in the decrees and inventories of the first half of the fourth century B.C. in which there is great variation between E and EI for [e'] there is almost universal retention of EI as grapheme for the original diphthong (cf. the tables in 9.0121–9.0122 *supra*). Original ου, on the other hand, occurs in only a few lexical items and in no inflectional endings.

The first four examples (bronze dedications and dipinti) in the following list may belong to an early transitional period in which original εi and [e'] are still not identical. The use of E for [e'] could be due to incomplete rendition of the diphthong as in ναχι for ναιχι, ἡυτος for οὔτος (cf. 15.011b, p.269 *supra*; 13.04, p.260 *supra*). There are, however, already rare cases of EI for [e'] of roughly the same date (cf. 9.011, nos. 1–4, p.174 *supra*).

A number of examples of E for final EI in fourth-century texts are probably abbreviatory shortenings or careless omissions.

Examples of E for ε later than 300 B.C. are discussed in 9.013; for EI for ε/___V, cf. 7.03; Spellings like σημέου, λυχνέον, etc. which are due to development of intervocalic iota to a glide are treated in 16.021 *infra*; cf. 16.021e, pp.312ff. *infra*.

For the fourth-century examples like κλές, ἐν αὐτέ, where E = EI ~ HI, cf. 23.00 *infra*.

Lit.: MS³ pp.35–36, note 193; cf. 9.011.

Examples: Before 400 B.C.:

- 1) Πέσυδος I² 434 (probably not much after 550) bronze ded. (retrograde);
- 2) Μενεκλέδης I² 429 (550–480) bronze ded.;
- 3) Ταλέδης (bis) Beazley, *Paralipomena* p.73, Siana cup from Taranto by Taleides (other signatures of this painter: Ταλείδης, once Ταλίδης, cf. 9.021);
- 4) καλεδοκας (= καλή δοκεῖς) ARV² p.264, Syriskos group no.55 (= CIG no.5770); cf. Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* p.109 for the inscription;
- 5) [Διδ]υμοτεχ[ῖται] ATL 2, no.7, col.4.14 (= I² 196.14, corrected, cf. ATL 1, p.38, fig.47) (448/7) tribute list;
- 6) κῆμαι I² 1078 (non post 450?) sep. mon. (in mixed Ionic script);
- 7) κῆται I² 1055 (ca. fin s. Va.?) sep. mon. (L.);
- 8) Ἡρακλέδης I² 1039 (ante 450?) sep. mon.;
- 9) οἱ ἐν τέλε Νε[οπο]λίται (?) (careless omission?) I² 107.2 (409/8, cf. SEG 21.54) decree, also has εἰσί, cf. 9.011, no.30, p.175 *supra* (L.);
- 10) ἀποτεῖσε for ἀποτεῖσει *Hesperia* 36 (1967) pp.187ff. (= CIG no.545) (fin. s. Va.) graffito (known only from a drawing);
- 11) Ἡρακλέδης II² 1951.306 (406, cf. SEG 22.53) cat.; Ἡρακλείδης *ib.* 359, etc. (L.).

Notes and Corrections:

An alleged ευποιεῖς for εὖ ποιεῖς on a bf. cup by Hermogenes, cf. Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* p.93, ABV p.166, Würzburg no.418, is doubtful; Beazley inclined to the view that the text is a nonsense inscription, cf. *JHS* 54 (1934) p.91.

In I² 1057 (ca. fin. s. Va.?) sep. mon., read κῆται (L.), not κῆται.

400–300 B. C.:

- 12) κῆται Π² 1237.69 (396/5) decree (phratry), but εἶπε *ib.* 13, ἐξαλειψάτω *ib.* 19; has ὁκ, τότο, τοσσός (cf. 21.012, nos. 1–2, p. 352 *infra*);
- 13) τεχοῖποιος (?) Π² 1658.1 (part of Π² 1656–Π² 1664, building inv. dated ca. 394–391, cf. SEG 19.136–144), but Εὐγείτων *ib.* 9; τεχο- Π² 1660.1; σημέο Π² 1657.2 (cf. 16.021 *c*, no. 38, p. 317 *infra*); has only E for [eː] (cf. table A.2, p. 182 *supra*);
- 14) Χαρι|κλέδο IG III.3, no. 102.b8–9 (400–350) defixio;
- 15) Ἡρακλέδης Π² 12089 (init. s. IV a.) sep. mon.;
- 16) Διετρέφης Π² 3064.3 (384/3) ded., alongside ἡῦλει;
- 17) κατέχε Π² 12151.4 (400–350) sep. mon. (metre demands κατέχει);
- 18) ΜΕΔΥ (= Μειδυλλίδο?) SEG 24.205 (= G. Daux, *Mélanges offerts à K. Michalowski* [1966] pp. 355–6) (375–350) dikast's pinakion;
- 19) Ἀλικαρ|νασοῖ ἐπὶ Π² 136.3–4 (354/3) decree. But this could be suppression of intervocalic iota; I do not regard E here as evidence for a dative in -HI in these -eu- stems, cf. Morphology (L.); cf. p. 184 *supra*;
- 20) συμμέκτου Π² 1453.3 (ante 350) inv.; cf. p. 184 *supra*;
- 21) πλεῖστα, κῆται Π² 12210 a (in text).2 (ante 350) sep. mon.;
- 22) Διοπέθης *Deltion* 24 (1969) p. 69 (400–350) sep. mon.;
- 23) κεμα (= κῆμαι) Π² 8870.7 (= GVI 1, p. 527, no. 1757) (ca. 350?) sep. mon., has εἶχει (for ἔχει) *ib.* 2 (cf. 16.011 *infra*), εἰς *ib.* 4;
- 24) Ἀμεινοκλῆς Π² 10641 (s. IV a.) sep. mon., Ἀμεινοκλῆς (bis) *al.*;
- 25) ἐπεδὴ BCH 94 (1970) p. 918, fig. 67, line 1 (= *Deltion* 21 [1966] *Chronika* p. 106, no. 12) (s. IV a.?) decree (not of the state, perhaps of a deme), but εἶπε *ib.* 1, εἰς *ib.* 8.

Notes and Corrections:

Certainly abbreviatory shortenings are: πόλε, Πολιῆ, etc., occurring *passim* in the sacred calendar, BCH 87 (1963) pp. 603 ff. (= SEG 21.541; Sokolowski, *Lois*² p. 36, no. 18) (375–350?); frequent cases of ἔχε for ἔχει, δὲ for δεῖ in the inv., Π² 1609.61, 90, 95, etc. (ante 370/69), cf. other shortenings such as σχοιν *ib.* 82, τριή *ib.* 109, etc. (L.). Probably the same type of abbreviation as in Π² 1609 is ἔχε in Π² 1424.11, 12 (374/3) inv. (ἔχει *ib.* 13, 16), although this text does not otherwise employ such abbreviations; for the date, cf. SEG 21.549 (Π² 1421 + Π² 1423 + Π² 1424).

Τὸ ἐν πόλε at the end of line 6 of the decree, Π² 111 (363/2), is probably a careless omission or abbreviatory shortening (L.). In the decree, Π² 657.30–31 (283/2), the mason inscribed παρακαλε|και, which he doubtless intended to correct to παρακαλεῖ καὶ later. Careless omissions of later times: πίστε, ἐκοστός, ἔ (= εἶ) τις, cf. 9.013, pp. 189–190 *supra*.

λύσε, Ἀμαξαντῆ at ends of lines in Π² 2749.2, 4; Π² 2732.3 (both s. IV a.?) mortgage horoi, are probably abbreviatory shortenings. Probably also λύσε in Π² 2735.2 (s. IV a.?), the same type of text, although not at the end of the physical line. Cf. 5.011, p. 101 *supra*.

16.011 ει ~ ε/—C

Most of the variation between EI and E before consonants involves spellings like ε(ῖ)ναι, κε(ῖ)μαι and is due to the identity of the diphthong ει and the later long e and the competition of E and EI as graphemes for this sound (cf. the previous section).

A few later cases of E for $\epsilon\iota/_\text{C}$ are probably careless omissions (cf. 9.013, pp. 189–190 *supra*).

Such early examples of EI for [ě] as occur in the earlier texts are probably graphic mistakes caused by the use of both E and EI for [e], i.e. if E is used both for [ě] and [e], and both EI and E are used for [e], it is an easy mistake to write EI for [ě]. Confusion of this sort is probably the explanation for: Μειμνον (= Μέμνων) on a rf. vase of the late Archaic Period, ARV² p.290, Tyszkiewicz painter no.1 (= HRF 2, p.459, no.4), if the stroke is not a false start for a second E (dittography); that the spelling shows development of ι before a cluster as in Τροιζήν (cf. 17.01) seems much less likely; εἴχει for ἔχει on the metrical sep. mon. of a Theban (scansion demands an iamb), II² 8870 (= GVI 1, p.527, no.1757) (ca. 350?), which has κῆμα(ι) (cf. 16.01, no.23, p.301 *supra*).

In the metrical sep. mon. of a Phoenician (a Phoenician version precedes the Greek text; cf. Conze, plate 258), II² 8388.5 (= GVI 1, p.479, no.1601) (init. s. III a.), occurs the anomalous spelling εἰχθολέων for ἐχθολέων, probably due to the foreign origin of the writer, cf. the anomalous ἰγκ- for ἐκ, δεγ for δέ (cf. 7.012b, no.12, p.143 *supra*; 41.021a, p.489 *infra*; 48.0211, p.580 *infra*).

In the decree, II² 1048.2 (46/5, cf. *Agora* 15, p.222, no.281), the spelling Ἐρειχθεῖδος is a simple graphic mistake caused by the $\epsilon\iota$ of the adjacent syllable. On the private ded., II² 4752 (s. I/II p.) (L.), occurs Μειλιτ[εύς], probably also just a copying mistake; the text is late enough that EI would = $\bar{\iota}$.

16.02 $\epsilon\iota/_\text{V}$

A diphthong $\epsilon\iota$ occurs in pre-vocalic position in the frequent derivational suffixes -ειος, -εια, -ειον, -ειεύς, and in certain feminine nouns in -εια. In the early period this pre-vocalic $\epsilon\iota$ is almost exclusively indicated by EI, just as the inherited diphthong in λείπω, ἄρχεις, etc. But later the treatment of the pre-vocalic $\epsilon\iota$ diverges from $\epsilon\iota$ elsewhere: there was a tendency to delete the intervocalic iota (cf. 16.021 *infra*), and in such cases where $\epsilon\iota$ was retained before vowels it developed to $\bar{\iota}$ at a later date than $\epsilon\iota$ elsewhere (9.031, pp.202 ff. *supra*).

16.021 $\epsilon\iota \sim \epsilon/_\text{V}$

An $\epsilon\iota$ before a vowel is frequently simplified to ϵ -. As in the case of $\alpha\iota/_\text{V}$ and $\omicron\iota/_\text{V}$ the treatment of $\epsilon\iota/_\text{V}$ varies in specific lexical items. In some cases the loss of iota was permanent. This occurs in the demotics in -ειεύς (cf. a) *infra*), with contraction in Πλωθεύς and Δεκελεύς; in Ἡρακλειώτης, with some later cases of $\epsilon\iota$ in sep. monuments of non-Athenians (cf. b) *infra*); in ethnics in -ειάτης (cf. c) *infra*); and in δωρειά (cf. d) *infra*). In the demotics spellings like Διομαιεύς, etc. in Roman times, with AI for ϵ , prove that ϵ , not $\epsilon\iota$, was retained in the word (cf. 15.013, pp.294 ff. *supra*).

But in most cases there was only a tendency to delete the intervocalic iota, seen in the occurrence of variant spellings without it, often alongside the normal spelling. These are found chiefly in the period ca. 450–250 B.C., and they are especially frequent in the second half of the fourth century B.C. The spellings without iota normally disappear by the end of the third century B.C., and the retention of ει is also seen in spellings like -ηος in the late Hellenistic Period and early Roman times, and eventually in spellings like -ιος after ca. 100 A.D. (cf. 9.031–9.032 *supra*). Examples of the spellings without iota are usually less frequent than the original spellings, and there is a tendency for them to cluster in certain texts, showing they were characteristic of particular individuals. In a few cases a form originally without iota was replaced by one with it: thus τέλεος, ἰέρεια seem to have been replaced by τέλειος, ἰέρεια, under the influence of other lexical items in -ε(ι)ος, -ε(ι)α (cf. e *infra*, nos. 23, 42), and πλει- spread to πλείονος, πλείον, where there had been no ει before (cf. g *infra*). Certain feminine personal names and toponyms are unusual in showing evidence both for retention of ει (cf. spellings like Ἡράκλεια, etc.) and for simplification to ε (i.e. spellings like Ἡράκλεια, etc.) in Roman times. Most of the -εα spellings occurs in sep. monuments of non-Athenians, however, and they probably do not show the normal Attic development (cf. f *infra*).

The sort of permanent loss of iota seen in a)–d) *infra* is infrequent; it occurs before -εὺς and a-vowels. The normal treatment was retention of ει. For -εῦ-, cf. 16.0211 *infra*.

Presumably the choice of H as grapheme rather than HI (very rare, cf. 9.031 *supra*) for ει/_V indicates that it was not an actual diphthong that was retained, but a long e-vowel distinct from ει/ι as in εἶναι, etc.; note also the Latin spellings Medea, etc., while HI is used for the Latin Pompeius, Saufeius, etc. (cf. 22.032 *infra*).

The deletion of ι seen in Δεκελεεύς, Ἡρακλεώτης, δωρεά, etc. and the tendency to delete it in other cases is due to the tendency of the ι-element of the diphthong ει to become a glide before vowels with subsequent deletion, i.e. [Vⁱ-V] → [V^ɪV] ~ [V^ɪV] → [V-V].

The writing of metrical texts does not necessarily correspond with the demands of the metre; sometimes iota is omitted as in contemporary prose texts, although a long syllable is needed, e.g. Ἐὐκλεῶν (cf. 10.04a, p.211 *supra*). In Roman times an intervocalic iota seems sometimes to have been dropped for metrical reasons: cf. Ἀρεῶς, τελε- (spellings virtually unknown in prose texts of this period) (cf. 10.04b, p.213 *supra*).

In certain cases the Attic writing system produces ambiguities which make it difficult to interpret the examples. In the period ca. 450–350 in which E and EI are competing graphemes for [e'] (whether the more recent long e-vowel, as in εἶναι ~ εἶται, or the original diphthong in environments other than before vowels, as in κείται, rarely written κεται in this period), it could be argued that the E used in λυχνεον, Θησεα, etc. actually stands for [e'] and does not indicate a tendency to delete iota or render it as a glide. Against this view are both the parallel developments seen in Πειρα(ι)εύς, πο(ι)εῖν, etc. and the continuation of λυχνεον, Θησεα, etc. into a period long after the use of E for [e'] in εἶναι, etc. has ceased; indeed E for ει/_V is more frequent in the later fourth century than the earlier. For other ambiguities, cf. a), p.304 *infra*. The accentuation in Θησεα, etc. is purely a modern convention.

16.021 a) Demotics, etc. in -ε(ι)εύς; b) Ἡρακλε(ι)ώτης, etc.; c) Ethnic adjectives in -ε(ι)άτης; d) δωρε(ι)ά; e) -ε(ι)ος, -ε(ι)α, -ε(ι)ον, etc.; f) Feminine names and toponyms in -ε(ι)α; g) πλείω, πλε(ι)ονος, πλε(ι)ον, etc.; h) Φλε(ι)άσιος; i) ε(ι)τή. 16.0211 -ει- ~ -ει-.

16.021

a) Demotics, etc. in -ε(ι)εύς. The normal type is represented by those for toponyms ending in -εια, e.g. Δεκελειεύς, Διομειεύς, Ἐρικειεύς, Πλωθειεύς, and Τρινεμειεύς. Of this group, those well attested in the earlier fourth century offer more numerous examples of the spellings with original iota retained. But examples of -εεύς are also found at this time, and the earliest example of one of these words is without iota, cf. Δεκελεεῖ in a decree of 410/9 B.C. (cf. *infra*). By the last quarter of the fourth century the spellings with iota have virtually died out; examples later than 300 B.C. are very unusual (cf. Τρινεμειῶ *infra*). The pronounced preference for the contracted Πλωθεύς, attested as early as Πλωθειεύς, is peculiar to this demotic, although Δεκελεύς, Τρινεμεύς, and perhaps Διομεύς are attested. The position of the accent on the syllable after -ει- may have encouraged simplification to -ε- in -ειεύς.

In the period in which spellings both with and without iota are found the iota may be omitted in any of the cases: -εεύς, -εέως, -εεῖ, -εέα, -εῆς, and -εεῖς are all well attested (-εες once). But there are no cases of -εῖ, and Πλωθέως, Πλωθέας are almost surely from Πλωθεύς, not Πλωθεεύς, and cases of Δεκελέως, Δεκελέα are probably from Δεκελεύς. On the other hand the spellings -ειῶς, -ειῶ, -ειῶς, and -ειῶν are all attested. Perhaps in the period before -ει- disappeared altogether iota was not normally dropped before the contracted terminations -ῶς, -ῶ, etc.; cf. the avoidance of Πειραῖ and the extreme rarity of Πειραῶς, alongside frequent Πειραέα, Πειραέως, etc. (cf. 15.0127, no. 3, p. 280 *supra*; 15.0127h).

The spellings without iota are found in all types of text. The abandonment of -ει- can be seen in the preference for -αιεύς in the Roman Period after αι has passed to ε [e] (cf. 15.013 and *infra*).

Some of the spellings are of course ambiguous. Thus Τρινεμεια could be for Τρινεμεία with -ει- as in 7.03 (Ἡρακλείους, Ἡρακλεία, etc.), but as a contracted Τρινεμεύς is apparently not attested until ca. 150 A.D., it is better to take it as Τρινεμειῶ. The same arguments support the interpretation of Ἐρικειως as Ἐρικειῶς rather than Ἐρικέως (← *Ἐρικεύς). The ambiguity does not stop here, however, for since a nominative Παιανιεύς can have a genitive Παιανιῶς through contraction, a nominative Τρινεμεύς might have a gen. Τρινεμεῶς, and Τρινεμειῶς, etc. might be for Τρινεμεῶς with -ει- before -ω- as in Ιερέως for Ιερέως, βασιλεία for βασιλέα, frequent in this period (cf. 7.03). There is no way to tell which interpretation is correct, Τρινεμειῶ ← Τρινεμειεύς or ← Τρινεμεεύς. At least in the earlier period it is easier to assume the survival of -ειεύς. Another ambiguity may be seen in Πλωθεας, which is probably acc. pl. of Πλωθεύς in a text with Πλωθεῦσι, Πλωθῆς alongside Πλωθειεῦσι, Πλωθειῶς, since Πλωθεύς is frequent in the fourth century and normal later. Instances of Δεκελεως, Δεκελεα are harder to interpret, as Δεκελεύς is not so frequent, but a tendency to preserve -ει- before -ῶς would

seem to rule in favor of Δεκελέως rather than Δεκελεῶς, at least for the fourth-century example.

Lit.: MS³ p.42, notes 256–257, 259–263.

1) Δεκελε(ι)εύς, Δεκελεύς. The spelling with iota retained is not found after the fourth century and is chiefly found before 350 B.C. Thus Δεκελεῖης (name of a phratry) in Π² 1237. 63–64 (396/5) decree (phratry), Δεκελειῶν *ib.* 33, 42. The name of the deme occurs in this same text: Δεκέλειαν *ib.* 53, Δεκελειᾶσι *ib.* 67; at the end of it in a section added ca. 350 occurs the spelling without iota, cf. Δεκελέες in *ib.* 122–123 (for -έες, cf. Morphology). Other cases of Δεκελελεύς: Δεκελεῖ Π² 1388.11 (398/7) inv.; Δεκελεεύς Π² 1400.4 (390/89) inv.; *AE* 1961 p.202, no.3 (= SEG 21.848) (init. s. IV a.) sep. mon.; Δεκελεῖ Π² 1410.6 (377/6) inv.; Δεκελεῖ(ως) Π² 1443.5 (344/3) inv.; Δεκελελεύς Π² 5980 (s. IV a.) sep. mon.

Δεκελεεύς appears in the period 410–400; cf. Δεκελέει in Π² 108.38 (410/9) decree; the later addition to the phratry decree, Π² 1237, just cited (ca. 350); a cat. earlier than 350 with Δεκελεῖς, cf. Π² 2377.20 (360–340), and the sep. monuments with Δεκελεεύς, Π² 5983.3, 6 (400–350), Π² 5986 (365–340). Δεκελεεύς is normal later, cf. Δεκελεεύς Π² 3056.1 (320/19) ded.; *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p.35, no.5, line 3 (318/7) decree; Δεκελεῖ Π² 1487.84 (post 307/6) inv., Τρινημεῖως in *ib.* 62 (cf. no.5 *infra*); Δεκελέα *Deltion* 18 (1963) p.103, no.1, line 32 (= SEG 21.525) (282/1) decree (hippeis); Δεκελέα, Δεκελεῖς *Hesperia* 9 (1940) p.122, no.25, lines 7, 17 (ca. 155) decree; Δεκελεεύς Π² 3083.2 (bis) (271/0) ded.; Π² 1938.53 (152/1) cat.; Π² 5985 (s. II a.) sep. mon.; Π² 2452.37 (ca. 125/4) cat.; Π² 1009, col.3.111 (116/5), Π² 1011, col.4.94 (106/5) decrees; Π² 1710.7 (ca. 200) cat. Cf. Δεκελεῖσι in the decree (orgeones), Π² 1242.5 (s. III a.). Δεκελεεύς occurs in Roman times, cf. Δεκελεῖ Π² 5984 (s. I p.), Δεκελεεύς Π² 5981 (s. I/II p.) sep. monuments.

The contracted Δεκελεύς is rather rare, e.g. Δεκελεῖς Π² 1927.92 (post 350) cat. (known from Chandler); Δεκελέως Π² 5817 (s. IV a.) sep. mon.; Δηκελέως *Hesperia*, suppl. 9 (1951) p.26, add. IIb (164/3? date of 260 proposed *Hesperia* 12 [1943] p.163) horos (cf. 8.01, no.30); Δεκελεύς Π² 2297 a (in add.) 5 (ca. 50 p.) cat. (known only from Pittakes); Π² 5982 (aet. Rom.?) sep. mon. (known only from Pittakes); Δεκελέα Π² 11045/51 (date?) (known only from a copy). For the possibility that Δεκελεως might be Δεκελεῶς, Δεκελεα = Δεκελεᾶ, cf. p.304 *supra*.

2) Διομε(ι)εύς. The spelling with iota retained is well attested in the fourth century, e.g. Διομεεύς Π² 101.4 (373/2) decree; Π² 4896 (ante 350) ded.; Π² 4902.2 (ca. 350) ded.; Διομε(ι)εύς Π² 1612.137, 138 (356/5) inv.; Διομεῖα *ib.* 271, 272; Διομεεύς *Hesperia* 29 (1960) p.55, no.78 (ca. 350) ded.; Διομεῖς Π² 1749.70 (341/0) pryt. cat. (L.); Διομεῖες (-ειῖς or -ειῖς? cf. Morphology) Π² 1926.41 (325/4) cat. (L.); Διομεεύς *CHA* pp.7–8, line 3 (cf. SEG 21.334) (307/6), Π² 460.3 (307/6), Π² 464.4 (307/6) decrees; Π² 3073.5 (307/6) ded. Note Διομεῖης in a cat., *Hesperia* 30 (1961) pp.30 ff., line 70 (336/5). Cf. [ἐν] Διομεῖ(αι) οἰκῶν in the inv., *Hesperia* 28 (1959) pp.208 ff., lines 547–8 (= Π² 1558.20–21) (ca. 330–320) (L.).

Διομεεύς appears in the second half of the fourth century, and is normal later, e.g.: Διομεῖς Π² 1700.50 (335/4) cat.; Π² 2409.24 (330/29, cf. SEG 16.145) cat.; Διομεεύς Π² 458.3–4 (307/6), Π² 471.13 (306/5), Π² 495.9–10 (303/2), Π² 492.3 (303/2), Π² 503.8 (302/1) decrees; Π² 5990 (s. III a.), Π² 5992 (s. III a.?) sep. monuments; Διομεῖ Π² 5989 (s. II/1 a.) sep. mon.; Διομεεύς Π² 971.21 (140/39), Π² 1018.2 (fin. s. II a.) decrees; Π² 1963.32 (13/2) eph. cat. In the later Roman Period the normal spelling is Διομαιεύς, cf. 15.013, nos.75, 77, 79, 86, 88, and 92.

The contracted Διομεύς is known only from Pittakes, cf. Π² 5988 (post 300) sep. mon.

3) Ἐρικε(ι)εύς. The original Ἐρικειεύς is very rare, e.g. Ἐρικειῶς Π² 6421 (365–340) sep. mon.; Ἐρικειεῖς *Hesperia* 30 (1961) pp.30ff., line 105 (336/5), Π² 1700.37 (335/4) catalogs. The name of the deme occurs in a cat. of deme names dated ca. 200 B.C. as Ἐρίκεια, cf. Π² 2362.24. The normal spelling of the demotic is Ἐρικεεύς, poorly attested at all periods: Ἐρικεεῖς Π² 1749.46 (341/0) pryt. cat. (L.); Ἐρικεέως, Ἐρικεεύς Π² 7702.5, 7 (post 350) sep. mon.; Ἐρικεεῖς *Hesperia* 38 (1969) pp.459ff., line 54 (281/0) cat.; Ἐρικεεῖς Π² 678.32 (256/5, cf. SEG 21.377) decree; Ἐρικεεύς Π² 1323.4 (197/6) decree (thiasotai); Ἐρικεέα *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p.212, no.59, line 10 (172/1) ded.; Ἐρικεεύς *Hesperia* 24 (1955) pp.220ff., lines 154, 160 (= *Hesperia* 15 [1946] p.201, no.41; *Hesperia* 4 [1935] p.71, no.37) (127/6) decree; Ἐρικεέα Clinton, *Sacred Officials* p.92, note 20 (= Π² 3487, corrected) (125–100) ded.; Ἐρικεεύς Π² 1008, col.1.100 (118/7) decree; Ἐρικεέα Π² 1009.22 (116/5) decree, has Ἐρικιεύς (cf. infra); Ἐρικεεύς Π² 6069 (s. II/a.) sep. mon.; Ἐρικεεύς Π² 2447.4 (s. IIa.) cat.; Π² 2272.7 (date?) eph. cat. In Roman times Ἐρικαιεύς is the usual spelling (cf. 15.013, nos.73–74, 75–76, 78); Ἐρικεεύς is rare, e.g. Π² 6068 a (in add.) (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.

For the peculiar spelling Ἐρικιεύς, cf. 29.00b, p.409 infra; 7.012b, no.14, p.143 supra.

4) Πλωθε(ι)εύς, Πλωθεύς. A decree of the demesmen of Plotheia dated ca. 400 B.C. has both Πλωθειεῖσι and the contracted Πλωθεῖσι, but not the intervening stage Πλωθειῖσι, cf. Π² 1172.11, 15; in the same text occur Πλωθῆς *ib.* 35; Πλωθειῖς *ib.* 25; the Πλωθεας in *ib.* 29, 30 is probably Πλωθέας, acc. pl. of Πλωθεύς, rather than Πλωθεῖς, acc. pl. of Πλωθεεύς. Other examples of Πλωθειεύς are of fourth-century date, usually before 350 B.C.: e.g. Πλωθειεύς Π² 1421.103 (374/3), Π² 1424a (in add.) 295 (369/8), Π² 1425.211 (368/7) inventories; Π² 4885 (400–350) ded. (priv.); Π² 7241 (ante 350) sep. mon.; Πλωθειῖς Π² 1749.82 (341/0) pryt. cat., unless it is Πλωθέια from Πλωθεύς (cf. Πλωθεῖς *ib.* 42), cf. 7.03, no.1k, p.153 supra (L.); Πλωθειῶς Π² 1629.614 (325/4) inv.; Πλωθειεύς Π² 7240 (post 350), Π² 7239 (s. IV a.) sep. monuments.

The spelling Πλωθεεύς is frequent in the later fourth century B.C.: e.g. Πλωθεῖς Π² 1747.44 (343/2?) pryt. cat.; Πλωθεεύς Π² 1455.9 (340/39) inv.; Πλωθεεύς Π² 499.3 (302/1), Π² 503.3 (302/1) decrees; Π² 4916 (s. IV a.) ded. (priv.). For the ambiguous Πλωθεες in Π² 1926.45 (325/4), cf. infra. Loss of the iota was permanent, cf. Πλωθέαθεν in a ded. of 142/3 A.D., Π² 3740.29, and the contracted form of the demotic, normal in the Hellenistic Period, is already well attested in the fourth century, e.g.: Πλωθῆς, Πλωθεῖσι, Πλωθέας Π² 1172.15, 29, 30, 35 (also -ειεύς, cf. supra) (ca. 400) decree (demesmen of Plotheia); Πλωθεύς Π² 7242 (365–340), Π² 7237 (ca. 360) sep. monuments; Πλωθεῖς Π² 1749.42 (cf. supra) (341/0) pryt. cat.; Πλωθεύς AE 1961 *Chronika* p.17, no.63 (= SEG 21.911) (350–300) sep. mon.; Πλωθέως (rather than Πλωθεῶς) Π² 7236 (s. IV a.) sep. mon.; Πλωθεῖς Π² 1700.48 (335/4) cat.; Πλωθεες in the cat., Π² 1926.45 (325/4) (L.), is ambiguous; probably from Πλωθεύς with -έες (back formation from -έας) as in Λαμπτρέες, Ἀχαρνέες, Ἐρχιέες, etc. in the same text, rather than from Πλωθεεύς (cf. 7.03, no.5, p.158 supra and Morphology); Πλωθεύς Π² 500.4, Π² 504.3, Π² 505.2 (all 302/1) decrees; Π² 4607 (fin. s. IV a.) ded. (priv.); Πλωθεῖς *Hesperia* 38 (1969) pp.459ff., line 49 (281/0) cat.; Πλωθεύς *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p.54, no.11, line 8 (272/1) decree; Πλωθεῖς Π² 678.22 (256/5, cf. SEG 21.377) decree; Πλωθεύς *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p.282, no.55, line 1 (= Sokolowski, *Supplément* p.54, no.20; SEG 21.530) (init. s. III a.) decree (orgeones); Π² 1706.46 (fin. s. III a.) cat.; Π² 7238 (s. II a.), Π² 7235 (s. I a.) sep. monuments; etc.

5) Τρινεμ(ι)εύς, Τρινεμεύς. The original spelling Τρινεμειεύς is rare, but this word is poorly attested in any spelling before the end of the fourth century. Cf. Τρινε]μειεύς Π² 1699.44 (343/2) cat.; Τρι]νεμειεύς Π² 1487.61–62 (post 307/6) inv., has Δεκελεεύς *ib.* 84 (cf. no.1

supra); because of the lateness of the date, the Τρινεμεία of the decree, Π² 678.9 (256/5, cf. SEG 21.377), is probably Τρινεμειᾶ, acc. of Τρινεμεύς with EI for ε/—V (cf. 7.03, no. 1k, p. 153 supra), rather than the acc. of Τρινεμειεύς with contraction.

Τρινεμεύς is normal by ca. 300 B.C.: e.g. Τρινεμεύς, Τρινεμεῖς *Hesperia* 37 (1968) pp. 1 ff., lines 157, 312 (303/2) cat.; Τρινεμεύς Π² 7570 (post fin. s. IV a.), Π² 7572 (post fin. s. IV a.) sep. monuments; Π² 1704.9 (300–250) cat.; *Hesperia* 38 (1969) pp. 459 ff., line 287 (281/0) cat.; Τριν]εμεία *Hesperia* 33 (1964) p. 173, no. 27, line 4 (ca. 250) decree; [Τριν]εμεῖς *Hesperia* 36 (1967) p. 230, no. 39, line 2 (ca. 250–230) pryt. cat.; Τρινεμεία *Hesperia* 9 (1940) p. 115, no. 23, line 57 (= Π² 917 + new fr.) (223/2) decree; Τρινεμεῖς *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p. 220, no. 17, line 22 (ca. 200) pryt. cat.; Τρινεμεύς Π² 2332.176, 267 (183/2), Π² 2333.66 (ca. 180) catalogs; Τρινεμεία *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p. 33, no. 6, lines 59–60, 137 (173/2) decree; Τρινεμεία *Hesperia* 36 (1967) p. 59, no. 6, lines 43–44 (= Π² 937 + new fr.) (ca. 170) decree; Τρινεμεύς Π² 3472.2 (200–150) ded.; Τρινεμεία *Hesperia* 9 (1940) p. 122, no. 25, line 86 (ca. 155); Π² 972.7 (164/3? cf. *Agora* 15, p. 181, no. 221) decrees; Τρινεμεύς Π² 1009, col. 3.82 (116/5) decree; Τρινεμείως Π² 7571 (fin. s. II a.) sep. mon.; etc.

In texts of Roman times are found Τρινεμεύς, Τρινεμειεύς (with AI = [e], cf. 15.013, nos. 80–81, p. 298 supra), Τρινεμῆς (apparently for the first time), and Τρινομειεύς (due to influence of νομός? cf. 11.01 a, p. 214 supra):

Τρινεμεύς: Π² 2226.28 (ca. 218/9 p.) eph. cat. (reading TPINEMEEYΣ, with the addition of a small new fr.) (L.).

Τρινεμειεύς: *Hesperia* 16 (1947) p. 180, no. 85, line 11 (ca. 180 p.), Π² 1782.40 (177/8 p.) (L.) pryt. catalogs.

Τρινεμῆς: Π² 2033.37, 38, 39 (ca. 150 p.) eph. cat. (now part of Π² 2064 and joined to it) (L.).

Τρινομειεύς: Π² 7573 (bis) (s. II p.) sep. mon. (L.).

6) Other demotics in -ει(ι)εύς. Of these the best attested are Ἀλωπεκειεύς and Ἀμαξαντεῖς. Ἀλωπεκειεύς is a fifth-century spelling, e.g. Ἀλοπεκειεύς I² 261.34 (429/8), I² 238.66 (428/7), I² 239.80 (427/6) inventories; Ἀλοπεκειός (= Ἀλωπεκειῶς) I² 311.19 (422/1–419/8) inv. There are two cases of omitted iota: Ἀλοπεκειῖ in I² 301.11, 30 (409/8, cf. SEG 23.35) inv.; this same text has Ἀγκυλεῖ in *ib.* 24. Later the forms of the demotic are Ἀλωπεκεύς (derived from -ειεύς like Πλωθεύς from Πλωθειεύς?) and the much more frequent Ἀλωπεκῆθεν, attested also in the fifth century (cf. Indices to IG I², p. 325; to IG II, p. 74). Ἀμαξαντεῖς occurs occasionally in the earlier fourth century B.C., cf. Ἀμαξαντεῖς Π² 1388.6 (398/7) inv.; Π² 3047 (ca. 350) ded.; Ἀμαξαντεῖς Π² 2377.27 (360–340) cat. There is apparently no instance of Ἀμαξαντεεύς. The form in use in later times is Ἀμαξαντεύς (cf. Indices to IG II, p. 74; IG II.5, p. 331; etc.).

Ἀγρυλειῆς occurs in the pryt. cat., *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p. 231, no. 43, line 28 (367/6), and the intervening stage without iota is perhaps seen in ΑΓΡΥΛΕΗΣ, in a ded. (publ.) of 408/7, cf. I² 398.3, unless -ΕΗΣ is the earlier ending of the nominative plural -εῖς (from Ἀγρυλεύς), cf. 7.03, no. 5, p. 158 supra. But usually Ἀγρυλῆθεν (cf. Indices to IG I², p. 325; to IG II, p. 74; to IG II.5, p. 331).

In addition to Ἀγκυλεῖ just cited in the fifth-century inv. with Ἀλωπεκειῖ, I² 301.24, there occurs the full form Ἀγκυλειῆς, cf. Π² 1932.20 (400–350) cat. But the normal form was Ἀγκυλῆθεν even by the fifth century, cf. e.g. *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p. 240, no. 1, line 27 (= I² 329.8) (ca. 414) inv.; I² 379.8 (420/19) inv. (cf. also Indices to IG II, pp. 73–74; to IG II.5,

pp.330–331). There is an isolated variant Ἀγκυλεύς, cf. Ἀγκυλείς, Π² 678.20 (256/5, cf. SEG 21.377) decree.

So also Ἀγγελειῆς, Π² 1751.30 (post 350) pryt. cat., alongside Ἀγγελεῖς in another pryt. cat., cf. REG 73 (1960) p. 88, line 28 (= SEG 23.87) (ca. 390–375). For the demotic in -λεύς, cf. Ἀγγελεῖς in Π² 1753.34 (ca. 330) pryt. cat. But the usual form of the demotic was Ἀγγελῆθεν, found already in the fifth century, cf. e.g. Π² 124.3 (406/5) decree, and normal later (cf. Indices to IG II, pp. 73–74; to IG II.5, p. 331).

For the rare Βατειεύς, cf. Βατειῆς in *Hesperia* 30 (1961) pp. 30ff., line 103 (336/5) cat.; Βατεύς, cf. e.g. Π² 1747.27 (343/2?), Π² 1749.33 (341/0) (L.) pryt. catalogs. But the normal form of the demotic was Βατῆθεν, frequent from the fifth century on (cf. Indices to IG I², p. 325; to IG II, pp. 73, 75; to IG II.5, pp. 330, 331).

Also rare is Ἐκαλειεύς, cf. Ἐκαλειῆς, Π² 1742.87 (370/69?) pryt. cat.; Ἐκαλεύς, cf. e.g. Ἐκαλεῖς *Hesperia* 38 (1969) pp. 459ff., line 76 (= Π² 2427.6) (281/0) cat.; *Hesperia* 9 (1940) p. 112, no. 22, line 10 (= Π² 2434 + new fr.) (post 255) pryt. cat.; or Ἐκαλῆθεν (normal, cf. Indices to IG II, pp. 74–75; to IG II.5, p. 331).

Attested only once is Θημακειεύς, in the decree, Π² 338.6 (333/2); normally Θημακεύς (cf. Indices to IG II, pp. 73, 75).

The isolated spelling ΚΟΛΛΥΤΕΙΕΣ occurs in a pryt. cat. of 341/0, Π² 1749.38; it should probably be interpreted as Κόλλυταιεῖς, with a late case of EI for [e], as this same text has ΟΤΡΥΝΕΣ, ΕΣΤΙΑΙΕΣ, where -ΕΣ can only be -εῖς (cf. 9.013, no. 2, p. 189 supra). It is difficult to say if Κόλλυταιεῖς is from an otherwise unknown Κόλλυταιεύς variant for Κόλλυτεύς, or if a confusion of demotic types is at work (cf. 7.03, no. 5, p. 158 supra); also herein: Ἐρικεῖς, Διομεῖς (cf. nos. 2–3, pp. 305–306 supra) (all readings in Π² 1749, L).

The spelling ΙΚΑΡΙΕΙΕΣ in a catalog of diaitetai dated 325/4, Π² 1926.38 (L.), looks at first sight like ΚΟΛΛΥΤΕΙΕΣ, but the final syllable is almost certainly -ῆς, both because of the later date and because of frequent spellings in the text like Λαμπρέες, Ἐρχιῆες, Κόλλυτέες, Εὐωνυμέες, etc., which are almost certainly nominatives in -ῆς formed back from the accusative plural in -έας. Thus the ending -εῖς in Ἰκαριῆες is likely due to confusion of demotic types (note Διομεῖς in line 41, cf. no. 2, p. 305 supra), probably not a rare case of EI for ē before an e-vowel (cf. 7.03, no. 5, p. 158 supra). For these demotics in -εύς in this period, cf. Morphology.

Rare demotics in -εῖς for -εύς (as in Βατειεύς, Θημακειεύς, Κόλλυταιεύς, etc.) probably do not have EI for ε/—V (cf. 7.03, no. 5, pp. 157–159 supra).

7) The nom. plural of several ethnics of the -εῖς type is found in the tribute lists. The contracted forms occur very rarely, but the type with iota omitted, -εες (for -εῖς), is not actually attested. There is a bare chance that Γρυν[ε]ῖς should be restored rather than Γρυν[ε]ῖς, with EI crowded together, in Π² 205.13 (= ATL 2, no. 15) (440/39).

Λαμπόνες: Π² 194.23 (= ATL 2, no. 4) (451/0); elsewhere Λαμπόνειες: Π² 202.5 (= ATL 2, no. 12) (443/2); Π² 203.38 (= ATL 2, no. 13) (442/1); Π² 205.42, 43 (= ATL 2, no. 15) (440/39), Π² 211.3, 4 (= ATL 2, no. 21) (434/3); the town name Λαμπόνηα: Π² 191.11 (= ATL 2, no. 1) (454/3), Π² 196.25 (= ATL 2, no. 7) (448/7), Π² 200.23 (= ATL 2, no. 10, col. 1.28) (445/4), Π² 201.45 (= ATL 2, no. 11, col. 3.34) (444/3).

Μαρόνες: Π² 195.34 (= ATL 2, no. 5, col. 3.22) (450/49). Μαρόνειες: Π² 202.6 (= ATL 2, no. 12, col. 3.6) (443/2), Π² 203.7 (= ATL 2, no. 13) (442/1), Π² 221.47 (= ATL 2, no. 40, col. 3.20) (415/4). For the Attic toponym Μαρώνε(ι)α, cf. 16.021e, no. 30, p. 316 infra.

[Γρῦ]νῆς has been plausibly restored in *ATL* 2, no. 9, col. 1.3 (= *I*² 199.3) (446/5); elsewhere Γρυνεῖς: *I*² 193.28 (= *ATL* 2, no. 3, col. 5.27) (452/1), *I*² 198.17 (= *ATL* 2, no. 8) (447/6), *I*² 203.7 (= *ATL* 2, no. 13) (442/1), *ATL* 2, no. 14, col. 2.10 (441/0); *I*² 205.13 (= *ATL* 2, no. 15) (440/39): Γρυν[ε]ῖς (cf. supra); *I*² 213.36 (= *ATL* 2, no. 23, col. 1.43) (432/1), *I*² 214.10 (= *ATL* 2, no. 27) (428/7).

Νεανδρειῖς is the only spelling found for the ethnic, although the town name twice appears without iota: Νεανδρεῖς: *I*² 213.12 (= *ATL* 2, no. 23) (432/1), *I*² 63.145 (= *ATL* 2, no. A9, col. 3.81) (425/4). Νεάνδρεια: *I*² 191.10 (= *ATL* 2, no. 1) (454/3), *I*² 194.22 (= *ATL* 2, no. 4) (451/0), *I*² 195.61 (= *ATL* 2, no. 5, col. 2.34) (450/49), *I*² 200.14 (= *ATL* 2, no. 10, col. 1.19) (445/4). Νεάνδρεια: *I*² 205.30 (= *ATL* 2, no. 15) (440/39); *ATL* 2, no. 25, col. 3.37 (430/29): [Νε]άνδρ[ε]α.

Always -ειῖς in Βουθειῖς, cf. *ATL* 1 pp. 248–249; Σιγειῖς, cf. *ATL* 1 pp. 402–403; Ἀζειῖς (for the more common Ἀζι(ζ)ειοί, cf. *I*² 210.18 (= *ATL* 2, no. 20) (435/4), *I*² 212.101 (= *ATL* 2, no. 22, col. 1.106) (433/2).

The contracted form is normal in Γρυγγεῖς: *I*² 194.32 (= *ATL* 2, no. 4, col. 1.24) (451/0), *ATL* 2, no. 5, col. 4.33 (450/49), *I*² 201.41 (= *ATL* 2, no. 11, col. 5.29) (444/3), *I*² 203.25 (= *ATL* 2, no. 13, col. 5.22) (442/1), *I*² 204.77 (= *ATL* 2, no. 14, col. 2.95) (441/0), *I*² 212.78 (= *ATL* 2, no. 22, col. 1.83) (433/2), *I*² 213.72 (= *ATL* 2, no. 23, col. 1.79) (432/1). An -ειῖς form occurs rarely: cf. Βρυγγειῖς *I*² 196.12 (= *ATL* 2, no. 7) (448/7); [Γρ or Βρ?]υγγειῖς: *I*² 198.70 (= *ATL* 2, no. 8, col. 2.69) (447/6) (cf. 46.0111 infra).

Ethnics in -ειεύς are avoided in later times; cf. the standard Ἀπαμεύς, Καισαρεύς, Λαοδικεύς, Μαντινεύς, Νικομηδεύς, etc.

b) Ἡρακλε(ι)ώτης, etc. The spelling ἡερακλειότο (= Ἡρακλειώτου) occurs in a small fragment of a fifth-century decree, cf. *I*² 145 (424/3, cf. *SEG* 10.82); likewise [ἡε]ρακλειότα[ι] is found in the trib. list appended to a decree, cf. *ATL* 2, no. A9, col. 4.127 (425/4). The restoration of ---Ἡρακλε[ι][ι]ώτας in a decree of 361/0, *II*² 117.b22–23, is subject to considerable doubt, although the text is stichedon. After 350 B.C. it is certain that the Attic spelling was Ἡρακλειώτης, as can be seen from numerous attestations in public documents, e.g.: *II*² 408.15 (ca. 330); *II*² 360.35 (325/4), with the name of the town spelled Ἡράκλεια in *ib.* 38; *II*² 479.21 (ca. 305/4), *II*² 1008, col. 4.119 (118/7), *II*² 1011, col. 5.117, col. 6.90 (106/5); *II*² 1013.19 (fin. s. IIa.): Ἡρακλεωτικά; *II*² 1028.151 (101/100, cf. *SEG* 24.188), *II*² 1039.a'3 (79/8, cf. *SEG* 22.110): Ἡρακλεώ[της] (L.); *II*² 1043.117 (38/7): Ἡρακ[λ]εώτης (L.) all decrees; *II*² 1271.15 (299/8?), *II*² 1273.28–29 (289/8?) decrees (thiasotai); *AM* 66 (1941) p. 228, no. 4, lines 2, 14 (138/7 aut 137/6) decree (orgeones); *II*² 1335.39 (103/2) decree (sabaziastai); *II*² 1956.153 (fin. s. IVa.), *II*² 1957.15 (init. s. IIIa.) catalogs; *II*² 4281 (fin. s. IIIa./init. s. IIa.) ded.: Βάτων Ἡ[ρακ]λεώτης ἐπόη[σεν]; *AM* 66 (1941) p. 181, no. 2 (= *SEG* 21.694) (129/8?) ded.; *II*² 4466 (s. Ia.) ded. (priv.); *II*² 4952 (date?) ded.; and Ἡρακλεώτης and Ἡρακλεώτις(σα) on the majority of the sep. monuments of natives of Ἡράκλεια, cf. *II*² 8549–*II*² 8822 (more than 130 certain cases of -εωτ-); *II*² 8572a, *II*² 8609a, *II*² 8636a, *II*² 8654a (all in add.); *II*² 8548a, *II*² 8704a, *II*² 8774a, *II*² 8815a (all in add. nova); *Hesperia* 32 (1963) p. 54, no. 100 (s. Ia.); *Ta Athenaiika* 21 (1962) pp. 34–35, nos. 14 (s. IIp.), 15 (s. Ia.) (= *SEG* 21.954–955); *Hesperia* 23 (1954) p. 270, nos. 102 (s. Ip.), 103 (s. III/IIa.), 104

(s. IV a.); *Neon Athenaion* 2 (1957) p.40, no.2 (s. Ia./s. Ip.), p.41, no.3 (s. II/Ia.) (= SEG 16.206–207); AE 1958 p.124, no.11 (= SEG 19.279) (s. IIa.). Ἡρακλειωτ- occurs only on another signature of Baton of Herakleia, II² 4280 (fin. s. IIIa./init. s. IIa.): Βάτων Ἡρακλειώτης ἐποίησε; and a few sep. monuments of non-Athenians: II² 8593 (ante 350); II² 8725, II² 8751, II² 8612 (all ca. 350); II² 8700, II² 8755, II² 8792 (all post 350); II² 8769 (s. IVa.); II² 8802 (init. s. IIa.), II² 8808 (s. IIa.); *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p.282, no.154 (s. Ia.); II² 8679 (aet. Rom.); II² 8824 (date?). In *Hesperia* 29 (1960) p.70, no.129 (s. IVa.) the presence of ι is doubtful, cf. plate 22.

The fifth- and fourth-century example(s) of Ἡρακλειώτης are the original form, but the later ones are in a foreign context and do not look like survivals of any earlier Attic spelling. The spellings with -ειωτ- are well attested in other parts of Greece; the influence of the town name Ἡράκλεια, where -ει- was retained, played a part in the preservation of -ειωτ- in the ethnic, but not in Attic. Several sep. monuments of non-Athenians of the later Hellenistic Period and the Roman Period have eta, e.g. Ἡρακληώτης, etc. (cf. 7.02, nos.2, 3, 6, 10, 15, 16). These might be indications of closer pronunciation of ε before o-vowels and comparable to spellings like Λυσικλήους, etc., but they are again in a foreign context and may be no more than later equivalents of the Ἡρακλειωτ- spellings found in such contexts earlier and contemporaneously. Thus as a spelling Ἡράκληα became possible because η was used for ει before vowels (cf. 9.031), Ἡρακληωτ- was used for Ἡρακλειωτ-.

The spelling Ἡρακ[λ]ιώτης (there is not room for Ἡρακ[λε]ιώτης) occurs in a decree of the year 318/7, cf. *Hesperia* 8 (1939) p.30, no.8, line 26 (= II² 535) (L.). Probably a very rare case of ι for ε, due either to the closer pronunciation of ε-vowels after κλ- or confusion with other ethnics in -ιώτης; if ει was intended, either a back formation of Ἡράκλεια or ει for ε before vowels as in Περικλείους. Cf. 7.012 a, no.3, p.142 supra.

Lit.: MS³ p.43, note 284.

c) Ethnic adjectives in -ε(ι)ότης. The examples are largely confined to the tribute lists, where -εῖται and -εῖται are both found:

Αἰνεῖται: I² 218.20 (= ATL 2, no. 25) (430/29).

Αἰνεῖται: I² 199.34 (= ATL 2, no. 9) (446/5); I² 202.25 (= ATL 2, no. 12) (443/2); I² 203.24 (= ATL 2, no. 13) (442/1); I² 211.18 (= ATL 2, no. 21) (434/3); I² 212.38 (= ATL 2, no. 22) (433/2); I² 213.47 (= ATL 2, no. 23, col.2.54) (432/1); I² 216/217.23 (= ATL 2, no. 26, col. 2.24) (429/8).

Πελεῖται: ATL 2, no. 2, col.10.2 (= I² 197.6) (453/2); ATL 2, no. 3, col.5.31 (= I² 193.32, corrected, cf. infra) (452/1); I² 198.93 (= ATL, no. 8, col. 2.104) (447/6); I² 200.19 (= ATL 2, no. 10, col. 5.24) (445/4); I² 204.64 (= ATL 2, no. 14, col. 1.81) (441/0).

Πελεῖται: I² 195.40 (= ATL 2, no. 5, col.5.28) (450/49); I² 202.5 (= ATL 2, no. 12) (443/2).

Χαλκειῖται: I² 203.7 (= ATL 2, no. 13) (442/1); I² 214.6 (= ATL 2, no. 27) (428/7).

Χαλκεῖται, more frequent, e.g.: ATL 2, no. 12, col.4.6 (443/2): Χα[λκ]εῖται; I² 213.47, 48 (= ATL 2, no. 23, col.1.54, 55) (432/1); I² 222.19 (= ATL 2, no. 28) (427/6 aut 426/5); I² 63.114 (= ATL 2, no. A9, col. 2.104) (425/4): [Χαλκ]εῖται[αι].

Spellings in -ιάτης occur rarely; they are probably the result of confusion with ethnics of the -ιάτης/-ήτης type (cf. 6.0421) rather than an indication of a closer pronunciation of ει here.

Αλνιάται: *ATL* 2, no. 4, col. 4.12 (= *I*² 194.12, corrected) (451/0): Α[ι]νιάτα[ι]; *I*² 201.10 (= *ATL* 2, no. 11) (444/3).

Χαλκιάται: *I*² 221.13 (= *ATL* 2, no. 40, col. 1.14) (415/4).

An ethnic Ζελε(ι)άτης is not attested; read [Ζέ]λεια in *ATL* 2, no. 14, col. 2.38 (= *I*² 204.26) (441/0); [Ι]ελεύαται in *ATL* 2, no. 3, col. 5.31 (= *I*² 193.32, cf. *supra*) (452/1). Ζελείτης occurs in a fourth-century sep. mon., cf. *II*² 8526 (post 350).

An ethnic Ἀγγειάτης occurs in a section in Attic of the amphiktyonic decree: *II*² 1132.59 (130/29).

In other such adjectives only -εάτης (never -ειάτης) is attested:

Ποτειδεάται: *I*² 205.50 (= *ATL* 2, no. 15) (440/39); *I*² 210.5 (= *ATL* 2, no. 20) (435/4); *I*² 212.65 (= *ATL* 2, no. 22, col. 2.70) (433/2) tribute lists. For Ποτειδα(ι)εύς, cf. 15.0127k; for Ποτειδα(ι)α, cf. 15.0125, p. 279 *supra*; for rejection of alleged cases of Ποτειδαίατης, cf. 15.013, p. 296 *supra*.

Γυθεάτης: *II*² 3596.1 (ca. 134 p.) ded.

Ἐλεάτης: *II*² 8481 a (in add. nova) (s. *II*/Ia.), *II*² 8483 (aet. Rom.) sep. monuments.

Εύμενεάτης: *II*² 8503 a (in add.) (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.

Μαλεάτης: *II*² 4962.3 (init. s. IV a.) ded.

Τεγέατης: *Delion* 25 (1970) p. 147, no. 8, line 4 (349/8) ded.; *II*² 687.24, 38 (265/4) decree; *II*² 10436 (fin. s. IV a.) sep. mon.; cf. the local spelling Τεγεάτας in *II*² 10435 (init. s. IV a.) sep. mon. Cf. (?) Peek, *AG* 1, p. 33, no. 120 (= *II*² 11868) sep. mon.: [Τεγ]εά[του].

Τενεάτης: *II*² 10437 (s. I p.) sep. mon.

Ἰπρωεά(της) ethnic of a town in Acarnania recognized by L. Robert, cf. *Hellenika* 1 (1940) pp. 106–108 (= *II*² 7998) (s. IV a.) sep. mon.

Lit.: *MS*³ pp. 41–42, notes 229, 251, 253.

d) δωρε(ι)ά. As in the words in a)–c) *supra* the accent falls on the syllable after the -ει-. δωρειά is probably the original spelling. It is found in the fifth century, e.g. *I*² 42.20 (ca. 446), *I*² 77.20 (ca. 435, cf. *SEG* 21.31) decrees. Both δωρειά and δωρεά occur in the fourth century, sometimes in the same text, e.g. δωρεϊάν *II*² 1.59 (403/2) decree, but δωρεάν *ib.* 68; δωρειάς *II*² 212.22–23, cf. 20 (347/6); δω[ρε]ϊών *II*² 222.3 (ca. 344) decrees; δωρε[ϊ]άν *II*² 1749.76 (341/0) pryt. cat. (L.). But δωρεά in the contemporary *II*² 223.B13 (343/2); δωρεάν *II*² 333.a9 (335/4) decrees; cf. δωρεάς *II*² 414.b4 (ante 325/4); δωρεάς *II*² 456.b11 (307/6); δω[ρε]ᾶς *II*² 557.21 (post 306/5) decrees. δωρεϊών occurs in an early third-century decree, *II*² 653.51 (285/4), alongside δωρεαῖς, δωρεάν in *ib.* 16, 23; δωρεα- is normal in this period, e.g. δωρεάν *II*² 654.26 (285/4), δωρεάν *II*² 657.11–12 (283/2), δωρεᾶς *II*² 652.19, 31 (paulo post 286/5, cf. *SEG* 23.65), δωρεάς *II*² 672.15 (279/8), δωρεᾶς *II*² 682.94, 97 (post 256/5) decrees; δωρεα- also in the Roman Period, cf. *Hesperia* 10 (1941) pp. 363 ff., line 8 (= *II*² 1088.42) (132–138 p.) decree (Panhellenes); δωρεᾶς *II*² 1099.33 (121 p.) imp. letter; δωρεαῖς *II*² 3299.6 (132 p.) ded. (L.).

Lit.: *MS*³ p. 40, note 219.

e) -ε(ι)ος, -ε(ι)α, -ε(ι)ον, etc. -ει- may occasionally be written -ε- before α- and o-vowels (α, αι, ο, οι, ου, and ω). This occurs chiefly in nouns in -ειον, e.g. βαλανεῖον (pl. βαλανεῖα), -εια, e.g. ἐπιμέλεια, χρεία, and -ειος, e.g. στελεῖος; in adjectives in -ειος, -ειᾶ, -ειον such as Ἄρειος, ἀνδρεῖος, etc. and in the feminines of -υς adjectives ἡμίσεια, θήλεια.

Where words are well attested the omission of the iota can in most cases be said to be very rare. Thus πρυτανεῖον occurs but once, πρυτανεᾶ only three times, although both words are exceedingly common (cf. nos. 36–37 *infra*), so also ἐπιμελέας once only (cf. no. 16); cf. also numerous derivatives in -ειον which are never attested without iota at all. Exceptional in this regard are feminine anthroponyms and toponyms in -εια (cf. f) *infra*) and ἰέρεια, τέλειος, and πλέον where special circumstances seem to apply (cf. nos. 23, 42; g) *infra*). Rare words are not really exceptions, being too poorly attested to provide viable statistics.

Most of the examples of these spellings without iota occur in the fifth, fourth, and third centuries B.C.; they are particularly common in the fourth century. Instances of the spellings without iota after 200 B.C. are quite rare; for exceptions (some even of Roman date), cf. nos. 3, 10, 13, 23, 42, 46. Roman examples of Ἄρειος, τέλειος, can be shown to be due to requirements of metre (cf. 10.04 b, p. 213 *supra*). The disappearance of spellings without iota after about 200 B.C. probably indicates monophthongization of the diphthong to a long e-vowel; it is just about this time that spellings like πρυτανῆα, ἰέρηα, etc. begin to appear (cf. 9.031 *supra*), which probably also indicate monophthongization of [eⁱ]/__V to a long e-vowel. Otherwise one would expect πρυτανῆια, etc., a very rare spelling attested only twice (9.031, nos. 3, 12, pp. 203–204 *supra*).

The spellings without iota tend to cluster in certain texts, which clearly indicates the pronunciation of the iota as a glide or its deletion was characteristic of particular individuals within the population: cf. μεσόγε(ι)οι, Ἡρακλέωι in II² 1247 (nos. 31, 19 *infra*); ἀνδρεῖον, βατραχεοῦν, ἰέρεια, -κράτεια in II² 1524 (nos. 2, 7, 23 *infra*; f) *infra*); Ἀσκληπίεια, Θεοῖα, Βενδιδέων in II² 1496 (nos. 4, 8, 21 *infra*); γραμματεῖον, δορκάδαιοι in II² 1533 (nos. 12, 15 *infra*); γοργόνεον, γραμματεῖον, κολεόν, λυχνέον, ὀλκῆα in II² 1425 (nos. 11, 12, 25, 29, 34 *infra*); Τιβε(ι)ου, στελε(ι)οί II² 1673 (nos. 39, 43 *infra*); Θεοῖον, πρυτανεᾶ, ταυρέαν in II² 1672 (nos. 22, 36, 41 *infra*); νέων, τοπέα in II² 1628 (nos. 32, 44 *infra*); γυναικείων, χοιρέων in II² 1365 (nos. 13, 46 *infra*); Βαμβιδέωι, Λαύρεον in II² 1582 (nos. 6, 28 *infra*). There is a great deal of inconsistency within a given text, and the same word is frequently spelled both with and without iota, often in close proximity (e.g. nos. 1, 4, 7, 11, 14, 19, 22, 25, 26, 27, 29, 31, 32, 34, 36, 39, and 44 *infra*). On the other hand, there is not much correlation between the dropping of iota and the use of EI for ε/__V as in εἰάν, βασιλείως, βασιλεία, etc.; II² 1533, II² 1673, and especially II² 1672 are exceptional here (cf. 7.03, p. 148 *supra*). The dropping of iota is found in state decrees, but is most characteristic of inventories.

A few of the earlier cases of E for ει/__V occur in texts in which E and EI are still competing graphemes for ει = [eⁱ] (whether the more recent long e-vowel or the original diphthong) in

environments other than before vowels. Cf. σημείο in Π² 1657 alongside τεχοποιοί (no. 38 infra; 16.01, no. 13, p. 301 supra); several cases of -εον, -ῆα in Π² 1425, which has χειρ-, τρεῖς, etc. (cf. nos. 11, 12, 25, 29, 34 infra; 9.0122, Table B.1, p. 186 supra). But it is doubtful whether there is any connection between the two phenomena; the use of E for ει/—V in these earlier cases looks identical to the practice seen so frequently in inventories of the later fourth century when EI is completely established as grapheme for [e]/—C, etc. (cf. p. 303 supra). There seems no justification for the difference in accentuation adopted by Kirchner, as e.g. between τοπέα in Π² 1627 (330/29) and ὀλκῆα, λυχνέον, etc. in Π² 1425 (368/7). It is likely that the spellings without iota indicate that -εον was pronounced [e-on] or [e^hon], but it seems preferable to print the original accentuation as in λυχνέον, the practice followed consistently herein.

Lit.: MS³ pp. 40–42, notes 220–228, 234, 246–247, 250, 258, 267–283, 285; p. 128, notes 1146–1147; pp. 151–152, notes 1306, 1310, 1310a; Lademann pp. 117–118.

Examples:

1) ἀκάτεος: ἀκατέων, ἀκατέο, ἀκάτ]εον Π² 1609.45, 104, 15 (ante 370/69) inv., alongside ἀκατέιον *ib.* 52; ἀκατειο- also Π² 1608.25 (373/2), Π² 1611.229 (357/6), Π² 1612.329 (356/5) inventories; etc.

2) ἀνδρεός: ἀν[δ]ρεῶν Π² 1524.201 (post 334/3) inv. (has also βατραχεῶν, ἰέρεια, Μενεκράτεια, cf. nos. 7, 23; f) infra); ἀνδρεῖο-, cf. e.g. Π² 1517.153 (353/2–341/0) inv.

3) Ἄρειος, Ἄρεος: Ἄρεου πάγου Π² 480.23 (ca. 305/4) decree; but Ἄρείου πάγου in Π² 1425.204 (368/7) inv.; Π² 479.7, 9 (ca. 305/4) decree, and frequently in Roman times (cf. Indices to IG III, p. 311). Retention of ει is shown in spellings like Ἀρήου (cf. 9.031 supra) and Ἀρίου (cf. 9.032 supra). Ἄρεος occurs in Π² 3809.3 (s. II/III p.) ded., perhaps because of the metre (cf. 10.04b, p. 213 supra).

In Ἀρεοπαγείτης there is no case of Ἄρειο- (cf. Indices to IG III, p. 311). Cf. also Ἀρεία, ship's name in Π² 1611.120, 135, 165 (357/6), Π² 1612.42 (356/5) inventories; Ἀρείου, man's name in the decree, Π² 956.52 (161/0).

4) Ἀσκληπίεια: Ἀσκληπιέων Π² 1496.150 (334/3–331/0) inv. (has also Βενδιδέων, Θησέων, cf. nos. 8, 21 infra), alongside Ἀσκληπιέων *ib.* 78, 109, 133, Ὀλυμπιέων *ib.* 82, 113. Many attestations of festivals in -εια, cf. e.g. Indices to IG II, pp. 80–81; to IG II.5, p. 334; to IG III, p. 315. For later treatment of these festivals, cf. 9.032, no. 9, p. 206 supra.

5) βαλανέων: βαλανέων Π² 2495.8 (334/3 aut paulo post) loc.; for βαλανείων, cf. P² 94.37 (418/7) decree; Π² 1635.143 (post 374/3) inv.

6) Βαμβίδειον: Βαμβιδέω Π² 1582.57 (probably 342/1, cf. *Hesperia* 19 [1950] p. 243) inv. (has also Λαύρεον, cf. no. 28 infra); for Βαμβίδειον, cf. *Hesperia* 19, p. 206, no. 2, line 13 (post 367/6); p. 210, no. 5, line 89 (ca. 350) inventories.

7) βατραχεῶς: βατραχεῶν Π² 1524.187 (post 334/3) inv. (has ἀνδρεός, ἰέρεια, Μενεκράτεια, cf. nos. 2 supra, 23 infra; f) infra), but βατραχειῶν *ib.* 152, 220; βατραχειου- also in Π² 1523.24 (350–336).

8) Βενδιδέα: Βενδιδέων Π² 1496.86, 117 (334/3–331/0) inv. (has Ἀσκληπίεια, Θησῆα, cf. nos. 4 supra; 21 infra).

9) Βρυλλεανός: Βρυλλεανοί P² 213.18 (= *ATL* 2, no. 23) (432/1) trib. list; [Βρυλ]λειανοί in P² 63.141 (= *ATL* 2, no. A9, col. 3.77) (425/4) trib. list appended at end of a decree, cf. Β[ρ]ύλλειον *ib.* 129 (= col. 3.112).

10) γεγονεῖα: γεγονεῶν II² 1328.17 (183/2) decree (orgeones), has ἰέρεια, ἱερείων; for γεγονεῖα, cf. II² 1224.b7 (ca. 166) decree (cleruchs); II² 1006.27 (122/1), II² 1028.92 (101/100, cf. SEG 24.188) decrees.

11) γοργόνεον: γοργόνεον II² 1425.79 (368/7) inv. (has γραμματεῶν(?), κολεόν, λυχνέον, ὀλκῆα, cf. nos. 12, 25, 29, 34 infra), alongside γοργόνειον *ib.* 251, etc.; γοργονέου II² 1457.12 (post 339/8) inv.; for γοργόνειον, cf. also II² 1491.20 (307/6) inv.; etc.

12) γραμματεῶν: γραμματεῶν II² 1533.87, 117 (post 338/7) inv. (has also δορκάδαιοι, cf. no. 15 infra); γ[ρ]αμματ[εῶν] (stoch.) II² 1425.203 (368/7) inv. (has also γοργόνεον, κολεόν, λυχνέον, ὀλκῆα, cf. nos. 11 supra; 25, 29, 34 infra); for γραμματεῖον, γραμματεῖα, cf. II² 1237.20, 98 (396/5) decree (phratry).

13) γυναικῆα: ἐκ γυναικῶν II² 1365.20, II² 1366.5 (s. Ip.) two copies of regulations for the cult of Menes Tyrannos set up by Xanthus of Lycia (χοιρέων in II² 1365.11, cf. no. 46 infra).

14) Δαιδάλεον: Δαιδάλεον *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p. 14, no. 1, lines 21–22 (367/6) inv., Δαιδάλειον *ib.* 11, 12.

15) δορκάδεος: δορκάδαιοι II² 1533.23 (post 338/7) inv. (has γραμματεῶν, cf. no. 12 supra).

16) ἐπιμέλεια: ἐπιμέλειας II² 483.24 (304/3) decree; ἐπιμέλεια very frequent; for ἐπιμέλεια, cf. 9.031, no. 3, p. 203 supra.

17) ἡμεκτεῶν: ἡμεκτεῶν II² 1184.8, 9 (= Sokolowski, *Supplément* p. 208, no. 124; SEG 21.518) (post 334/3) decree (deme) (has ἰέρεια), alongside ἡμεκτεῖον *ib.* 6, 7; cf. ἡμεκτεῖα in II² 1672.89, 265, 266, 268, etc. (329/8) inv. Distinguish ἡμεκτεῶν, e.g. *Hesperia* 17 (1948) pp. 86 ff., Block 2, Face A.c4–5 (= I² 839.4–5; LSAG p. 78, no. 44) (500–480) sacred law: ἡμεκτεῶν; cf. *ib.* Face B.h1 (= I² 838.1): ἡμεκτεῶν I² 76.7 (435–414, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 222) decree; ἡμεκτεῶν II² 1356.7, 17, 21 (paulo post 403/2) sacred law (cf. nos. 23, 42 infra).

[ἡμ]εκτον is attested on a text from Gytheon of Roman times, cf. note to IG II² 2886; Wilhelm, *Neue Beiträge* 4, p. 41.

18) ἡμίσεα: ἡμίσεαν II² 2497.13 (post 350), II² 2492.15–16 (346/5), II² 2498.13–14, 14, 18–19, 21–22 (321/0) (has Θησεῖον), II² 2499.21 (306/5) locationes; ἡμίσεαν *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p. 282, no. 55, line 19 (= Sokolowski, *Supplément* p. 54, no. 20; SEG 21.530) (init. s. IIIa.) decree (orgeones) (has τέλεος, cf. no. 42 infra); cf. perhaps ἡμ[ί]σεα[v] I² 6.35–36 (ante 460) decree, alongside ἡμ[ί]σειαν *ib.* 24; for ἡμίσειαν, cf. e.g. *Hesperia* 7 (1938) pp. 1 ff., no. 1, line 60 (363/2) decree (genos) (cf. no. 19 infra); II² 1241.22, 26, 27 (300/299) decree (phratry); etc.

19) Ἡράκλειον: τὸ Ἡρακλέου *Hesperia* 7 (1938) pp. 1 ff., no. 1, lines 10–11 (363/2) decree (genos) (cf. no. 18 supra), Ἡρακλείω *ib.* 16; ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλείω II² 1247.15, II² 1248.8 (ca. 250) decrees (mesogeioi) (II² 1247 has μεσόγειοι, cf. no. 31 infra). For Ἡράκλεια (feminine personal name and toponym), cf. *ib.* infra. Cf. ἡεράκλειον in I² 129.4 (ante 415?) decree, τῷδε ἡερακ[λ]ειο- in *ib.* 5; ἡεράκ[λ]ειον *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p. 268, no. 6, line 103 (= I² 325.17) (ca. 414) inv.; τὸ Ἡράκλειον II² 1358.19 (375–350) sacred calendar; *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p. 254, no. 18, line 12 (ca. 341/0) inv.

20) θήλεια: θήλ[ε]α(?) II² 1358.27 (375–350) sacred calendar; θήλεια IG III.3, no. 102.a 13 (400–350) defixio; θέλεια AM 66 (1941) pp. 171 ff., no. 1, lines A 31, B 23, B 27 (= SEG 10.38; 21.27) (ca. 445) sacred calendar (has τέλεος, ἰέρεια, cf. nos. 23, 42 infra); θηλ[ε]ιών II² 1361.7 (post 350) sacred law (orgeones) (has ἰέρεια, τέλεος, cf. nos. 23, 42 infra).

21) Θησᾶ: Θησῶν II² 1496.134, 143 (334/3–331/0) inv. (has Ἀσκληπίε(ι)α, Ὀλυμπία, Βενδύδα, cf. nos. 4, 8 supra); for Θησεῖα, cf. Indices to IG II, p. 81; to IG II.5, p. 334; to IG III, p. 315.

22) Θησῶν: Θησῶν II² 1672.10, 68, 167, 192 (329/8) inv. (has προτανέας, ταυρέαν, cf. nos. 36, 41 infra), alongside Θησεῖον ib. 66, 123, 237; Θησεῖο- cf. e.g. II² 2498.3, 10, 15–16 (321/0) loc. (has ἡμῶσαν, cf. no. 18 supra); etc.

23) ἱέρεια, ἱέρεια: ἱέρεια is well attested in the fifth century: ἡερέαι *Hesperia* 17 (1948) pp. 86 ff., Block 2, Face A.a 6 (= LSAG p. 78, no. 44) (500–480) sacred law; τὰς] ἡερέαις I² 4.13 (485/4) decree; ἡερέαν I² 24.5, 11 (ca. 448, cf. SEG 21.20) decree; ἡερέαι I² 25.5 (424/3, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 204, no. 71) decree (L.); ἡερέαι I² 843.a 3 (= Sokolowski, *Supplément* p. 26, no. 9; SEG 21.94) (410–405) sacred calendar; ἡερέαι I² 81.10 (421/0) decree; ἡερέαις I² 387.36 (ca. 406, cf. SEG 15.19) inv.; ἡερέαι *Hesperia* 4 (1935) pp. 19 ff., no. 2, line 75 (paulo post 403/2) sacred law, ἡερέαι on the related fr., II² 1357.b 1, fr. 555.a 3 (= Sokolowski, *Lois* ² p. 33, no. 17, lines A 4, C 1).

ἱέρεια is much rarer: ἡερέαι AM 66 (1941) pp. 171 ff., no. 1, lines A 33, B 5 (= SEG 10.38; 21.27) (ca. 445) sacred calendar (has θήλεια, τέλεος, cf. no. 20 supra, no. 42 infra); ἡερέαι, ἡερέαις I² 190.27, 30 (ca. 420) sacred law; ἡερέαι II² 1356.10, 12, 20, 24 (paulo post 403/2) sacred law (cf. nos. 17 supra, 42 infra).

The frequency of ἡερέαι in the earlier period lends support to the view that it is the original form as suggested by W. Schulze, from ἡερεῖα, cf. *Quaestiones epicae* p. 489; ἡερέαι would be a later development due to analogy.

In the fourth and third centuries ἡερέαι is still found: ἡερέαι *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p. 79, no. 25 (ante 350) ded.; ἡερέαι, ἡερέας BCH 87 (1963) pp. 603 ff., lines B 38, A 50, E 7–8, Δ 39 (= SEG 21.541; Sokolowski, *Lois* ² p. 36, no. 18) (375–350?) sacred calendar, alongside ἡερέαι ib. A 21–22; ἡερέαι II² 4560 (400–350) ded. (priv.); ἡερέαι II² 1361.4, 7 (post 350) sacred law (orgeones) (has θηλειών, τέλεος, cf. nos. 20 supra, 42 infra); ἡερέαι, ἡερέας II² 1524.45, 112 (post 334/3) inv. (has ἀνδρῶς, βατραχοῦν, Μενεκράτεια, cf. nos. 2, 7 supra; f) infra); ἡερέαι II² 1456.31 (post 341/0) inv., alongside ἡερέαι ib. 23, ἡερέαι II² 3459.1 (init. s. III a.) ded.

But ἡερέαι is certainly the normal spelling after ca. 350 B.C., cf. Indices to IG II, p. 79; to IG II.5, p. 333; to IG III, p. 314. For the retention of ει, cf. spellings like ἡερέαι (cf. 9.031 supra) and ἡερέαι (cf. 9.032 supra).

After ca. 250 B.C. ἡερέαι is very rare: τὰς ἡερέας II² 1328.33 (175/4) decree (orgeones), alongside ἡερέας, ἡερέαις, ἡερέαι in ib. 23, 28, 29, 34, 41; τῆς ἡερέας II² 1346.21 (init. s. I p.) decree (hierateuousai), alongside ἡερέαν in ib. 5; ἡερέαι II² 4868 (aet. Rom.) ded. (seen only by Fourmont).

24) ἡερέαι: ἡερέαι(?), cf. I² 10.6 (453/2, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 89, no. 40) decree.

25) κολεόν: κολεόν II² 1388.47 (398/7) inv.; κολε[ό]ν (stoich.) II² 1400.22 (390/89) inv.; κολεόν II² 1425.195 (368/7) inv. (has γοργόνεον, γραμματεῖον, λυχνεῖον, ὀλκῆα, cf. nos. 11, 12 supra; 29, 34 infra), alongside κολεῖον ib. 76; for κολεῖον, cf. e.g. II² 1382.16 (405/4, cf. SEG 10.201), II² 1481.A 6 (fin. s. IV a.?) inventories.

26) Κόπρεος: Κόπρεος II² 1629.48 (325/4) inv., alongside Κόπρειος in ib. 6, 28.

27) κόρεον: κόρεον II² 1237.28 (396/5) decree (phratry), alongside κορεῖον in ib. 6, τὰ κόρεια ib. 61.

28) Λαύρεον: ἀ[πὸ Λαυρ]έου *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p. 244, no. 16 (p. 247), lines 53, 54 (= II² 1582.5, 6) (probably 342/1) inv., Λαύρεον in II² 1582.54, 67, Λαυρέω ib. 52, 63, 64, 78; but

normally Λαύρει- in inventories of this type, cf. Λαυρείω *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p.14, no.1, lines 42–43, 52–53, 61 (= *Hesperia* 19 [1950] p.206, no.1) (367/6); Λαύρειον *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p.209, no.4, line 27 (ante 350); p.210, no.5, lines 50–51 (ca. 350); p.219, no.6, line 6 (ante 350); p.263, no.20, line 41 (338/7?); p.277, no.29, line 5 (330–320); Λαύρε[ιο]ν (stoich.) *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p.275, no.28, line 12 (post ca. 340); Λαυρείον *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p.240, no.15, line 75 (350–340). Cf. no.30 infra. Π² 1582 also has Βαμβιδέω (cf. no.6 supra), but Σημάχειον *ib.* 54.

29) λυχνῆον: λυχνῆον Π² 1425.369 (368/7) inv. (has γοργόνεον, γραμματέον, κολεόν, ὀλκῆα, cf. nos. 11, 12, 25 supra; 34 infra), alongside λυχνεῖο *ib.* 368, λυχνεῖα *ib.* 370, λυχνεῖον *ib.* 413; cf. also λυχνεῖα, Π² 1640.30 (354/3) inv.

30) Μαρώνεα: Μαρωνεῖα *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p.14, no.1, line 59 (367/6) inv., but Λαύρειον (cf. no.28 supra); for Μαρωνεῖα, cf. *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p.235, no.14, line 19 (ca. 350–340); p.260, no.19, line 18 (339/8?) inventories.

31) μεσόγειοι: μεσογέων Π² 1247.5 (ca. 250) decree (mesogeioi) (has Ἡρακλέω, cf. no.19 supra), μεσόγειοι *ib.* 15, but μεσογείοις *ib.* 10; cf. μεσογείων, μεσογείοις Π² 1244.1, 7, 8 (fin. s. IV a.), Π² 1245.2, 10, 11 (249/8) decrees (mesogeioi); μεσογείω Π² 2776.66–67, 204 (aet. Trajani, cf. *Hesperia* 41 [1972] p.476) financial doc. Cf. also τῶν με[σ]ογαίων in the inv., Π² 1485.31 (307/6).

32) νῆα: νῆων Π² 1628.526 (326/5) inv. (has τοπέα, cf. no.44 infra), νεῖα *ib.* 523; cf. also νεῖα, νείων Π² 1610.27 (ca. 370), Π² 1627.353, 356 (330/29), Π² 1629.1000, 1003 (325/4), Π² 1631.231, 233 (323/2) inventories (cf. 23.011i, p.372 infra).

33) Νέμεα (festival name): τὰ Ν[έμ]εα Π² 365.a8 (323/2) decree; Νέμεα Π² 3149.a (in add.) .6 (ca. 100) ded.; Νέμεα Π² 3163.10 (post aet. Hadriani) ded.; Νέμεα Π² 3154 (date?) ded. (seen only by Pittakes); probably also Νέμ[ε]α, rather than Νέμ[ει]α, in Π² 3123 (for the corrected reading, cf. DAA p.205, no.174, where a date of ca. 450 is assigned) ded. For Νέμεα, cf. Π² 606.6 (= DAA p.181, no.164) (ca. 450) ded.; Π² 3162.14 (post 131/2p.) ded.; *Deltion* 25 (1970) p.85, no.2, line 7 (post 131/2p.) ded.; Π² 3169/70.11 (253–257p.) ded.; *Hesperia* 17 (1948) p.43, no.35, b (aet. Rom.) ded.

There is no iota in the toponym: cf. Π² 829 (s. Va., probably after ca. 445) ded. (priv.), with Νεμέαι twice; Νεμέαι Π² 3122 (init. s. IV a.) ded.; Νεμέας Π² 1134.88 (117/6) decree (amphiktyons, this section in Koine); Νεμέαι is restored twice in Π² 77.12, 17 (ca. 435, cf. SEG 21.31) decree (stoich.); cf. Νεμέη in two metrical dedications of Roman times, Π² 3158.3 (s. Ip.), Π² 3769.16 (post 243/4p., cf. SEG 23.113).

Νεμεάς, Νεμεάδος also has no iota: Νεμεάς Π² 3128 (ca. 350) ded.; Νεμεάς (ship's name), cf. Νεμεάδα Π² 1611.84, 265 (357/6) inv.; Π² 1612.37 (356/5) inv., Νεμεάς *ib.* 167; [Ν]εμεάς Π² 1615.105 + Νεμεάς Π² 1616.131 (for Π² 1615 + Π² 1616, etc., cf. SEG 24.160) (post 358/7); Νεμεάς Π² 1623.245 (333/2) inv.; Νεμεάς Π² 8417 (post 350) sep. mon. (name of a Boeotian woman). Νεμειάς (woman's name) in the cat., Π² 2354.5 (fin. s. III a.), might be an example of EI for ε/—V (cf. 7.03, no.1i, p.152 supra).

34) ὀλκῆον: ὀλκῆα Π² 1425.346 (368/7) inv. (has γοργόνεον, γραμματέον, κολεόν, λυχνῆον, cf. nos. 11, 12, 25, 29 supra), but ὀλκεία (bis) *ib.* 352; cf. ὀλκεία Π² 1640.18 (354/3) inv.; etc.

35) ὀμηρέα: τ[έ]ς ὀμηρέας Π² 116.34 (409/8 aut ca. 407, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.267, no.87) decree.

36) πρυτανέα: πρυτανεῖα (nom. pl.) Π² 415.15 (ca. 330/29) decree, but πρυτανείας *ib.* 8; πρυτανείας Π² 373.17 (322/1) decree, πρυτανείας *ib.* 19; προτ[αν]είας Π² 1672.11–12 (329/8)

inv. (has Θησέου, ταυρέαν, cf. nos. 22 supra, 41 infra), but προτανει- *ib.* 8, 101, 114, 142; πρυτανει- *ib.* 37, 44, 137 (L.); πρυτανεία is very frequent, cf. Indices to IG I², p. 369; to IG II, p. 70; to IG II.5, p. 329; etc.; cf. also πρυτανήα, 9.031, nos. 8, 11; πρυτανήια, 9.031, no. 12 (p. 204 supra).

37) πρυτανέον: πρυτανέον II² 1.37, 51, 63 (403/2) decree, has πρεσβεία, πορεία, δωρεά (cf. d) supra); πρυτανέιον is very frequent, cf. Indices to IG I², p. 369; to IG II, p. 92; to IG II.5, p. 348; etc.

38) σημείον: σημείο II² 1657.2 (part of II² 1656–II² 1664, building inv. dated ca. 394–391, cf. SEG 19.136–144) (cf. 16.01, no. 13, p. 301 supra).

39) στελεός: στελεοί II² 1673.26 (333/2? cf. AE 1971 p. 112) inv. (has Τιβέου, cf. no. 43 infra), alongside στελειούς *ib.* 55.

40) στυππείον: [στυπ]πείον II² 1629.1150–1151 (325/4) inv.; στυππείον II² 1631.336 (323/2) inv.; στυππειοπλόκος AE 1971, pp. 83ff., no. 4, lines 14, 41 (= II² 1673.41) (333/2? cf. AE 1971 p. 112) inv.; στυππειοπώλης II² 1570.24 (ca. 330–320) inv.; cf. II² 1572.8 (ca. 330–320) inv.

41) ταυρέα: ταυρέαν II² 1672.161 (329/8) inv. (has Θησέου, προτανέας, cf. nos. 22, 36 supra).

42) τέλεος, τέλειος: τέλεος is the only spelling found in the fifth and fourth centuries: τέλεον I² 842.A7, C8–9 (ante 446/5) sacred calendar; τέλεον AM 66 (1941) pp. 171ff., no. 1, line B 18 (= SEG 10.38; 21.27) (ca. 445) sacred calendar, has θέλεια, ηιέρεια (cf. nos. 20, 23 supra); τέλεον I² 76.39 (435–414, cf. Meiggs–Lewis p. 222) decree; τέλεον, τελέαν *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p. 293, no. 1, lines B7, B9 (400–350) sacred calendar; τέλεον ZPE 25 (1977) p. 243, lines 11, 24, 26, 27, etc. (post 403/2) sacred calendar; τελέο II² 1356.6, 12–13 (paulo post 403/2) sacred law; has ιέρεια (cf. nos. 17, 23 supra); τελέου II² 1361.5 (post 350) sacred law (orgeones), has θήλεια, ιέρεια (cf. nos. 20, 23 supra); τελέωι II² 226.47 (bis) (ca. 343/2) decree; τέλεον *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p. 282, no. 55, lines 15, 16 (= Sokolowski, *Supplément* p. 54, no. 20; SEG 21.530) (init. s. IIIa.) decree (orgeones), has ιερειών, ημίσεαν (cf. no. 18 supra).

τέλειος is not found before the Hellenistic Period, but was probably normal thereafter. The examples occur in a group of catalogs of the same date and type: τελείωι, τελείαι II² 2313.55, 57, 61 (194/3 et 190/89); II² 2314.51, 53, 55 (182/1 et 178/7); II² 2316.47, 51, probably 52 (ca. 166/5); II² 2317.46 (162/1 et 158/7). Cf. --]τελειο[-- II² 2291a.19 (190–200p.) oration of ephebes.

A late example of τέλεος may be due to metrical necessity, cf. τελέαις AM 67 (1942) p. 31, no. 30 (aet. Rom.) cat. (has also ἐπόησεν) (cf. 10.04 b, p. 213 supra).

The Attic form was clearly τέλεος, later replaced by τέλειος, probably due to analogy with other adjectives in -ειος, -εια, -ειον.

43) Τιβέος: Τιβέου II² 1673.21 (333/2? cf. AE 1971, p. 112) inv. (has στελεοί, cf. no. 39 supra); cf. Τιβείου (the same man) II² 1672.69, 109–110 (329/8) inv. (has Θησέου, προτανέας, ταυρέαν, cf. nos. 22, 36, 41 supra); Τιβέιος II² 2937 (s. IV a.) ded.; II² 10450 (fin. s. Va.) sep. mon.; etc.

44) τοπέον: τοπέα II² 1627.69, 72, 78, 83, 148 (330/29) inv., but τοπεία *ib.* 75, 160, 443, 466; II² 1628.605 (326/5) inv. (has νέων, cf. no. 32 supra), τοπεία *ib.* 258, 260, 265, 333, 583; τοπέα II² 1629.379, 382, 384, 387 (325/4) inv., τοπεία *ib.* 1058; τοπεία, τοπειών, cf. e.g. II² 1621.9, 102 (348/7? cf. SEG 24.160); II² 1622.135, 136, 143, 178, 192, 288, 305 (ca. 342/1), II² 1626.37 (ca. 330), II² 1672.311 (329/8) inventories; etc.

45) Ὑπερβόρειοι: Ὑπερβορ[έ]ων Π² 1636.8 (ca. 350) inv. (stoich.).

46) χοίρεος: χοίρεων Π² 1365.11 (s. Ip.) regulations for the cult of Menes Tyrannos set up by Xanthus of Lycia (has γυναικέων, cf. no. 13 supra).

47) χρεά: χρεά Π² 1534B.182 (247/6, cf. SEG 16.118) inv., χρεία in *ib.* 167; χρεία is well attested in decrees, e.g. Π² 670.13 (282/1), Π² 673.10 (278/7), Π² 682.27–28 (post 256/5), Π² 717.3 (init. s. IIIa.), *Hesperia* 45 (1976) pp. 296ff., line 22 (204/3), Π² 844.7–8, 27 (181/0, cf. *TAPA* 95 [1964] p. 239).

Always -ε- in: ἐρεοῦς, cf. I² 386.18 (ca. 406, cf. SEG 10.219), Π² 1518.53 (post 341/0), Π² 1524.162 (post 334/3), Π² 1533.35 (post 338/7) inventories; cf. also ἀμπέχ[ι]νον ξ[ρε]δ[ι]ν in *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p. 240, no. 1, line 160 (ca. 414) inv.; κεραμεοῦς, e.g. Π² 463.51 (307/6) decree.

Always -ει- in γλανκειοῦς, cf. Π² 1518.52 (341/0), Π² 1523.18 (350–336) inventories.

f) Feminine names and toponyms in -ε(ι)α. In the period ca. 450–250 B.C. the occasional dropping of iota in names ending in -εια would be of the same type seen in Ἀσκληπίεα, τοπέα, χρεά, πρυτανέα, treated in the previous section (16.021e). Thus a defixio with both Εὐκλεα and Εὐκλεια (cf. no. 1) shows the same type of hesitation seen in texts with both τοπέα and τοπεῖα, πρυτανέα and πρυτανεῖα, etc. So also the ship named Ἀχιλλεῖα in three naval inventories is called Ἀχιλλέα in a fourth (cf. no. 6 infra), a text with both τοπεῖα and τοπέα (cf. e), no. 44 supra). In a group of later fourth-century inventories the same woman is called both Ἀριστοδάμεια and Ἀριστοδάμεια (cf. no. 5 infra), and she may well have been an Athenian. Also perhaps a native Athenian was Μενεκράτεια of another such text, in which occur also Ξενοκράτεια (cf. no. 3 infra) and ἀνδρεῶν, βατραχεοῦν, ἰερεα (cf. e) nos. 2, 7, 23). There are also some fourth-century sep. monuments of native Athenians in which these spellings occur.

After 200 B.C., however, there is an observable divergence in the behavior of these names and the words in e) supra. Whereas spellings in -ηα occur frequently enough in the early Roman Period when such spellings are common to indicate retention of -ει-, the spellings in -εα also persist, even into later Roman times. Most of these examples of -εα occur on sep. monuments; these often contain ethnics and are certainly those of non-Athenians, or contain only a name, which in most cases would indicate the monument of a slave, who would have been of non-Athenian origin. There are only a very few cases in which these late examples of -εα involve native Athenians: cf. Ἀγαθόκλεα in a list of names at the end of a decree of the end of the second century B.C., Π² 1036.42 (cf. no. 1 infra); also a Συνήθεα on a sep. mon. of the second century A.D., Π² 5871 (cf. no. 11 infra). On the other hand, the number of texts showing Athenians with the -ηα spellings is somewhat greater, cf. 9.031, nos. 25, 28, 49 and 50. Note also Ἀχαδήμεια (Attic toponym) in the financial document of the Trajanic Period, Π² 2776, but Ἀχαδήμεια attested as a female name on three sep. monuments of foreign persons (cf. no. 4 infra). It is likely that the names in -εα of the later period show a non-Attic development of -εια and that -εια was retained in Attic.

For Ἀγαθόκλεια, etc., cf. 9.032, pp.205 ff.; for Θαλία on vases, cf. 9.021, no.3, p.191 supra; -ηα for -εια, cf. 9.031, pp.202 ff. supra; for Νεάνδρε(ι)α, Λαμπόνεια, cf. a) supra; for Νεμέα, Νεμε(ι)άς, cf. e) supra, no.33; Μαρώνε(ι)α, *ib.* no.30.

Lit.: MS³ pp.41–42, notes 228, 230–233, 235, 244, 248–249, 252, 254.

1) -κλε(ι)α (feminine personal name)

Ἀγαθόκλεια Π² 1036.42 (cf. IG II.5, no.477 d) (108/7) decree (Athenian); Π² 8100 (s. Ia.), Π² 10548 (act. Rom.), Π² 10544 (date?) sep. monuments of non-Athenians. Ἀγαθόκλεια, cf. e.g. Π² 1034 d.12, 31 (not part of Π² 1034 abc) (s. Ia.?) cat. fr. (Athenians); Π² 8101 (post 317/6), Π² 10549 (s. II/III p.), Π² 10543, Π² 10545/6, Π² 10547 (act. Rom.?) sep. monuments of non-Athenians.

Ἀριστόκλεια Π² 10775 (365–340), Π² 8123 (s. Ia.), Π² 8532 (s. Ia.) sep. monuments of non-Athenians. Ἀριστόκλεια, cf. e.g. I² 1062 (s. Va.), Π² 10774 (390–365), Π² 6028 (340–317), Π² 10776 (act. Rom.) sep. monuments of non-Athenians; Π² 1534 A.72 (291/0, cf. SEG 16.118) inv. (Athenian?).

Διόκλεια Π² 9499 (s. Ia./s. Ip.) sep. mon. of a non-Athenian; IG III.3, no.8.2 (s. III a.?) defixio. Διόκλεια, cf. e.g. Π² 1534 B.245 (247/6, cf. SEG 16.118) inv. (Athenian?); Π² 8904 (fin. s. IIa.) sep. mon. of a non-Athenian.

Ἐ[τ]εόκλεια Π² 10815 (ca. 360–350) sep. mon. of a non-Athenian.

Εὐκλέα[ς] *Kerameikos* 3, p.91, no.3, line 13 (ca. 450? cf. Introduction, p.8) defixio, alongside Εὐκλειαν, Εὐκλείας *ib.* 8, 11, εὐκλεαν (abstract noun) Π² 12151 (400–350) sep. mon., where the metre demands εὐκλεαν; εὐκλεαν with the same scansion is also recorded for Π² 10780 (init. s. IV a.) sep. mon., known only from an old copy (has also ξη, cf. i) infra) (cf. 10.04 a, p.211 supra); Εὐκλεια Π² 11408 (ca. 350), *Deltion* 28 (1973) *Chronika* p.13, no.4 (= Π² 11407) (ca. 350) sep. monuments (these two texts part of the same monument? cf. *Deltion loc. cit.*) of non-Athenians; for Εὐκλεια, cf. e.g. Π² 1612.151 (356/5) inv. (ship's name); Π² 11406, Π² 11408 a (in text) (ca. 350), Π² 11414 (s. IV a.); Π² 13113 (s. IV a.?) (abstract noun) sep. monuments of non-Athenians; Π² 7195 (post 350) (abstract noun), Π² 5452 (fin. s. IV a./init. s. III a.) (abstract noun) both sep. monuments of Athenians; Π² 1534 B.239 (247/6, cf. SEG 16.118) inv. (Athenian?); Π² 11409, Π² 11415 (s. IV/III a.), Π² 11410 (s. III a.), Π² 11412 (s. II/Ia.), Π² 11413 (s. II/Ia.), Π² 11411 (s. Ia.) sep. monuments of non-Athenians; Π² 3528.6 (init. s. Ip.) ded. (L.) (Athenian).

Ἡράκλεια Π² 8019 (act. Rom.), Π² 10200 (act. Rom.), Π² 11595 (act. Rom.) sep. monuments of non-Athenians; Ἡράκλεια, cf. e.g. Π² 7822 (post 317/6, cf. p.334 infra) sep. mon. of an Athenian; Π² 8677 (date?) sep. mon. of a non-Athenian; Π² 5910 a (in add.) (s. II/Ia.) sep. mon. of an Athenian.

Θεόκλεια Π² 2357.35 (init. s. II a.) cat. (Athenian?); Π² 12668 (s. II p.) sep. mon. of a non-Athenian; Θεόκλεια, cf. Π² 1034 d.11 (not part of 1034 abc) (s. Ia.?) cat. fr. (Athenian).

Ἰερόκλεια Π² 7837 (ca. 350) sep. mon. probably of an Athenian; Ἰερόκλεια, cf. e.g. Π² 2334.13 (ca. 150) cat. (Athenian); Π² 1036.41 (108/7) decree (Athenian); Π² 6328 (ante 350), Π² 7711 (= GVI 1, p.414, no.1386) (390–365), Π² 5614 (ca. 350) sep. monuments of Athenians.

Μνηρούκλεια Π² 12803 a (in text) (s. IV a.) sep. mon. of a non-Athenian.

Ξενόκλεια Π² 1544.15 (333/2) inv. (an Athenian?); for Ξενόκλεια, cf. Π² 12335.1, 2, 6 (ca. 360) sep. mon. of a non-Athenian; in lines 2, 6 metre demands — — —.

Παντάκλεια Π² 12404 (ante 350) sep. mon. of a non-Athenian.

Πατρόκλεια Π² 1083 (s. Va.?), Π² 5346 (paulo ante 317/6) sep. monuments of Athenians; Π² 12429 (s. IV a.), *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p. 217, no. 71 (post 350) sep. monuments of non-Athenians; for Πατρόκλεια, cf. e.g. Π² 6049 (post 350) sep. mon. of an Athenian; Π² 1534 B.248 (247/6, cf. SEG 16.118) inv.; Π² 2671 (s. IV aut s. III a.?) horos (mortgage), an Athenian.

Πολυκλέας IG III.3, no. 102.b 19 (400–350) defixio.

Στρατόκλεια Π² 12658 a (in text) (post 350) sep. mon. of a non-Athenian; for Στρατόκλεια, cf. Π² 3497.9 (s. Ia.) ded. (L.); Π² 4036.3 (fin. s. Ia./init. s. Ip.) ded., Π² 3554.5 (s. Ip.) (all Athenians).

Σωσίκλεια Π² 9076 (s. Ia.) sep. mon. of a non-Athenian.

---κλεια Π² 10736 (fin. s. Ia./init. s. Ip.) sep. mon.

Cf. Φυλόκληα, Ἡράκληα, Ἀγαθόκληα, Ἀριστόκληα (cf. 9.031, nos. 35, 44, 47, 50). For Ἀγαθόκληα, cf. 9.032, no. 10, p. 207 supra.

2) Ἡράκλε(ι)α (toponym)

ἐξ Ἡρακλέας Π² 8696 (init. s. III a.) sep. mon.

For Ἡράκλεια, cf. Π² 360.38 (325/4) decree, Ἡρακλεώτης in *ib.* 35; ἐξ Ἡρακλείας Π² 8768 (post 300) sep. mon. of a native of Herakleia, the wife of an Athenian.

For Ἡρακλε(ι)ώτης, etc., cf. b) supra.

3) -κράτε(ι)α (feminine personal name)

Δημοκράτεια Π² 11119 (post 350) sep. mon. of a non-Athenian; for Δημοκράτεια, cf. Π² 11117 (ca. 350), Π² 11118 (s. IV a.) sep. monuments of non-Athenians. Distinguish Δημοκρατία, a ship's name (cf. Indices to IG II, p. 84).

Κλειοκράτεια Π² 6124 (init. s. IV a.) sep. mon. of an Athenian; cf. Κλειοκρατῆρας in 9.031, no. 25, p. 204 supra.

Ξενοκράτεια Π² 5911 a (in add. nova) (init. s. IV a.) sep. mon. of an Athenian; Π² 1524.209–210 (post 334/3) inv., has ἀνδρῶν, βατραχεῶν, λέρεα (cf. e), nos. 2, 7, 23 supra; Π² 12250 (ca. 350) sep. mon., = (?) Ξενοκράτεια of Π² 6958 (ca. 340) sep. mon. (Athenian); Ξενοκράτεια also in Π² 1469.162 (post 320/19) inv. (Athenian?).

Μενεκράτεια Π² 1524.183, 184 (post 334/3) inv., cf. Ξενοκράτεια supra; for Μενεκράτεια, cf. e.g. Π² 12086 (390–365), Π² 12085 (s. II/Ia.), Π² 10287 (s. Ip.), Π² 12084 (date?) sep. monuments of non-Athenians; Π² 4596.2 (post 350) ded. (priv.), an Athenian. Cf. Μενεκράτεια, 9.031, no. 58.

Φυλοκράτεια Π² 3655.4, cf. 2 (s. Ip.) ded. (L.) an Athenian.

4) Ἀκαδήμεια Π² 10617 (s. II/Ia.) sep. mon.; Ἀκαδήμεια Π² 8558 (s. Ia.) sep. mon. (L.); *Deltion* 21 (1966) *Chronika* p. 107, no. 3 (text needs correction, cf. *Deltion* 23 [1968] p. 296, no. 2; SEG 25.274) (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.; probably also in another sep. mon., Π² 10616 (s. I/IIp.), where an upright stroke in between the final E and A is probably not a letter but a stray mark (L.).

Always -δήμεια in the Attic toponym, cf. 6.015, p. 128 supra, for examples; cf.]δημείης Π² 12764 (ca. 167/6) sep. mon.

5) Ἀριστοδάμεια Π² 1514.24 (post 344/3) inv. (probably Athenian); for Ἀριστοδάμεια, cf. Π² 1516.3–4 (post 344/3), Π² 1515.16 (post 345/4) inventories.

Εὐδάμεια Π² 10034 (s. IIa.) sep. mon. of a non-Athenian.

6) Ἀχιλλεία (name of a ship) Π² 1629.781 (325/4) inv.; for Ἀχιλλεία, cf. Π² 1611.311 (357/6), Π² 1617.148 (post 358/7), Π² 1631.139, 166 (323/2) all naval inventories.

7) Εὐγένεια Π² 10501 (s. II/a.) sep. mon. of a non-Athenian; for Εὐγένεια, cf. Π² 10117 (s. II/a.), Π² 11372 (s. II/a.) sep. monuments of non-Athenians; Π² 6784 (s. I p.) sep. mon. of an Athenian. Note Εὐγένηα Π² 11373 (date?) sep. mon. of a non-Athenian (= 9.031, no. 63), Εἰσιγένηα Π² 10371 (s. II/a.) sep. mon. of a non-Athenian (= 9.031, no. 31) (L.), Διογένηα Π² 5660 (s. I p.) sep. mon. of an Athenian (= 9.031, no. 45).

8) Ἡδέα Π² 11570 (365–340), Π² 11571 (ca. 350) sep. monuments of non-Athenians; BCH 82 (1958) p. 366, fig. 4 (= SEG 17.87) (fin. s. IV a.) ded. (priv.); Π² 11572 (s. III/II a.): HAEA; Π² 10192 (aet. Augusti), Π² 8197 (aet. Rom.) sep. monuments of non-Athenians.

For Ἡδεῖα, cf. e.g. Π² 6173 (ante 350) sep. mon. of an Athenian; Π² 11573 (365–340), Π² 9117 (post fin. s. IV a.) sep. monuments of non-Athenians; Π² 4422 (s. IV a.) ded. (priv.), non-Athenian(?); Π² 1534A.41 (291/0, cf. SEG 16.118), Π² 1534B.201, 262, 265, 287 (247/6, cf. SEG 16.118) inventories (Athenians?); Π² 7049 (s. III a.), Π² 6080, Π² 6084 (both fin. s. III a.), Π² 5616 (ca. 200?) sep. monuments of Athenians; Π² 8427 (s. II a.) sep. mon. of a non-Athenian; Π² 5802 (s. I p.) sep. mon. of an Athenian; etc.

For Ἡδῆα, cf. 9.031, nos. 39 and 52.

9) Θάλεια *Neon Athenaion* 1 (1955) p. 189, no. 13 (= SEG 15.157) (s. I a./s. I p.), Π² 11616, Π² 11617 (both aet. Rom.) sep. monuments of non-Athenians.

For Θάλεια, cf. e.g. Π² 3149.1 (fin. s. II a.) ded. (an Athenian); Π² 8680 (s. II a.), Π² 8679 (aet. Rom.) sep. monuments of non-Athenians; Π² 2776.103 (aet. Trajani, cf. *Hesperia* 41 [1972] p. 476) financial doc. (Athenian?); etc. Θαλία, Θαλεια occur on vases, cf. 9.021, no. 3, p. 191 *supra*.

10) Πέλεα Π² 9970 (s. III a.) sep. mon. of a non-Athenian.

11) Συνήθεια Π² 9027 (s. II a.) sep. mon. of a non-Athenian; Π² 5871 (s. II p.) sep. mon. of an Athenian. For Συνήθηα, cf. 9.031, no. 41, p. 205 *supra*.

Cf. Μήδεα on a rf. vase of the end of the fifth century B.C., ARV² p. 1313, Meidias painter no. 5 (= CVA, England 8, plate 91.1 a–d), has Ὑγία. But Μῆδεια, Θάλεια, etc. are also attested in these texts, cf. Θάλεια examples p. 191 *supra*; Ὑγία ARV² p. 1316 iiiia (= HRF 2 p. 187, no. 23); etc.; cf. Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* pp. 130 ff.

There is no ι in Attic names in -λέα (cf. -λεως) like Ἀριστολέα Π² 5783 (340–317); cf. also Peek, AG 2, p. 17, no. 33 (date?) sep. monuments; Κριτολέα Π² 7400 (post 350) sep. mon.; Νικολέα Π² 1514.22 (post 344/3), Π² 1515.14 (post 345/4) inventories; Πασυλέα Π² 5831 (ca. 350) sep. mon., Π² 1517.80 (353/2–341/0) inv.; etc. Cf. Ἀναχουλέα on a bf. vase fr., Πενθεουλέα on vases, cf. Kretschmer, *loc. cit.*

g) πλείω, πλε(ι)ονος, πλε(ι)ον, etc. Before ω and ου the iota is never omitted:

πλείω, e.g. Π² 76.7 (435–414, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 222) decree; Π² 2498.21 (321/0) loc.; *Hesperia* 9 (1940) p. 66, no. 9, line 108 (= Π² 463.108 + new fr.) (307/6) decree; Π² 701.4 (post 272) decree; Π² 1323.8, 13 (197/6) decree (thiasotai); Π² 1325.20 (185/4) decree (dionysistai); Π² 1328.5 (183/2) decree (orgeones); Π² 1327.5 (178/7) decree (orgeones).

πλείων: Π² 2498.22 (321/0) loc.; Π² 1078.15; Π² 1079.10 (ca. 220 p.) decrees.

πλείους: Π² 657.25–26 (283/2) decree; Π² 1165.5 (300–250) decree (tribe); Π² 891.8 (188/7), Π² 844.6 (181/0, cf. TAPA 95 [1964] p. 239) (L.) decrees.

Either -ε- or -ει- may occur in *πλε(ι)ονα* and all the oblique cases; the spellings without iota are found in the fifth and fourth centuries. The spellings with iota occur first in a fourth-century horos which mentions the uncle of the orator Demosthenes (cf. II² 2670 infra), but are usually later than 300 B. C.

πλέονα: II² 94.33 (418/7) decree.

πλέονος: II² 1631.359 (323/2) inv.; cf. *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p.244, no. 16, line f4 (p.253) (= part of II² 1582) (probably 342/1) inv.: *πλέον[ος]*.

πλέονων: II² 463.48 (307/6) decree.

πλέον(ν): II² 1183.17 (post 340) decree (deme); cf. I² 40.3–4 (ca. 446/5) decree: [π][λ]ε[ο]οσι (stoich.).

πλείονα: II² 968.54 (143/2), II² 1023.4 (fin. s. IIa.) decrees; cf. *JEIONA* (= *πλείονα*?) in *Hesperia* 21 (1952) pp.381ff., Fragment B (p.384), line 7 (= II² 1092 A.11) (ca. 165 p.) decree.

πλείονος: II² 2670.4 (mentions the uncle of Demosthenes) horos (mortgage); II² 1125.2 (act. Rom.) imp. doc.; cf. also *πλήονο[ς]*, II² 732.13 (cf. add. to IG II²) (229 aut paulo post, cf. 9.031, no. 1, p.203 supra) (L.); II² 1165.22–23 (300–250) decree (tribe) (L.).

πλείονες: II² 888.8 (194/3?) decree.

πλείονων: *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p.293, no.58, line 18 (152/1) (cf. *Hesperia* 29 [1960] p.417) decree (genos); II² 1332.9, 11, 13 (post 125/4) decree (technitai?); II² 1006.35, 81 (122/1) decree; II² 1099.38 (121 p.) imp. letter.

πλείοσιν: II² 1028.88 (101/100, cf. SEG 24.188) decree.

The neuter singular *πλέον* is always without iota until the later second century B. C.; *πλέον* is still found in Roman times.

πλέον: II² 1176.28 (ca. 350, cf. SEG 21.516) decree (deme); II² 463.55 (307/6) decree; *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p.282, no.55, line 17 (= Sokolowski, *Supplément* p.54, no.20; SEG 21.530) (init. s. IIIa.) decree (orgeones); II² 743.12 (init. s. IIIa.) decree; II² 1293.8 (ca. 250) decree (asklepiastai); II² 884.19 (ca. 200) decree; II² 1100.60 (ca. 124 p.) imp. edict; II² 2775.10 (s. III p.) testament; cf. *πλέον* in metrical texts, II² 13134.5 (s. I/II p.), II² 11120.8 (s. III p.) sep. monuments; II² 4841.1 (fin. s. IV p.) ded. (priv.). Perhaps *μή π[λ]έον[ος]* is the neuter singular in the inv., II² 1678.a A 58 (ca. 350, cf. SEG 13.49).

πλείον: II² 1227.16 (131/0) decree (Salamian cleruchs) (L.); II² 1013.65 (fin. s. IIa.) decree; II² 1099.24 (121 p.) imp. letter.

The Attic forms were probably *πλείω*, *πλείους*, but *πλέονος*, etc., and *πλέον*; *πλει-* then spread to the other forms, reaching the neuter *πλέον* last and never becoming completely established there. For the spread of *πλει-*, cf. *πλειονάκις* in *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p.227, no.26, line 9 (227/6, cf. SEG 21.532; 21.399) decree (thiasotai?), probably not a case of EI for ε/___V (cf. 7.03, no.2, p.153 and p.150 supra); for *πλεονάκις*, cf. e.g. II² 682.25 (post 256/5), II² 1028.22, 86 (101/100, cf. SEG 24.188), *Hesperia* 17 (1948) p.29, no.13, line 2 (74/3–63/2, not 64/3, cf. *Agora* 15, p.214, no.265) decrees; etc.

Lit.: MS³ pp.151–152, notes 1306, 1309–1310, 1310^a.

h) *Φλε(ι)άσιος*. The spelling without iota occurs once, in an agonistic ded. of 359/8, cf. *Delion* 25 (1970) p.146, no.5, line 4. *Φλειάσιος* occurs in a decree of

421/0 and in another of 362/1, Φλειήσιος in a fourth-century sep. mon. (for these examples cf. 6.0421 b, p. 135 supra).

i) ε(ι)η. The spelling ξη may occur twice, although neither example is certain. The ξη (scanned as two longs) in the sep. mon., Π² 10780 (init. s. IV a.), is known only from an early copy; εὐκλεάν is also recorded in it (cf. f) supra, no. 1; 10.04 a, p. 211 supra). EH may be for εῖη in line 4 of the defixio, IG III.3, no. 110 (400–375) (pointed out to me by D. Jordan) (not Attic?).

16.0211 -ευ- ~ -ει-. Occurrences are rare. Four examples of πετελείνος in two fifth-century inventories are matched by two occurrences in the big inv. of the epistatai at Eleusis of 329/8:

- 1) Π² 313.27, 133 (408/7) inv.;
- 2) Π² 388.7, 11 (s. V a.) inv. (fr.);
- 3) Π² 1672.307, 308 (329/8) inv. (L.).

Elsewhere in this last text occurs: πετελείνος *ib.* 151, 152, 154, 156, 168 (L.); ὀυμεία and ὀυμεία once each in *ib.* 307 (L.); μελείνος in *ib.* 307, 308, 309 (L.); μελίναι in *ib.* 155 (L.) is probably not due to omission of ε in μελείνος, as it is the expected spelling. μελείνος is from vowel assimilation or due to influence of πετελείνος (cf. 7.0111 d, p. 139 supra).

Lit.: MS³ p. 44, note 294; Lademann p. 118.

17.00 The diphthong *οι*

The diphthong *οι* was monophthongized to [y], but this was a late development in Attica, and there are no examples of confusion of *υ* and *οι* until the Roman Period: the earliest may well be as late as the later second century after Christ (cf. 17.04 infra). The diphthongs *οι* and *ωι* are only rarely confused (contrast *ει* and *ηι*): the handful of examples are chiefly of the later fourth century B.C. (cf. 17.03 infra). In pre-vocalic position *οι* is frequently written *Ο* before e-vowels in the fourth century and earlier Hellenistic Period, an indication of development of intervocalic *iota* to a glide vowel (cf. 17.02 infra).

Good evidence for the diphthongal character of *οι* may be seen in Κροεσος (= Κροῖσος), dipinto on a rf. vase, cf. ARV² p. 238, Myson no. 1 (= CVA, France 9, plate 35) (cf. Αεθρα, p. 268 supra).

17.01 *οι* ~ *ο*/___C

a) In Τρο(ι)ζήν, Τρο(ι)ζήνιος the earlier form was without the *iota*, which developed because of the following sibilant (in the obstruent cluster [zd]), cf. Schwyzler, GG 1, p. 276. Thus in texts from Troezen, Τροζαν- in earlier times, cf. IG IV.1, no. 748 (369/8); no. 755 (s. III a.); no. 752 (init. s. II a.); Τροιζην- later, cf. IG IV.1,

no. 796, no. 798 (both aet. Rom.). When the word first appears in Attic texts of the fourth century B. C., both *Τροζην-* and *Τροϊζην-* are found; the orthography without iota is considerably more frequent.

Τροζην-: II² 46.h5, k23, i27 (ca. 375, cf. *Hesperia* 26 [1957] pp. 227–228) decree; II² 1569.63 (ca. 330–320) inv.; II² 1673.57, 58 (333/2?, cf. *AE* 1971 p. 112) inv. (L.); II² 2796 (s. IV a.?) ded.; II² 1273.3 (289/8?) decree (*thiasotai*) (L.); II² 971.2, etc. (140/39) decree (L.); *IG* III.3, no. 55.a6–7 (325/4? cf. Wilhelm, *JOAI* 7 [1904] pp. 107ff.) defixio.

Τροϊζην-: Meiggs-Lewis p. 48, no. 23, line 8 (= *Hesperia* 31 [1962] p. 311) (inscribed s. III a.?) Themistocles decree; II² 10463 (s. II a.) sep. mon. (L.); II² 10462 (s. I a.) sep. mon.

b) A few additional instances of *OI* for *o/___C* can be assembled, apparently graphic mistakes:

- 1) *Ἀριστοίδεικη* II² 9119 (ca. 400) sep. mon.;
- 2) *συμφιλοτιμούμενοις* II² 1225.6 (ca. 250) decree (Salaminian cleruchs); the use of *-μενοις* for the nom. singular is a graphic mistake caused by the correctly used dative *ἀφικνουμένους* which precedes, cf. F. Maier in *GM* 1, p. 112, no. 24;
- 3) *Ἀπουλλώνιος* II² 7890 (s. II/I a.) sep. mon. (L.);
- 4) *ΟΡΟΙΣ* for *δρος* *Platon* 7 (1955) p. 262 (= *SEG* 15.132) (aet. Rom.) horos.

Doubtful:

- 5) *Ἀφοιβου* II² 9864 (date?) sep. mon., known only from Fourmont's copy;
- 6) *ΑΡΙΘΟΥ ΤΕΡΙΚΟΙΡΥΣΙΟΣ* (= *Τριχορύσιος*?) II² 7545 (date?) sep. mon., seen only by Fourmont.

The greatly improved text made by D. Jordan for the defixio, *Agora* inv. no. IL 493, eliminates the reading recorded as *συνειδοίτας* by G. W. Elderkin in *Hesperia* 6 (1937) p. 389, no. 3, line 22, and replaces it with a text without orthographical peculiarities at this point.

Very rare cases of *O* for *oi* are due to careless omission, e.g. *ΟΝΑΙΟΣ* (= *Οίναϊος*) II² 2822 (349/8) ded.; *ΜΟΡΑ* (= *μοῖρα*) II² 12872 (ca. 400) sep. mon.; *ΘΕΟΣ* (= *θεοῖς*) II² 10264 a (in text) (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.; *ΣΧΟΝΙΑ* (= *σχονία*) II² 1624.117 (336–330) inv.; *ΠΕΠΙ-ΠΟΚΙΑΛΟΝ* (= *περιποίκιον*) II² 1517.131 (353/2–341/0) inv., *ποικιλ-* in *ib.* 155 (cf. Kirchner's apparatus criticus to these lines); etc.

17.02 *oi* ~ *o/___V*

17.021 *O* for *oi/___V*

In certain cases intervocalic iota has been deleted after *o* before *η* or *α* before the earliest texts, cf. *χλόη*, *στοά* infra. Where *oi* survives before vowels, the iota is frequently deleted, much as in the case of *αι* and *ει/___V*. The deletion of iota occurs chiefly before *e-* and *i-*vowels (*ε*, *ει*, *η*, and *ι*), and the number of cases in which it appears is thus limited. Numerous adjectives in *-οιος* remain unaffected because of the incidence of *oi/___o-vowel* in many places: *όμος*, *όμός*, etc. do not occur. Nouns in *-οια* also normally remain unaffected, probably because of the inviolate character of this morpheme (*-οια*), but in any case, the omission of the *ι* of *oi* where it survives before *α* is quite rare, cf. *τρίττωαν* infra. The most commonly attested cases of omitted

iota are in forms of *ποιέω* where *οι* precedes *ει* or *η* and the related nouns *πο(ι)ησις*, *πο(ι)ητής*, etc.; *Λευκονο(ι)εύς*; and *Ὀῆθεν* for *Οἰῆθεν*. In these cases too the avoidance of *Ο* for *οι/___ο*, *ου*, *ω* can be seen: despite the frequency of *ποιεῖν*, etc., there is but a single example of *ι* omitted before an *ο*-vowel (*ποιών*, cf. p. 329 *infra*); *ι* is never dropped in the deme *Οἶον*, unlike *Ο(ῖ)η*; *Λευκόνιοιον* (attested twice) is the name of the deme from which *Λευκονοεύς* is derived.

The explanation for the omission of the *ι* is the same as that for its omission in *αι* and *ει* in pre-vocalic position: the *ι* tended to develop to a glide [j] with subsequent deletion. Thus [*po¹-e-n*] tended toward [*po^{1j}-e-n*] ~ [*po¹-e-n*] and even [*po-e-n*]. *οι* was certainly not monophthongized to [y] this early, for if that had occurred there would be no reason why occasional examples of confusion of *ΟΙ* and *Υ* should not occur before vowels.

ἐπόεσε, *ἐπόε*, etc. appear on bf. vases of the sixth century B.C. and on a few contemporary stone monuments; *Λευκονοεύς* and *Ὀῆθεν* appear first in the fifth century. *ποιεῖν*, *ἐπόησε*, etc., *Λευκονοεύς* become much more frequent in the course of the fourth century. Subsequently there is a divergence between *Λευκονο(ι)εύς*, *Ο(ι)ῆθεν* on the one side and *πο(ι)εῖν* on the other. Deletion of *ι* in the two demotics was permanent, and *Λευκονοιεύς* and *Οἰῆθεν* are rare after 300 B.C. (cf. 17.0212–17.0213 *infra*). But in *ποιεῖν* the diphthong *οι* was retained, probably because of the retention of it before *ο*-vowels in *ποιῶ*, *ποιούμενος*, etc., and after 300 B.C. the spellings *ποιεῖν*, etc. become increasingly rare, and cease by 200 B.C. except for a few exceptional cases (cf. 17.0211 *infra*).

The traditional spellings and those without *ι* sometimes occur within the same text. The period of the greatest frequency of *ποιεῖν*, etc. (350–300) is also the period in which most of the examples of *ΟΙ* for *ο/___V* (nearly always *η* or *ει*) occur; they are probably due to graphic confusion in individuals who regularly pronounced *οι* as [o] before front vowels (cf. 17.022 *infra*).

For detailed treatment of *ποιεῖν*, etc.; *Λευκονοεύς*; *Ὀῆθεν*, cf. 17.0211–17.0213 *infra*. For other cases of *Ο* for *οι/___V*, cf. a)–c) *infra*.

a) *Εὔβο(ι)ά*, *Εὔβο(ι)εύς*:

In texts earlier than 300 B.C. there is no certain example without *-οι-*: I² 39.65, 77 (446/5) decree: *Εὔβοίας*; I² 63.92, 94 (= *ATL* 2, no. A9) (425/4) trib. doc.: *Εὔβοίαι*; II² 44.20 (378/7) decree: *Εὔ[β]οίαι*; II² 149.6 (ante 355) decree: *Εὔβοιεύσιν*. The suggestion of G.L. Cawkwell, *CQ* n.s. 13 (1963) p.212, note 7, that *Εὔβοεῖς* be restored in line 8 of II² 149 is quite uncertain. In later texts *Εὔβοεύς*: II² 1132.68 (130/29) amphiktyonic decree (this section of the text in Attic): *Εὔβοέων*; II² 4114.2 (34 aut 33) ded. of the koinon of the Boeotians, Locrians, etc.: *Εὔβοέων*. Perhaps the ethnic developed to *Εὔβοεύς* in the same way as *Λευκονοεύς* (← *Λευκονοιεύς*), with deletion of *ι* of *οι/___V*. But there are too few attestations for certainty. Codd. of literary texts have *Εὔβοεύς* alongside *Εὔβοια*. It is doubtful whether *Εὔβοα* ever occurred with any regularity. Cf. *Εὔβοικός* in the Themistocles decree, Meiggs-Lewis p.48, no. 23, line 42 (= *Hesperia* 31 [1962] p.311) (inscribed s. III a.?).

b) τριττο(ι)α:

There is one example of τριττοα, I² 5.5 (init. s. Va., cf. Sokolowski, *Lois*² p. 6, no. 4) decree. Two examples of τριττοια: I² 76.37 (435–414, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 222) decree; I² 844/845 B.6 (= Sokolowski, *Lois*² p. 32, no. 16) (fin. s. Va. aut init. s. IV a.) *lex sacra*.

c) χλο(ι)η:

The normal Attic spelling for this epithet of Demeter (once of Themis and once a fem. anthroponym, cf. *infra*) is χλόη. An exception probably occurs in an inventory dated after 319/8, II² 1472.39 (= IG II, no. 722), where the reading]τρος τη[ς] Χλοη[can certainly be read on the stone, despite Kirchner's erroneous text in IG II² (L.); the restoration Δήμη]τρος τη[ς] Χλοή[ς] is probably correct. There is another case of χλοή in line 4 of II² 5006, an oracular text of Hadrian's reign, where the metre requires two long syllables; it is a poetical variant and for Attic a false archaism. The occurrence of χλοή in the inv. may be due to influence of Ionic or it might be a case of OI for o/_V as in βοιηθέω (cf. 17.022, p. 333 *infra*). Elsewhere only χλόη: cf. II² 1356.16 (paulo post 403/2), II² 1358.49 (375–350) both sacred calendars; II² 5129 (aet. Rom.), II² 5098 (aet. Rom.) (= epithet of Themis) both theatre-seats; II² 5400.1 (s. Ip.) (= fem. anthroponym of an Athenian) sep. mon.; II² 4750 (s. I/IIp.) ded. (priv.). -οια is retained in the festival name τὰ χλοῖα, cf. τοῖς χλοίοις in the decree, II² 949.7 (165/4).

Εὐχλόη in IG III, no. 191 b (= II² 3892) is a fanciful creation of Pittakes, cf. Koehler's note in IG II, no. 1415: "titulum supplementis ab ipso [= Pittakes] excogitatis auctum".

The spelling στωῖα is not attested. For στωῖα, cf. I² 115.7–8 (409/8) decree; I² 313.108 (408/7) inv.; I² 372.157, 181 (409/8) inv.; I² 373.7–8 (409/8) inv.: στω|[ᾱ]ς (non stoich.); II² 1641.29 (ca. 350) inv.; II² 1674.5 (post 350) inv. (?) fr.; II² 1682.12, 18 (285/4) inv.; II² 689.28 (272/1) decree; II² 690.11 (ca. 275–260) decree; II² 834.26 (paulo post 229/8) decree; II² 968.56 (143/2) decree; *Hesperia* 17 (1948) p. 29, no. 13, line 8 (74/3–63/2, not 64/3, cf. *Agora* 15, p. 214, no. 265) decree; II² 1043.68–69 (38/7) decree: στωῖα (L.); etc.

For φθόη, cf. 6.041, p. 132 *supra*.

Πόα is attested as the name of a woman from the Bithynian town of Kios in a sep. mon. of the fourth century B. C., *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p. 277, no. 130, line 6.

Lit.: MS³ pp. 56–58, notes 479–496; Lademann pp. 35–37, 118.

17.0211 πο(ι)ει-, πο(ι)η-, etc.

a) In texts of the Archaic Period both ποιεῖν, etc. and ποεῖν, etc. are found. On stone texts (dedications and sep. monuments) ποιεῖν is somewhat more frequent than ποεῖν (*metrical texts denoted by **).

ποιεῖν: *Sep. monuments*:

- 1) I² 1021* (= IGAA p. 143, no. 56) (ca. 550–540?) (uncertain if metrical, cf. 10.04 a, p. 211 *supra*);
- 2) I² 972 (= IGAA p. 120, no. 8) (ca. 540–530?).

Dedications:

- 3) I² 835 (ante ca. 520?) (boustrophedon);
- 4) I² 808 (ante 500–490?): ΕΠΟΕΣΑΣ (= ἐπόεσαν?);
- 5) I² 820 (ante ca. 490?) ded.; doubtful if verse (cf. 10.04 a, p. 211 supra);
- 6) DAA p. 310, no. 291 (= I² 539 + I² 581) (init. s. V a.?).

ποιεῖν: Sep. monuments:

- 7) IGAA p. 139, no. 48 (= SEG 10.452 a)* (ca. 540?);
 - 8) I² 988 (= IGAA p. 140, no. 49) (ca. 540–525?);
 - 9) I² 1002 (= IGAA p. 131, no. 28) (ca. 510–500?) (L.);
 - 10) IGAA p. 122, no. 14 (= GVI 1, p. 46, no. 161; SEG 21.199)* (ca. 510–500);
 - 11) IGAA p. 130, no. 26* (ca. 500);
 - 12) IGAA p. 127, no. 19 (= GVI 1, p. 25, no. 72; I² 983, corrected)* (ca. 525?); ἐπόε also occurs in the signature, which may be metrical (cf. 10.04 a, p. 211 supra).
- Uncertain:* ἐπ[ο]ι[ε] IGAA p. 138, no. 46 (= I² 1014; LSAG p. 78, no. 29) (ca. 540?).

Dedications:

- 13) I² 817* (ca. 550?);
- 14) I² 766 (= SEG 10.317) (ca. 520?);
- 15) I² 765 (= DAA p. 163, no. 147) (ca. 520–510?);
- 16) I² 492 (525–500, cf. SEG 24.60);
- 17) I² 487 (= DAA p. 7, no. 3) (fin. s. VI a.);
- 18) I² 510 (= DAA p. 8, no. 4)* (ca. 525–500?):]ίεσεν (cf. 10.04 a, p. 211 supra);
- 19) I² 507 (= DAA p. 15, no. 10) (510 or later);
- 20) I² 486 (= DAA p. 52, no. 51) (fin. s. VI a.): ἐπο]ίεσε[v;
- 21) I² 493 (= DAA p. 86, no. 81) (ca. 500);
- 22) I² 504 (= DAA p. 250, no. 220) (ca. 500?);
- 23) I² 505 (= DAA p. 329, no. 307) (ca. 500?);
- 24) DAA p. 91, no. 85 (= I² 501 a) (ca. 500?) probably not metrical;
- 25) I² 502 (= DAA p. 95, no. 88) (ca. 500?);
- 26) I² 515 (= DAA p. 251, no. 221) (ca. 500?);
- 27) I² 540 (= DAA p. 33, no. 31; cf. FH no. 172)* (ca. 500?);
- 28) I² 508 (= DAA p. 408, no. 381) (init. s. V a.?).
- 29) DAA p. 297, no. 278 (= I² 513 + I² 704) (init. s. V a.?).
- 30) I² 503 (= DAA p. 272, no. 236) (init. s. V a.?) (L.);
- 31) I² 518 (= DAA p. 287, no. 257) (init. s. V a.?).
- 32) DAA p. 168, no. 150 (= I² 521 + I² 722)* (init. s. V a.);
- 33) I² 523 (= DAA p. 108, no. 106) (init. s. V a.?).
- 34) I² 526 (= DAA p. 101, no. 94) (490–480?);
- 35) I² 804.3 (init. s. V a.?).
- 36) I² 805 (init. s. V a.?).

Cf. the graffito, I² 522 * (s. VI a.?).

Note that *ποιεῖν* is not only more common in these texts of the Archaic Period, but it is used in both public dedications of a slightly later date: I² 400 Ia (paulo post 457); I² 395 (post 432) (both non-metrical).

There is at least one case of $\pi\acute{o}\iota$ - in the foregoing examples. Note $\xi\acute{\xi}\epsilon\pi\acute{o}\iota\eta\sigma\acute{o}\upsilon\kappa$ in the slightly later dedication, I² 826 (= LSAG p.370, no.29) (475–450?). A case of $\epsilon\pi\acute{o}\epsilon$ is uncertain. For these unmetrical spellings, cf. 10.04a, pp.211 ff. *supra*.

In dipinti on bf. and rf. vases, $\epsilon\pi\acute{o}\iota\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$, $\epsilon\pi\acute{o}\iota\epsilon\iota$ are considerably more frequent than $\epsilon\pi\acute{o}\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$, $\epsilon\pi\acute{o}\epsilon\iota$. Thus only $\epsilon\pi\acute{o}\iota$ - on the large number of bf. vases signed by Nikosthenes (cf. HBF pp.178–293; ABV p.216; *Paralipomena* p.109); among these there is one case of $\epsilon\pi\acute{o}\iota\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu$ (ABV pp.216–217, no.4 [= CVA, France 5, plates 32.7, 11]), which, if not due to simple dittography, certainly indicates that ι was not dropped. Other signatures on bf. vases in which $\epsilon\pi\acute{o}\iota$ - is universal or almost universal are Ergotimos (ABV p.76, no.1 and pp.77–80); Nearchus (ABV pp.82–83; *Paralipomena* p.31); Amasis (ABV pp.152–157; HBF pp.28–40); Hermogenes (ABV pp.164–166; *Paralipomena* p.68); Taleides (ABV pp.174–176; *Paralipomena* pp.72–74; HBF pp.338–344); Xenokles (HBF pp.410–432; *Paralipomena* pp.76–77); $\eta\sigma\chi\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\pi\acute{o}\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu$ on one vase (cf. ABV p.172, III Cambridge 60); but $\epsilon\pi\acute{o}\iota$ - in four other signatures (cf. ABV pp.166–167). The first signature in which the iota is left out fairly frequently is Exekias': $\epsilon\pi\acute{o}\epsilon\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon$ ABV p.143, no.1; $\epsilon\pi\acute{o}\epsilon\sigma\epsilon$ ABV p.146, no.21; both $\epsilon\pi\acute{o}\epsilon\varsigma$ and $\epsilon\pi\acute{o}\iota\epsilon\nu$ on ABV p.147, no.3 (Munich 2125) (cf. *Paralipomena* p.61; HBF p.96, no.4); but the traditional spelling with iota is more frequent: $\epsilon\pi\acute{o}\iota\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota(\nu)$, cf. ABV p.144, no.7 (twice); p.145, no.13 (twice); p.146, no.20; p.146, no.2 (Louvre F54) (twice); p.147, nos.4, 5; cf. *Paralipomena* p.61, vase on the Basle market. The early case of omitted iota on a vase of Sophilos on which Beazley read $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{o}\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$, cf. ABV p.42, no.36 (part of ABV p.40, no.21, cf. *Paralipomena* p.18), is somewhat doubtful; $\mu\acute{\epsilon}[\gamma\eta]\alpha\phi\sigma\epsilon\nu$ had been read previously, cf. CVA, Greece 1, plate 1.1. Cf. also $\Lambda\iota\sigma\chi\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ $\epsilon\pi\acute{o}\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu$ ABV p.351, Athens Acr. 2692fr. (= HBF p.26, no.1); $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\zeta\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{o}\epsilon\sigma\epsilon$ ABV p.349, Louvre F69; etc.

On rf. vases $\epsilon\pi\acute{o}\iota$ - is also normal. Thus to the many examples of $\eta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\nu$ $\epsilon\pi\acute{o}\iota\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu$, etc. (cf. HRF 2, p.39; ARV² pp.458–482, p.817, p.832; *Paralipomena* pp.378–379, no.46 bis) only a few cases of $\epsilon\pi\acute{o}\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota(\nu)$ can be compared, cf. ARV² p.469, Makron no.148; p.472, Makron no.209; ARV² p.482, no.39 (graffito). $\epsilon\pi\acute{o}\iota$ - is universal in signatures of Brygos (cf. HRF 1 pp.106–122); Pamphaios (HRF 2, pp.277–307); etc. Note $\epsilon\pi\acute{o}\iota\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\pi\acute{o}\iota\epsilon\sigma\epsilon$ on a vase of Kachrylion, cf. ARV² p.108, no.27 (= HRF 1 p.152, no.6). Of the eight signatures of Andokides (both bf. and rf., cf. ARV² p.1) in which the verb is preserved only two have iota, cf. $\epsilon\pi\acute{o}\iota\epsilon$ ABV p.293, Psiak no.7 (= HBF p.50, no.1); $\epsilon\pi\acute{o}\iota\epsilon\sigma\epsilon$ ABV p.253(i); normally $\epsilon\pi\acute{o}$ -, cf. $\epsilon\pi\acute{o}\epsilon$ ARV² p.77, Epiktetos no.90; ARV² p.1617, vase on the Geneva market; $\epsilon\pi\acute{o}\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu$ ARV² p.3, no.1 (= HRF 1 p.32, no.1); ARV² p.3, no.2 (= HRF 1 p.40, no.5); ARV² p.4, no.13 (= HRF 1 p.38, no.4); ARV² p.7, Psiak no.2 (= HRF 1 p.35, no.2). Probably the marked preference of an individual to delete the ι of $\omicron\upsilon$ —V may be seen here.

b) In the period ca. 450–ca. 200 B.C. the iota of $\pi\acute{o}\iota\epsilon\omega$ is freely omitted in all types of texts before the vowels $\epsilon\iota$ and $\eta\iota$; so also in the nouns $\pi\acute{o}\iota\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$, $\pi\acute{o}\iota\eta\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$.

Cf. e.g. $\pi\acute{o}\epsilon\sigma\omicron$, $\pi\acute{o}\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ I² 39.6, 41 (446/5), $\epsilon\pi\acute{o}\epsilon\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\omicron$ I² 52.3 (433/2), $\pi\acute{o}\epsilon\iota$ I² 82.9 (421/0), $\pi\acute{o}\epsilon\iota$ I² 93.6 (425–412, cf. SEG 13.11; 23.19), $\pi\acute{o}\epsilon\nu$ Sokolowski, *Supplément* p.20, no.6, line 13 (= SEG 10.64; 21.52) (413/2?) decrees; $\epsilon\pi\acute{o}\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu$ I² 369.9, 13 (post 426/5) inv.; $\pi\acute{o}\epsilon\iota\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ I² 103.17 (412/1) decree; $\epsilon\kappa\pi\acute{o}\epsilon\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\iota$ I² 373.66 (409/8) inv., alongside $\epsilon\chi\sigma\epsilon\pi\acute{o}\iota\epsilon\sigma[\epsilon$ *ib.* 150; $\pi\acute{o}\eta\sigma\alpha[\iota]$ I² 1.69 (403/2) decree, alongside $\pi\epsilon\pi\acute{o}\iota\eta\kappa\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$ *ib.* 11; $\pi\acute{o}\epsilon\nu$, $\epsilon\pi\acute{o}\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\omicron$ I² 17.4, 8 (= *Hesperia* 26 [1957] p.51, no.8) (394/3) decree; $\epsilon\pi\acute{o}\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$ I² 7296 (init. s. IVa.) sep. mon.; $\pi\acute{o}\eta\sigma\omega\nu$, $\pi\acute{o}\eta\sigma\eta\kappa\epsilon\nu$ I² 1176.13, 27 (ca. 360, cf. SEG 21.516) decree (deme); $\pi\acute{o}\eta\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, $\pi\acute{o}\eta\sigma\omega$ Robert, *Études* (1938) pp.296ff., lines 24, 28 (= Siewert pp.5–7) (paulo post 350? cf. *Charisterion Orlandou* A, pp.79–87) oath (ephebes), $\epsilon\pi\acute{o}\iota\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\omicron$ *ib.* 48; $\pi\acute{o}\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota$

Π² 1668.14 (347/6) inv., ποιη- *ib.* 29, 35, etc.; ἐπόησαν Π² 1749.76 (341/0) pryt. cat., -ποιήσαν-
τος *ib.* 80¹ (L.); ποεῖν *Hesperia* 7 (1938) p. 294, no. 20, line 3 (335/4); ποεῖ Π² 336.a 12 (334/3);
ποεῖ Π² 373.5 (322/1) decrees; ἐπόησε Π² 1470.16 (320) inv.; ποεῖν *Hesperia* 9 (1940) p. 345,
no. 44, line 41 (319/8), ποιήσει, ποιήσαντος Π² 448.82, 83 (318/7), ποιήσας Π² 463.73 (cf.
Hesperia 9 [1940] p. 66, no. 9) (307/6), alongside ποιήσας *ib.* 66, all decrees; ποεῖ Π² 2499.32
(306/5) loc.; ἐπόησε Π² 492.17 (303/2); πεπόηκεν *Hesperia* 17 (1948) p. 114, no. 68, line 9
(303/2); ποιήσεως Π² 654.43, 59 (285/4); πεπόημεν, πεποίηται Π² 672.9, 22 (279/8); ποιήσεως
Π² 682.78, 86 (post 256/5) decrees; ποιη(τής) Π² 2320.20 (entry for 341/0), Ποιητεῖ (name of a
play) Π² 2319.65 (entry for 289/8) both in cat. of didaskaliai (inscribed ca. 250?) (for later
entries, cf. *infra*); ποιή[σ]ω[σ]ιν Π² 1297.13–14 (237/6) decree (thiasotai); ποιήσιν Π² 1324.31
(ca. 200?) decree (orgeones); etc.

The spellings without iota increase in frequency until the second half of the fourth century, when they are most common. They decrease in number after 300 B.C. At no period do they become as frequent as the traditional spelling with iota. Even in the period of the greatest frequency of the spellings without iota, certain quite extensive texts show a pronounced preference for the traditional spelling, cf. Π² 1672 (329/8) inv. of 311 wide lines (usually 76–81 letters), a text with very crude orthography (cf. Introduction, p. 14), with ποιήσαντι in lines 67, 144, 163, 165, 172, 186, ἐποιησάμεθα *ib.* 310, 311; Π² 1678 (ca. 350, cf. SEG 13.49) inv., has ποιήσει *ib.* 2, 18, πεποημένου *ib.* 10, ποιήσας *ib.* 16, no instance of ποει- or ποιη-; Π² 1668, inv. of 347/6 cited *supra*, with ποιήσει once, ποιήσει several times.

For statistics on the relative frequency of ποει-, -η- and ποει-, -η-, cf. Lademann pp. 35–36; A.S. Henry, CQ 17 (1967) p. 266; S.-T. Teodorsson, *Phonemic System* (p. VIII *supra*, note 8), p. 108.

As can be seen from the illustrative examples above, spellings with and without iota may occur in the same text, even in decrees, cf. I² 373; Π² 1; Robert, *Etudes* (1938) pp. 296 ff.; Π² 463; Π² 1668; etc.

The avoidance of O for *οι* before o-vowels is virtually complete: so always ποιου-, ἑγοποιός, etc. The only case of omission of iota before an o-vowel occurs in a decree of a deme dated to the second half of the fourth century, cf. ποῶν in *Deltion* 19 (1964) p. 31, no. 1, line 9 (= SEG 22.116) (ca. 330). In Aristophanes and Menander the prosodic treatment of ποι- before ω and ου sometimes demands a short syllable.

c) After ca. 200 B.C. it is unusual to find cases of the verb ποιέω without iota in public texts. Exceptional are: π[ε]πόηντα[ι] Π² 841.3 (init. s. IIa.?) (L.), ἐπ[ο]ήσατο Π² 931.2 (init. s. IIa.?) (the omicron is so faint that it is not entirely certain, read: ἐπ[ο]ήσατο, L.) decrees; ἐποήσατο Π² 1011.35, 37, 40 (106/5) decree, ἐποήσαντο *ib.* 21, but ἐποήσαντο *ib.* 16, ποιήσιν *ib.* 30, 52, ποιησάμενος *ib.* 35, π[ε]ποιήται *ib.* 49–50, ποιήσασθαι *ib.* 50, etc. (L.); ποιήσεσθ[αι] Π² 1055.8 (ca. 100?) decree fr., ποιήσονται *ib.* 12, π[ο]ήσοντα *ib.* 16. Known only from Fourmont's copy is ποιήσας on an Augustan ded., Π² 3177.3, not verse.

On dedications the signature ἐπόησεν occurs after 200 B.C., cf. Π² 3864.5 (init. s. IIa.), Π² 3875 (s. IIa.?), Π² 4283 (init. s. IIa.), Π² 4284 (ca. 150), Π² 4291 (ca. 150), Π² 4299 (fin. s. IIa.) son of the man in Π² 4291, Π² 4340 (s. II/1a.?) etc. It is likely

that the spelling without iota is on the wane after 200 B.C. even in this kind of text, however, for most of the signatures of Eucheir and his son Euboulides, active in the second century B.C., have the iota, e.g. II² 4292–II² 4298; II² 4300, II² 4301; iota omitted in II² 4291, II² 4299. Omission in signatures occurs very rarely later: ἐπόησεν II² 4306 (fin. s. Ia.) ded. (priv.); ἐπόει II² 2953.6 (aet. Augusti) ded. (L.). Cf. the sep. mon., II² 12418.2 (ca. 150 p.), with ἐπόησεν; the text is metrical, and the necessary scansion ἐπόησεν shows that the dropping of iota continued to be used as a poetical device. Cf. κτίστην ἐπόησαν in a cat., AM 67 (1942) p. 31, no. 30 (aet. Rom.) (has also τελέαις). But πεποίηκα ἐκ[έ]λων must be scanned πεποίηκ' ἐκέλων in the ded., II² 4008.9 (s. III p.) (cf. 10.04b, p. 213 supra).

The tendency to omit iota continued slightly longer outside the verb, cf. Ποντεῖ (name of a play) in II² 2323.212 (this play produced in 168/7), ποη(τής) in *ib.* 165 (entry for 182/1), 176 (entry for the next year?), 208 (entry for 168/7) all in a cat. of didaskaliai (for the earlier II² 2320, cf. b) supra). But ποιητής in the contemporary decree of a synodos of technitai (περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον), cf. II² 1330.7, 30, 67 (post 163).

Lit.: MS³ p. 57, notes 483–484; Lademann pp. 35–37.

17.0212 Λευκονο(ι)εύς

Λευκονοεύς occurs as early as Λευκονοιεύς, but is unusual in the fifth century:

Λευκονοεύς: I² 202.36 (= ATL 2, no. 12) (443/2) tribute list.

Λευκονοιεύς: I² 203.2 (= ATL 2, no. 13) (442/1) tribute list; I² 368.3–4 (426/5) inv.; I² 255.327 (405/4) inv.; cf. Λευκονοίο, gen. sing. of the deme name Λευκόνιον, DAA p. 116, no. 112 (= *Delion* 11 [1927–1928] p. 132, no. 7) (s. Va?) ded.; the deme name is also attested in a sep. mon. dated to about 350 B.C., cf. ἐγ Λευκονοίο, II² 6737a (in add. nova). But in II² 1582.134 (= AM 35 [1910] pp. 274 ff.) read Λευκόθιον, not Λευκόνιον, cf. *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p. 309; in II² 2362.34 (= IG II, no. 991) read Λευκονοε[ίς], not Λευκονόε.

Λευκονοιεύς continues in the fourth century, but is clearly being replaced by Λευκονοεύς in the later part of the century; Λευκονοιεύς is rare after 300 B.C.:

Λευκονοι(εύς) II² 1615.65 (post 358/7) inv.; Λευκονοιώς II² 2670.3 (mentions uncle of the orator Demosthenes) horos (mortgage); Λευκονο[ι]εύς (stoich.) *Hesperia* 32 (1963) p. 31, no. 2, line 11, cf. *ib.* 12 (ante 356) ded.; Λευκονοιῆς II² 1742.32 (370/69?) pryt. cat.; Λευκονοιεύς II² 6743, Λευκονοιεύς II² 6740, Λευκονοι(εύς), also Λευκονοίο (deme name, cf. supra) II² 6737a (in add. nova) (all ca. 350), Λευκονοιώς II² 6748.4, 6 (ca. 350) sep. monuments; Λευκονοιῆς *Hesperia* 30 (1961) pp. 30 ff., line 227 (336/5) cat.; Λευκονοιεύς II² 6746 (fin. s. IV a.), II² 6750 (s. IV a.), Λευκονοιεύς II² 6751 (s. IV a.) sep. monuments; Λευκονοιεύς II² 4414.3 (fin. s. IV a.) ded. (priv.); Λευκονοιεύς II² 1682.22 (285/4) inv.; Λευκονο[ι]εῖς II² 2382.8 (= *Agora* 15, p. 86, no. 74) (ca. 280) pryt. cat.; Λευκονοιεύς II² 1299.82 (paulo post 236/5) decree (troops and Eleusinians), alongside Λευκονοία *ib.* 24, 34; Λευκονοιεύς II² 6739 (s. III a.) sep. mon. (L.); Λευκονοιεύς II² 2332.333 (183/2) cat. (L.).

Λευκονοεύς is clearly normal by 300 B.C.:

Λευκονοεύς II² 110.5 (363/2) decree (L.); Λευκονοεύς II² 1894 (= Kroll p. 201, no. 102) (400–350) dikast's pinakion; Λευκονοεύς II² 1613.214 (353/2) inv.; Λευκονοεῖς II² 1926.54 (325/4)

cat.; Λευκονοέα Π² 1553.22 (ca. 330–320) inv.; Λευκο]νοεύς Π² 477.9 (305/4) decree; Λευκονοεύς Π² 1492.127 (post 311/0) inv.; Λευκονοεύς (bis) *Δελτιον* 20 (1965) *Chronika* p. 121 (= *BCH* 92 [1968] p. 756) (s. IV a.) sep. mon.; Λευκονοεύς Π² 4674.3 (init. s. III a.) ded. (priv.); Λευκονοεύς *Hesperia* 7 (1938) p. 110, no. 20, line 7 (= Π² 700.7) (258/7, cf. SEG 21.375) decree; Λευκονοέα Π² 1299.24, 34 (post 236/5) decree (troops and Eleusinians), alongside Λευκονοιεύς *ib.* 82; Λευκονοεῖς *Agora* 15 p. 120, no. 129, line 82 (= Π² 848.b9) (222/1) decree; Λευκονοε[ῖς] Π² 2362.34 (ca. 300) cat. (of deme names and demotics); Λευκ[ον]οεύς Π² 901.5 (ca. 185/4) decree; Λευκονοεύς *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p. 33, no. 6, line 47 (173/2) decree; Λ]ευκονοέως Π² 957.38 (157/6) decree; Λευκονοεύς Π² 1938.34 (152/1), Π² 1939.7 (130–120) catalogs; Λευκονοεύς Π² 1227.3 (131/0), Λευκονοεύς, Λευκονοέα Π² 1228.20, at end (116/5) decrees (Salaminian cleruchs); Λευκονοεύς Π² 1009, col. 2.66 (116/5) decree; Λευκονοεύς Π² 2336.117, 149 (102/1–97/6) cat.; Λευκονοεύς Π² 1028.134 (101/100, cf. SEG 24.188) decree; Λευκο]νοέα *Hesperia* 23 (1954) p. 240, no. 11, line 4 (s. II a.) decree; Λευκονοεῖς Π² 2461.131 (50/49, cf. SEG 23.92) cat. (L.); etc. Λευκονοε- also in post-300 sep. monuments, e.g. Π² 6729 (ca. 300); Π² 5434, Π² 6719, Π² 6722, Π² 6723, Π² 6735 (all s. III a.); Π² 9975, Π² 6734 (both ca. 150); Π² 6726 (s. II a.); Π² 6720, Π² 6741 (s. II/I a.); Π² 6728 (init. s. I a.); etc.

Λευκονοεύς is the only spelling found in Roman times, cf. e.g. Π² 1963.45 (13/2), Π² 2026.14–15 (116/7 p.), Π² 2052.53 (145/6 p.) (L.), Π² 2073.11 (ca. 150 p.), Π² 2097.70 (169/70 p.) eph. catalogs; Π² 6752, Π² 6745, Π² 6737 (s. I p.), Π² 6725, Π² 6733 (ca. 150 p.), Π² 6724 (s. II p.), Π² 6731 (s. II/III p.) sep. monuments; *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p. 246, no. 97 b, lines 1–2 (ca. 180 p.) pryt. cat.: Λευκο]νοέως; etc.

Lit.: MS³ p. 57, note 482; Lademann p. 35.

17.0213 O(ι)ῆθεν

The fifth-century spellings in Attic script are OEΘEN and hOEΘEN with a difficult [h]; each is attested once (cf. 42.0114, p. 502 *infra*). In Π² 109.2 read O[ι]ῆθεν rather than O[ι]ῆθεν (cf. *ATL* 2, no. D9) (L.).

The normal spelling in the Ionic script is OHΘEN (probably = Ὀῆθεν), for which OIHΘEN is a frequent variant in the fourth century. The catalogs of manumitted slaves dated ca. 330–320 B.C. have both spellings, cf. O[ι]ῆθεν(ν) *Hesperia* 28 (1959) pp. 208 ff., line B 110, but Ὀῆθεν (now: Ὀῆ[θεν]) *ib.* B 5 (= Π² 1556.30), Ὀῆσι *ib.* A 485 (= Π² 1557.43). Other examples of O[ι]ῆθεν: cf. Π² 1745.35 (360/59) pryt. cat.; Π² 6964 (ante 350), Π² 6954 (ca. 350) sep. monuments; Π² 204.80 (352/1) decree; Π² 1623.330 (333/2), Π² 1622.479 (ca. 342/1) inventories; Π² 6945 a (in add. nova).3, 6 (ca. 350), Π² 6956 a (in add. nova) (ca. 350), Π² 6958 (ca. 340) sep. monuments; *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p. 260, no. 19, line 21 (339/8?) inv.; Π² 3207.7, 16 (307/6) ded.; *Polemon* 6 (1956–57) *Symmeikta* p. 43, no. 14 (= SEG 17.103) (350–300) sep. mon.

The spelling with iota continues until the end of the first century B.C., but is quite rare after 300 B.C., cf. *CHA* p. 22, line 26 (= *Hesperia* 17 [1948] p. 11) (246/5) decree; *Hesperia* 45 (1976) pp. 296 ff., lines 86, 85 (204/3) decree, but Ὀῆθεν *ib.* 55–56, 66; *Praktika* 1958 p. 29, no. 6, line 18 (= SEG 22.130) (init. s. II a.) decree (paroikoi at Rhamnus); Π² 2982.5 (127/6) ded.; Π² 1051.c20 (= *Hesperia* 36 [1967] p. 66, no. 12) (post 38/7, ante 31) decree (L.).

Ὀῖθθεν is well attested in the fourth century and normal thereafter, cf. e.g. II² 6950, II² 6961, II² 6962 (init. s. IV a.) sep. monuments; II² 1400.4 (390/89) inv.; II² 3037.2 (post 375/4) ded.; II² 112.4–5 (362/1), II² 114.3 (362/1) decrees; II² 6953 (ante 350), II² 6967 (ca. 350) sep. monuments; *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p. 210, no. 5, line 87 (ca. 350), *Hesperia* 19, p. 226, no. 13, line 164 (350–344) inventories; *Hesperia*, suppl. 8 (1949) p. 273, line 21 (ca. 330) eph. cat.; *Hesperia* 15 (1946) p. 176, no. 24 (ca. 325) ded.; II² 3054.1 (post 323/2) ded.; *Hesperia* 13 (1944) p. 234, no. 6, line 4 (320/19) decree; II² 6960 (s. IV/III a.), II² 6965 (fin. s. IV a./init. s. III a.) sep. monuments; *Deltion* 18 (1963) p. 109, no. 2, line 19 (= SEG 21.357) (286–261) decree (hipparchs); II² 683.3 (248/7) decree; *Hesperia* 23 (1954) p. 287, no. 182, line 48 (271/0) decree; II² 3853.2 (260/59) ded.; II² 1958.72 (post 250) cat.; II² 781.6 (250/49) decree; *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p. 287, no. 56, lines 34, 60 (= II² 791 + new fr.) (247/6) decree; *Hesperia* 2 (1933) p. 158, no. 6, line 8 (ca. 240) decree fr.; II² 832.9 (229/8) decree; II² 1706.71 (fin. s. III a.) cat.; *Agora* 15 p. 132, no. 147, lines 22 (= II² 915.6), 37 (203/2) decree; *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p. 259, no. 63 (s. III a.) decree fr. (?); II² 6952, II² 6955 (s. III a.), II² 6946 (s. III/II a.), II² 6956 (init. s. II a.) sep. monuments; *Hesperia* 9 (1940) p. 126, no. 26, line 5 (135/4) decree; II² 1008, col. 2.120 (118/7) decree; II² 1009, col. 3.78 (116/5) decree; II² 2983.4, 11 (111/0) ded.; II² 1011, col. 3.99 (106/5) decree; II² 1335.59, 62 (103/2) decree (sabaziastai); II² 6963 (s. II a.) sep. mon.; II² 1028.127, 130 (101/100, cf. SEG 24.188) decree; II² 1043.1, 69, 96 (38/7) decree (L.); II² 1070.3, 10, 13 (= *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 [1937] p. 193, no. 119) (paulo ante 19 p.) decree; etc.

In Roman times Ὀῖθθεν is the normal spelling; a few cases of Ὠῖθθεν are probably false archaisms due to confusion with Ὠαθεν (cf. 12.0111, p. 227 supra).

Ὀῖθθεν: Ὀῖθ(εν) II² 2069.32 (ca. 150 p.); Ὀῖθθεν II² 2097.208 (169/70 p.); Ὀῖθ(θεν) II² 2128.71 (190–200 p.); Ὀῖθ(εν) II² 2210.6 (init. s. III p.) etc., eph. catalogs; Ὀῖθ[ε]ν *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p. 40, no. 9, line 2 (ca. 100 p.) pryt. cat.; Ὀῖθθεν: II² 6948 (s. I/II p.), II² 6945 (aet. Hadriani), II² 6947, II² 6957 (s. II p.), II² 6951 (bis) (aet. Rom.) sep. monuments. Ὠῖθθεν: Ὠῖθ(θεν) II² 2068.96 (155/6 p.) (L.); Ὠῖθθεν II² 2237.78 (230–235 p.) (L.) eph. catalogs; Ὠῖθθεν II² 6959 (s. II p.), II² 6966 (aet. Rom.) sep. monuments. Ὀῖσι (locative) occurs in II² 2776.35 (aet. Trajani, cf. *Hesperia* 41 [1972] p. 476) financial doc.

The cases of Ὀῖθθεν in the fourth century and Hellenistic Period are too numerous for it to be the same kind of OI for o/—V seen in βοιηθέω, Βοιηδρομίων, etc.: note that Βοιηδρομίων is very well attested (cf. Indices to IG II, p. 86), and Βοιη- is very rare (cf. p. 334 infra). Two explanations are possible for Ὀῖθθεν. Ὀῖθ- is the original form, although an accident of preservation has resulted in the earliest examples known being spelled (h)οῖθθεν. The change from Ὀῖθθεν to Ὀῖθθεν would be the same as that seen in Λευκονοιεύς → Λευκονοεύς (cf. 17.0212 supra). The other explanation would explain Ὀῖθθεν as due to influence on Ὀῖθθεν of the other deme Οῖον, with the demotic (in pre-Roman texts) ἐξ Οῖου. For the influence of one demotic on another cf. Οῖαθεν for Ὠαθεν (cf. 17.022, p. 334 infra; 15.0127), p. 285 supra; perhaps also Ὠῖθθεν cited supra. In general the first explanation seems more likely; for the original Ὀῖθ, cf. Ὀῖθ, village attested on Chios in the fourth century; Ὀλατῶν = Κωμητῶν in Hesychius; Ὀῖθρας Sophocles fr. 134 and Ὀλατίδος *Oed. Col.* 1061 (cf. Frisk in Lit. infra).

Lit.: Lademann p. 41; S. Dow, *AJP* 84 (1963) pp. 166–181; Frisk, *GEW* 2, p. 359 with literature.

17.0214 -οι- ~ -οι-. Examples are infrequent. Compounds of -ποιῖα have always -οι- (six examples); -ποιικός is attested as early as the late fifth century (no. 11 *infra*), but the naval lists of the later fourth century have both -ποιικός and -ποιικός (one text has both spellings, cf. nos. 10, 14).

-ποιῖα:

- 1) ὁδοποιῖαν Π² 1673.28 (333/2? cf. AE 1971 p. 112) inv.;
- 2) ἱεροποιῖας BSA 24 (1919–21) pp. 151ff., lines 8–9 (= SEG 2.7) (ca. 330–325) decree (deme);
- 3) εὐποιῖας *Hesperia*, suppl. 13 (1970) pp. 3ff., line E 90 (ca. 175 p.) imp. letter;
- 4) εὐποιῖας Π² 1817.9 (paulo ante 220/1 p.) pryt. cat. (L.);
- 5) εὐποιῖας Π² 1824.2 (post 216 p.) pryt. cat.; there is a diaeresis over the second iota (cf. 4.031, no. 2, p. 96 *supra*) (L.);
- 6) εὐποιῖας Π² 1121.10 (305/6 p.) imperial edict (cf. 9.024, no. 43, p. 201 *supra*).

-ποιικός (τριηροποιικός *unless otherwise indicated*):

- 7) τειχοποιικῶν Π² 244.18, 31, 40 (337/6) decree;
- 8) Π² 1627.391 (330/29) inv., cf. τριηρο[ποι]ικῶν *ib.* 375;
- 9) Π² 1628.534, 548 (326/5) inv.;
- 10) Π² 1631.249 (323/2) inv., has -ποιικ-, cf. no. 14 *infra*.

-ποιικός (τριηροποιικός *unless otherwise indicated*):

- 11) χα[γα]λματοποιικῶ Π² 374.182–183 (408–406) inv. (L.);
- 12) Π² 1622.389 (ca. 342/1) inv.;
- 13) Π² 1629.1011 (325/4) inv.;
- 14) Π² 1631.504 (323/2) inv., has -ποιικ-, cf. no. 10 *supra*;
- 15) Π² 1632.14–15 (323/2) inv.

The late Roman examples of -ποιῖα cannot be separated from the survival of *οι* in ποιέω, cf. 17.0211 c, pp. 329–330 and p. 325 *supra*.

Attested only in the first tribute list is the ethnic Λινδίων Οἰῶται, cf. I² 191.29 (= ATL 2, no. 1, col. 3.26) (454/3).

In a verse text of the Roman Period in epic diction occurs ὁμοῖος (metre demands υ-υ-), cf. Π² 13161 a (in add.) 3 (s. III p.?) sep. mon.; the diaeresis is on the stone (cf. 4.031, no. 2, p. 96 *supra*) (L.).

Lit.: MS³ p. 58, notes 486–489; Lademann p. 118.

17.022 OI for ο/___V

The phenomenon is fairly rare. Most of the examples occur in the second half of the fourth century, the period of greatest frequency of ποιεῖν, etc. These spellings have generally been explained as due to purely orthographic confusion, cf. Schwyzler's remark "keine lautliche Bedeutung" (*Gram. pergamenischen Inschriften* p. 82, Anmerkung 2; cf. also Schulze, Lit. *infra*). To persons who deleted the ι of οι/___V in ποιεῖν, ποιῆσαι, etc., but wrote the traditional spellings ποιεῖν, etc., it was sometimes difficult to decide when to write OI, and thus βοηθεῖν, etc. could occur. The use of

OI for o is generally before ει and η, the vowels before which the ι of ποιεῖν, etc. is frequently deleted. No. 1 is exceptional here.

A phonetic explanation, development of the glide [j] between o and following η and ει is too much at variance with the pronounced tendency to delete ι in ποιεῖν, etc.

A few late examples (cf. nos. 2, 5) are comparable to the late instances of ποεῖν, etc.

Lit.: MS³ p. 58, notes 490–496; Lademann p. 41; W. Schulze, *Quaestiones epicae* pp. 47–48.

Examples:

1) ἄθροϊα *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p. 236, no. 14, line 44 (ca. 350–340) inv.

2) Βουηδρομίων: Π² 657.3 (283/2), has ποι-; *Agora* 15, p. 120, no. 129, line 2 (= Π² 848) (222/1), but Βοῖηδρομίων in *ib.* 36–37; Π² 1006.3 (122/1) all decrees.

3) βο[ι]ηθήσαντες Π² 237.23 (338/7) decree, but perhaps βο[ι]ηθήσαντες? βοηθήσαντες in *ib.* 11.

4) ὀγδοίης: Π² 347.2 (332/1), Π² 501.6 (302/1) decrees.

But there is no need to restore ὀγδοίης in the decree, *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p. 142, no. 79, lines 34–35 (164/3), cf. *Hesperia* 26 (1957) pp. 75–77, lines 34–35. In Π² 458.2 (307/6) decree, read not ὀγ[δ]οίης, but ἐβ[δ]οίης, cf. Meritt, *Athenian Year* p. 178.

5) ὀνοχοῖη Π² 1480.5 (314/3?) inv., has ποιη-; Π² 1492.85 (post 311/0): [οἰ]νο[χο]ῖαι, but ὀνοχόη in *ib.* 58, 60, has ἐποίησεν, cf. e.g. *ib.* 24, 73; Π² 1695.5 (s. III a.) inv.

For ὀνοχό-, cf. (all inventories): Π² 315.3 (fin. s. Va.); Π² 316.a4, a5 (fin. s. Va.); Π² 1688.6 (init. s. IV a.); Π² 1412.32 (post 385/4); Π² 1415.11 (post 385/4, non post 378/7, cf. SEG 21.548); Π² 1445.12, 29 (375/4); Π² 1425.358 (368/7); Π² 1430.11, 14 (ca. 367/6); Π² 1428 (in add.).69, 72 (367/6); Π² 1638.58 (359/8); Π² 1640.20 (354/3); Π² 1444.23, 24, 25 (ca. 344/3); Π² 1631.407–408 (323/2); Π² 1534.B.185 (247/6, cf. SEG 16.118); etc.

6) -χο(ι)έω: Π² 1670.5 (cf. Lattemann, *Bauinschriften* p. 47) (ca. 330) inv.: μολυβδοχοιέι, has συγγραφάς *ib.* 25, Μαμακτηριῶνος *ib.* 34, cf. 12.02 a, no. 1.

For the usual spelling, cf. Π² 1665.19 (ante 350): περιμολυβδοχοῖσαι; Π² 1678.6 (ca. 350, cf. SEG 13.49): μολυβδοχοῖσαι; Π² 1672.176 (329/8): μολυβδοχοῖσαντι inventories.

7) Οἰῆθεν is too frequent a variant for Ὀῆθεν to be the same kind of OI for o/_V seen in βοιθέω, etc. (cf. 17.0213, pp. 331 ff. supra).

Οἰῆθεν, instead of Ὠαθεν or Ὄαθεν, occurs on a sep. mon., Π² 7822.3. Kirchner had not seen the text, but dated it after 317/6, presumably because of the form of the monument (kioniskos); but there is no reason to place it later than ca. 300 B.C., and influence of Οἰῆθεν on Ὄαθεν remains the most reasonable explanation for Οἰῆθεν. This is thus probably not a simple case of OI for o/_V such as in βοιθέω, etc. An example of Οἰῆθεν in Roman times on the sep. mon., Π² 7832 (now lost), is quite doubtful (cf. *AJP* 84 [1963] p. 171, p. 173). Cf. 15.0127j, p. 285 supra.

A case of χλοῖη in the inv., Π² 1472.39 (post 319/8) (L.), perhaps belongs here; but influence of Ionic is also possible (cf. 17.021 c, p. 326 supra).

ὁμοίως is a poetical artificiality on the sep. mon., Π² 13161a(in add.).3 (s. III p.?) (cf. 17.0214 supra).

17.03 Confusion of *οι* and *ωι*

The behavior of these two diphthongs in the period ca. 400–100 B.C. differs radically from that of *ει* and *ηι*. Although the shortening of *ωι* to *οι* was characteristic of nearby Eretrian as early as 400 B.C. (cf. Buck, *GD*² p.36, no.39a), the orthographical distinction between *ωι* and *οι* is quite rigorously maintained in Attic texts. About ten examples of *οι* for *ωι* can be collected, of *ωι* for *οι* at best four. Virtually all the texts date from the second half of the fourth century B.C.

Several examples of *οι* ~ *ωι*, all of about 350 B.C., are from Eleusis (nos.2, 3, 11, 13), and one of these, a decree of the deme, contains four instances of *οι* for *ωι* (no.3). This concentration of *οι* for *ωι* at Eleusis has been thought by some to be related to *οι* ~ *ωι* in Boeotian texts (so apparently MS³, cf. p.66, no.11), but such an assumption seems risky in view of the scarcity of the evidence. The “nearness” of Eleusis to Boeotia is at any rate debatable. Three more instances of *οι* for *ωι* (nos.5, 6 of 350–300 B.C.) happen to be in two texts from the Piraeus, a fact without significance. The *οι* used for the dative of *ο*-stems in Boeotia is generally explained as an old locative and is not due to shortening of *ωι* (cf. Buck, *GD*² p.88, no.106.2). In any event the confusion of *οι* and *ωι* can in no sense be said to be characteristic of the large body of fourth-century texts from Eleusis. One final Eleusinian example (no.8) ‘Αλοίων of ca. 200 B.C., comes from a period when Boeotian influence is out of the question, as Boeotian *οι* has now passed to *υ* and is written *Υ* (cf. Buck, *GD*² p.32, no.30). The *οι* for *ωι* characteristic of the texts from Oropos is quite another matter, as the dialect there shares other quite non-Attic features with Eretrian, such as rhotacism of intervocalic *s*, cf. Buck, *GD*² p.143, no.187; *DGE* p.380, no.811, line 35 (δημορίων).

J. Schmidt (cf. Lit. infra) posited a shortening of Attic *ωι* generally to explain the few examples of *οι* for *ωι*, but thought the *quality* of the new short diphthong produced remained *open*, and thus distinct from *οι* not derived from *ωι*. In his view the orthography *ωι* was preferred not because the diphthong was still long, but because it differed qualitatively from the other *οι*. The influence of the Koine, where *ωι* became *ω*, will have eliminated this local Attic peculiarity. Such an explanation seems unnecessarily complicated, for there is good evidence that the simple *ο* and *ω* began to approach each other in quality long before loss of quantity made them identical, and examples of *ο* ~ *ω* are found even in the second half of the fourth century B.C. (cf. 12.011). Something similar is probably the reason for occasional confusion of *οι* and *ωι* before *ωι* ceased to be diphthongal. This explanation is particularly attractive for cases like *ότοιούν*, *τράγοιδοῖς* with *ο* in an adjacent syllable.

The non-Eleusinian examples of *οι* for *ωι* come from such differing types of texts as a fragment of a state decree, a decree of *thiasotai*, a locatio from the Piraeus, a mortgage text, and a sepulchral monument. All but the first two exhibit other orthographical crudities. Of *ωι* for *οι* examples are exceedingly rare. Of the four, one in a decree may be merely a graphic error (no.14), another is from an inv. replete with

misspellings (no. 13), a third involves a very probable restoration in a mining inv., which is nonetheless not certain (no. 12).

With the further development of $\omega\iota$ to ω (cf. 22.012, 22.02, 22.031) the confusion of $\omega\iota$ and ω ceases entirely. The loss of quantity in the Roman Period permitted a very rare use of Ω for $\omega \sim \omega\iota$ (cf. 12.012, nos. 24, 41). Likewise, since \omicron and ω are identical, and both $\Omega\iota$ and Ω are graphemes for original ω , rare cases of $\Omega\iota$ for ω occur (cf. 12.012, nos. 15, 59, 59a, pp. 230, 232 *supra*), but all the examples are doubtful. Ζοῖλος and Ζοειλος are also frequent variants for Ζωῖλος in Roman times; there it is uncertain if the Zo- spellings indicate a variant pronunciation with a diphthong, i.e. $[\text{zo}^1\text{-los}]$ rather than $[\text{zo-i-lo}]$ (cf. 12.012, no. 2, p. 229 *supra*). There is also a case of Ζοῖλος dated ca. 300 B.C., cf. 12.011, no. 5, p. 225 and p. 224 *supra*. Note that $\Omega\iota$ may also occur for $\Omega\iota$ in Roman texts making an archaizing use of the pre-403 alphabet (cf. Introduction, p. 9), e.g. Ἀδριανῶι , Ὀλυμπῖοι in Π^2 3380 (132 p.) *ded.*; Ζανῖ $[\text{Ἐ}]$ $\text{λευθε}[\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron]$ Ἀντονῖνοι in Π^2 3396 (post 138 p.), *ded.* in Doric.

For ΚΩΙΝΟΙ (= κοινῶι) in a text dated ca. 460 B.C., cf. 2.022, no. 1, p. 44 *supra*.

Lit.: MS^3 p. 66, note 585; Lademann p. 118; J. Schmidt, *ZVS* 37 (1904) pp. 37–39.

Examples:

$\omega\iota$ for ω :

- 1) Φιλοδῆμοι Π^2 2654.9 (post 363/2) very crude mortgage horos, has Ἰπποτομάδε for Ἰπποτομάδει (cf. 22.011a, p. 355 *infra*); Δωροθέω (cf. 22.012, p. 358 *infra*);
- 2) Ἀσιληπιῶι Π^2 4366 (ante 350) *ded.* from Eleusis (now lost);
- 3) τῶι δήμῳ Π^2 1186.5 (ca. 350) decree (deme of Eleusis), τῶι Διονύσοι *ib.* 14, τραγοῖδοις *ib.* 20–21;
- 4) κωμοῖδία Π^2 11387.5 (ca. 350) sep. mon.;
- 5) Ἀφιδναῖοι Π^2 2496.12 (post 350) loc. (Piraeus), ὅτιοιῶν *ib.* 27;
- 6) ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι Π^2 1261.51–52 (300/299) decree (thiasotai from the Piraeus). This is my reading from the stone, although the hand is of the type discussed 12.011, Notes and Corrections a), and it may be that the mason simply forgot to add the feet necessary to make the omega (L.);
- 7) τῶι δήμῳ Π^2 530.7 (fin. s. IV a.) decree (fr.);
- 8) Ἀλοῖων Π^2 1304b (in add.).14 (211/0, cf. SIG^3 no. 547) decree (garrison at Eleusis).

Doubtful:

- 9) κωμοῖδοις Π^2 3106.2 (s. IV a.) *ded.* (now lost);
- 10) $\text{ἐπὶ λύσει ? Ἀγοράτοι}$ Π^2 2690.3–4 (cf. Ziebarth in *SB Berlin* 1897, p. 668, no. 13) (s. IV a.?) horos of πρᾶσις ἐπὶ λύσει type, very fragmentary, place of finding unknown.

$\omega\iota$ for ω :

- 11) στειφανῶι Π^2 1187.12 (ca. 350) decree (deme of Eleusis) (L.);
- 12) $\text{ἐπὶ Σουνῖωι ἐν τῶις [ἐδάφεσιν]}$ *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p. 226, no. 13, line 87 (350–344) inv. The restoration is subject to a little doubt, but the text is stoichedon and comparison with other documents of this type gives it a very high degree of probability;
- 13) οἰκοσ(τω)ς Π^2 1672.160 (329/8) inv. (Eleusis); this text contains many orthographical irregularities (cf. Introduction, p. 14);

- 14) τῶι θεῶι ὠλονοχόη II² 839.20 (221/0) decree, alongside ὠλονοχόη in *ib.* 47–48 and *ib.* 85 (these make the assumption of a verb in line 20 impossible); for other examples of ὠλονοχο(ι)η, cf. 17.022, no. 5, p. 334 *supra*. This is very likely a simple graphic error caused by the preceding θεῶι, as suggested by MS³ p. 66, note 585.

Notes and Corrections:

In II² 5552 a (in add. nova).6 (ca. 360) sep. mon., πιστῶι is dative singular, not nominative plural, cf. AM 66 (1941) p. 55; the restoration χ]ρυσδοι σ[τεφάνωι (i.e. χρυσ-ῶι) for -]PYΣOΙΣ[- in *Hesperia* 29 (1960) p. 6, no. 7, line 7 is extremely dubious; in II² 487.11 (= IG II, no. 258) read: ἐκάστωι {σ} ἀ[πο]διδοῦσα following SIG³ no. 336, rather than ἐκάστωις, i.e. ἐκάστ-οις.

ἱπποῖ in II² 2316.36 (= IG II, no. 968), τῶι in II² 1013.10 (= IG II, no. 476) are almost certainly to be rejected, cf. 12.011, Notes and Corrections b), p. 226 *supra*.

In II² 949.7 (165/4) decree, the reading is probably 'Ἀλώις, but the stone is too worn for certainty (L.).

17.04 Confusion of *οι* and *υ*

The diphthong *οι* was one of the last to be monophthongized in Attic, passing to *υ* (= [y]) in the later Roman Period. Confusion of *Υ* and *ΟΙ* in Attic inscriptions is very rare, and most of the examples cited in MS³ (in Lit. *infra*) are on Christian texts omitted by Kirchner from IG II² because of their late date. The remaining instances (nos. 1–4 *infra*) include two public texts: regulations for the library of Pantainos which can scarcely be later than the end of the second century after Christ and an ephebic catalog dated to 238–244 A.D.

Examples:

- 1) ἀνυγήσεται SEG 21.500 (= *Hesperia* 5 [1936] pp. 41–42, fig. 40) (s. I/IIp.) regulations for the library of Pantainos;
- 2) Ποιανενπιῶνα II² 2239.82 (238/9–243/4p.) eph. cat. (L.);
- 3) ἀνῦξε (= ἀνοιξαι) II² 13216.C4 (ca. s. IIp.) sep. curses; crude orthography (cf. 15.013, no. 44, p. 297 *supra*) (L.);
- 4) Ἐρυάδης II² 6093 (s. II/IIIp.) sep. mon.

Probably later than the limits of this book is τοίχη for τύχη, alongside κοιμητήριον in the sep. mon., *Deltion* 20 (1965) *Chronika* p. 122 (= BCH 92 [1968] p. 762, p. 759, fig. 10).

Very doubtful: ὑπόλ[υ]πον II² 1950.15 (post 250 p.? dated on basis of alleged *Υ* for *οι*) cat.; a ligature or compendium for *ΟΙ*, or *Ο* alone (*Ι* omitted as in 17.01b, p. 324 *supra*) stood on the stone.

In II² 13217 (= IG III, no. 1430) read καὶ ἐαυτῇ, not καὶ [Ἄ]κύτη (= ἀκούτη).

Lit.: MS³ pp. 58–59, notes 500–503; Sturtevant pp. 50–52.

17.05 *Ι* for *οι*

Although there is rare confusion of *υ* and *ι*, the evidence urges strongly that *υ* has not passed from [y] to [i] by the time of the latest texts included in this work (cf. 14.01, pp. 261ff. *supra*). The only possible case of confusion of *ΟΙ* and *Ι* in an Attic text

early enough to be included here is quite doubtful: in the sep. mon., II² 11492 (s. II p.), Kirchner records εικοστής ἐλευθερίας· ἱκονόμος· in line 4; but the space between the final Σ of ἐλευθερίας and ἱκονόμος is quite worn, and it is hard to say if an O stood in it or it was left blank. Kirchner's reading of a dot (punctuation) is quite doubtful (L.).

In II² 13197.10 (= IG III, no. 1420) read φυλάττοι (correction of Kirchner), not φυλάττι.

Lit.: cf. 17.04; 14.01.

18.00 The diphthong υι

18.01 υι ~ υ/___V

The iota of υι before vowels was deleted during the Classical Period. This can be seen most clearly in υῖός > ὕός, a change which takes place by the fourth century: ηυῖός is normal on archaic dedications, ηυός rare there, but by the fourth century ὕός has become almost universal (cf. 18.011 *infra*). This same development may be seen in certain substantives in -υια and in perfect participles in -υῖα: in these cases -ῖα is universal in the fourth century, but for the participles at least there is fifth-century evidence for -υῖα. The first examples of Ὠρεῖθια, Ἰλείθια on vases (sixth century) have no iota, but ΑΡΕΙΠΥΙΑ (i.e. Ἀρεῖπυια) is on one of the earliest vases with dipinti, cf. ABV p. 5, Nettos painter no. 4 (= LSAG p. 76, no. 6b) (625–600). To the ὕός virtually universal in the Hellenistic Period, there is little comparative evidence because the perfect participles in -υ(ι)α normally end in -εῖα in this period (cf. Morphology) and the substantives are rare; Εἰλύθεια and Ἰλείθια are attested (cf. 18.012 *infra*), and both ἀγνεύς and ἀγνιεύς occur on third-century B.C. lead pinakia identifying horses of the hippeis; γυιο- occurs once in a verse text (nos. 23–24). In the Roman Period, υι was certainly restored in υῖός, virtually the only spelling found by 50 A.D. and in Εἰλείθια; probably also in the perfect participle, although evidence is scarce (cf. no. 3 *infra*); both γυι- and γυ- are found in Roman times.

There is explicit testimony in the grammatical literature that υ for υι/___V was Attic: cf. Herodian 2 (= *Gramm. gr.* 3.2) p. 281: οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ... τὸ τετυφῦα καὶ γεγραφῦα τετυφῦα καὶ γεγραφῦα λέγουσιν and *ib.* line 30: υῖός καὶ φυῖός, ταῦτα δὲ οἱ Ἀττικοὶ ἄνευ τοῦ ι γράφουσιν.

The Θυῖων of II² 425.1 (ca. 350–325, cf. SEG 24.93) decree, was a foreign person honored with proxenia. The Θύων in the pryt. cat., II² 1745.7 (360/59), is Athenian.

Lit.: MS³ pp. 59–61, notes 504–511; Lademann pp. 37–40.

*Examples (for υ(ι)ός, etc., cf. 18.011 *infra*; Ἰλείθια, etc., 18.012):*

Pre-Roman texts:

Perfect participles: -υῖα:

- 1) λυθυῖαι AFD pp. 80–83, lines 27, 40 (= I² 296 + I² 309 a; SEG 10.223) (432/1) inv. (cf. AFD p. 75, fig. 12; p. 77, fig. 13);

- 2) ἐσελευθυίας I² 324.22 (426/5–423/2) inv.,]θυίας *ib.* 8,]υθυίας *ib.* 13;
 3) γεγονυίας *Eleusiniaka* 1 (1932) pp.223 ff., line 65 (25/4–18/7, cf. *Mélanges Bidez* pp.819 ff.) decree.

-υα:

- 4) κατεαγυα II² 1424 a (in add.) 394 (369/8) inv.;
 5) κατεαγυα II² 1425.400 (368/7) inv.;
 6) ἐκπεπλευ[κ]υῶν II² 1611.7–8 (357/6) inv.;
 7) ἐρρωγυα II² 1542.19 (ca. 350) inv.;
 8) διερωγυας II² 1673.40 (333/2? cf. *AE* 1971 p.112) inv.;
 9) κατεαγυα II² 1627.363 (330/29) inv.;
 10) παρειληφυα II² 1631.396 (323/2) inv.;
 11) κατεαγυαι II² 1469.69 (post 320/19) inv.;
 12) γεγονυῶν II² 1035.11 (10/9–3/2, cf. p.124 *supra*, no.59) decree.

Substantives: -υα:

- 13) Καφυῶθε[ν I² 421 (fin. s. VIa./init. s. Va.) ded. (bronze); all the earlier epigraphical attestations have Καφυ-, cf. *IG* V.2, p.73;
 14) γυαι I² 376.4 (cf. *Hesperia* 12 [1943] p.28, no.6) (ca. 424/3, cf. *SEG* 10.304) inv.;
 15) κωδύας II² 1443.148 (344/3) inv.;
 16) κ]ωδύαν II² 1456.57 (post 341/0) inv.;
 17) κωδυῶν II² 1457.14 (post 339/8) inv.;
 18) κωδύας II² 1544.38 (333/2) inv.;
 19) ὄργυα, ὄργυαν, ὄργυων II² 1672.9, 54, 98 (329/8) inv.;
 20) ὄρογυῶν (= ὄργυῶν? cf. 29.00, p.407 *infra*) II² 1693.5, 7 (s. IV a.?) inv.;
 21) Ὀρειθυα II² 1609.67 (ante 370/69) inv.;
 22) Ὀρειθυα II² 1611.194, 206 (357/6) inv.

The]ειθυα in II² 1607.138–139 (373/2) inv. is uncertain (cf. 18.012, p.343 *infra*). Cf. Ὀρειθυα on a rf. vase, ARV² p.496, Oreithya painter no.2 (= CVA, Germany 12, plate 205.1–2).

-υια:

There is only Ἀρειπυια on the early bf. vase of the Nettos painter cited on the previous page.

γυ(ι)-:

- 23) ἄγνεύς and ἄγνιεύς both occur as names of brands on third-century B.C. lead pinakia identifying horses of the hippeis, cf. ἄγνιεύς: *AM* 85 (1970) p.228, no.456; p.233, nos.536, 545; p.234, no.564; *Hesperia* 46 (1977) p.112, no.30; ἄγνεύς *AM* 85 (1970) p.217, no.249; p.232, no.526;
 24) γυιοπαγεις II² 3783.6 (s. IIa.) ded., metrical: ~υυ~.

Roman Period:

- 25) γεγονυίας (cf. no.3 *supra*);
 26) Ἀγυιεύς II² 4995.2 (s. I p.) oracular text;
 27) Γυγυας[--- II² 3194.6 (144/5–149/50 p.) ded.;
 28) γυια II² 11140.1 (s. II p.) sep. mon.: ~υ;~
 29) ὑπόγυον II² 1113.13 (193–211 p.) imp. letter;
 30) Εὐρυάγυια Peek, *AG* 2 p.64, no.211 (act. Rom.) sep. mon. (L.): ~υυ~;~
 31) Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀγυει II² 4852 (date?) ded. (priv.).

18.011 hu(ι)ός, υός→ύός, etc.

Forms of the third declension normally have no iota, even in the earliest texts (when texts are in verse the scansion is indicated if it can be ascertained):

hυός: cf. I² 670 (= DAA p.259, no.227) (ca. 500); I² 686 (= DAA p.224, no.190) (ca. 500): hυός; I² 571.4 (= DAA p.47, no.46) (460–450) not in verse, or else scansion very uncertain (cf. 10.04a, p.212 supra) (L.); all dedications.

hūs occurs once, cf. DAA p.10, no.6 (= I² 548 + I² 663) (527–514) ded. Cf. also υέ[σιν I² 54.14 (ca. 435/4, cf. SEG 21.33), hυēs I² 115.14 (409/8) decrees.

ι appears by exception on a few vases with hυhυός (cf. p.461 infra for the examples) and in hυιέ (dual) in I² 775 (post ca. 440) ded. (L.).

In texts earlier than 450 B.C. iota is almost always present in the second declension forms hυιός and hυιόν:

hυιός: IGAA p.136, no.43 (fin. s. VIa.); *Hesperia* 16 (1947) p.147, no.35 (= SEG 10.449) (init. s. Va.) sep. monuments; I² 761 (= LSAG p.78, no.37) (ca. 520–510?): hυιός; DAA p.29, no.24 (ca. 500): hυιός; DAA p.168, no.150 (= I² 521 + I² 722) (init. s. Va.): hυιός; I² 598 (= DAA p.246, no.217) (init. s. Va.); I² 625.3 (= DAA p.248, no.218) (paulo ante 450): hυιός; I² 530.2 (= DAA p.126, no.121) (ca. 475?): hυιός; I² 529.1 (fin. s. Va., cf. SEG 13.29): υιός; I² 619 (= DAA p.250, no.219) (450–440): υιός all dedications.

hυός occurs only rarely: I² 585 (= DAA p.31, no.28) (490–480) ded.: hυός; I² 828.2 (fin. s. Va., cf. SEG 15.51) ded.: υός (no reason to take it as genitive); and in the later decree, I² 70.8 (424/3?): hυόν.

After 450 B.C. retention of the iota is rare in any form of this word. In the period ca. 450–ca. 100 B.C. it occurs only in the following texts: υιέ I² 10620a (in add.)¹ (ca. 300) sep. mon., in verse: υιέ; υιά I² 11960.1 (= GVI 1, p.435, no.1466) (ca. 250) sep. mon., scanned υιά; υιόν I² 1305.7 (fin. s. IIIa.?) decree (troops and Eleusinians); υιόν I² 2332.325 (183/2) cat., has υων *ib.* 6, 22, 35 and *passim al.*, υου *ib.* 9, 50, 55, 326, etc.; υιού I² 4458.2 (s. IIa.) ded. (priv.). Cf. θυιῶι (= τῶι υιῶι, cf. 34.022, p.434 infra) in line b4 of an epistle incised on a lead tablet of the early fourth century B.C., cf. SIG³ no.1259 (= IG III.3, p.ii [Praefatio]).

For the normal omission of the iota in this period, cf. e.g. υēs I² 1.73 (403/2), υείς I² 103.20 (369/8), I² 218.17 (346/5) decrees; υέος I² 4883.2 (init. s. IVa.) ded. (priv.); υέοιν on an unpublished ded. of the fourth century pointed out to me by Mrs. D. Peppas-Delmousou.

ύός, ύου, ύόν, etc. (the first syllable is always long in metrical texts, here indicated by long marks over the υ): ύό I² 10799.6, 9 (fin. s. Va./init. s. IVa.) sep. mon.; ύός I² 4881.3 (init. s. IVa.) ded. (priv.); ύόν I² 84.14 (ante 378/7), ύόν I² 86.7 (init. s. IVa., cf. SEG 24.76) decrees; ύό I² 3139.3 (ante 350) ded., I² 4351.2 (ante 350) ded. (priv.); ύός I² 4319.2 (ante 350) ded. (priv.); ύόν I² 10665 (ante 350) sep. mon.; ύός I² 8708.8 (ca. 350) sep. mon.; ύός I² 4333.3 (post 350) ded. (priv.); ύόν I² 212.68 (347/6), ύός I² 349.1 (331/0), ύόν I² 498.16 (303/2), I² 754.4 (init. s. IIIa.) decrees; ύόν I² 3850.4 (init. s. IIIa.) ded.; ύός, ύου I² 682.4, 57 (post 256/5) decree; ύου I² 1534A.47 (291/0, cf. SEG 16.118) inv.; ύοί I² 3856.2 (post 250) ded.; ύου I² 791.d2, d11 (247/6) decree (L.); ύου I² 1534B.238 (247/6, cf. SEG 16.118) inv.; ύου, ύόν I² 834.3, 5 (paulo post 229/8); ύός, ύῶ I² 844.51, 65 (181/0, cf. TAPA 95 [1964] p.239) decrees; ύός I² 1275.5 (s. III/IIa., cf. Sokolowski, *Supplément* p.210, no.126; SEG 21.534) decree (thiasotai); ύόν I² 4444.2 (s. IIIa.) ded. (priv.); ύοί I² 4031 (init. IIa.) ded.; ύου, ύων I² 2332 *passim*, υλων once (cf. supra) (183/2), ύων I² 2333.26 (ca. 180) catalogs;

ύων II² 1326.31 (176/5) decree (dionysiastai); ύούς, ύων II² 1236.3, 7 (ante 150) decree (genos); ύού, ύων II² 2334.5, 7, 12, 15, etc. (ca. 150) cat.; ύού II² 2335.12 (ca. 150) cat.; ύόν II² 974.23 (= *Hesperia* 28 [1959] p. 188, no. 10) (137/6) decree; ύόν II² 3149.2 (fin. s. IIa.) ded.; ύός II² 3487.4 (= *IG* III, no. 720, wrongly dated to Roman times) (125–100) ded.; ύόν II² 3877.2 (s. II/1a.) ded., II² 4034.2 (= *IG* III, no. 983, wrongly dated to Roman times) (s. II/1a.) ded.; etc.

It is in the course of the first century B.C. that the original spelling becomes normal again. ύός, etc. are still normal before 50 B.C., but are unusual after the beginning of the first century A.D. The transition can be seen in the numerous dedications of this period:

Before 50 B.C.:

ύός: II² 4701.2 (init. s. Ia.) ded. (priv.); II² 3897.2 (ca. 78, cf. *Hesperia* 18 [1949] p. 99); II² 4107.2 (paulo post 69); II² 4106.3 (ante 50), II² 4109.2 (ca. 50) (L.) dedications.

υιός: II² 4101 (ante 89), II² 4103 + *Deltion* 22 (1967) *Chronika* p. 14 (= *SEG* 24.214) (83), II² 4104.3 (ca. 71), II² 4108.3 (ca. 50) dedications.

After 50 B.C.:

ύός: II² 4112.3 (43), II² 4118.3 (ca. 27), II² 3443.3 (ante 16), II² 4125.3 (ante 15), II² 3249.2 (ante 9), II² 4135.3 (fin. s. Ia.?), II² 4151.3 (aet. Augusti) dedications.

υιός: II² 4111.3 (ca. 45), II² 4114.5 (34 aut 33), II² 4115.3 (post 34), II² 4120.2 (ca. 25), II² 4121.1 (ca. 25), II² 4123.3 (ca. 23), II² 4122.3 (post 23), II² 4133.3 (ante 8), II² 3896.3 (fin. s. Ia.?), II² 3224/25.3 (27 a. – 14 p.), II² 4153.3 (aet. Augusti?) dedications.

Dated vaguely to the first century B.C.:

ύός: II² 3895.3, II² 3494.3 dedications.

υιός: II² 3889.3 ded.

1–50 A.D.:

ύός: II² 4145.3 (fin. s. Ia./init. s. Ip.), II² 3251.3 (bis) (non post 2p.), II² 3244.3 (ante 4p.), II² 3226.3 (ante 14p.), II² 4155.3 (ca. 7p.), II² 4170 (init. s. Ip.), II² 4162.3 (init. s. Ip.), II² 4158.3 (ca. 20p.); II² 4172.2 (init. aut med. s. Ip.), II² 3792.2 (= *SEG* 22.203) (ante 52p.), II² 4186.3 (ca. 50p.), II² 4202.2 (s. Ip.) dedications.

υιός: II² 4146.3 (fin. s. Ia./init. s. Ip.), II² 4148.3 (fin. s. Ia./init. s. Ip.), II² 3245.3 (ante 4p.), II² 3248.3 (ante 4p.), II² 3250.2 (2p.), II² 3228.2 (ante 14p.), II² 3229.2 (ante 14p.), II² 3230.3 (ante 14p.), II² 3922.3 (s. Ip.?), II² 4159.2, II² 4163.3 (bis) (init. s. Ip.), II² 3257.3 (post 20p.?), II² 3926.b6 (paulo post 21p.), II² 3266.3 (37–41p.), II² 3930.2, II² 4178 (ca. 50p.), *Robinson Studies* 2 p. 333 (= II² 4179 + new fr.) (ca. 50p.) dedications; etc.; II² 9719 (init. s. Ip.) sep. mon.; etc.

ύός is rare in Roman times after ca. 50 A.D.:

Cf. ύοις II² 4762.10 (s. I/Ip.) ded., metrical, but scansion uncertain; ό ύός II² 3948/49.3 (s. I/Ip.) ded.; ύού II² 2026.23 (116/7p.) eph. cat.; ύεξ II² 3632.24 (post 150p.) ded., scanned ύεξ (L.); ύόν II² 10193.7 (s. IIp.?) sep. mon., scanned ύόν; ύόν II² 3616.8 (fin. s. IIp.) ded.; ύέος ύόν II² 3754.4 (s. IIp.) ded., ύέος ύόν; ύόν II² 3765.3 (226/7–234/5p.) ded.; ύός II² 12821.3

(aet. Rom.) sep. mon. Perhaps an additional example in II² 3694.3 (ante 250 p.) ded., where Pittakes read IYON at the beginning of the line; Lademann (cf. p. 39) took it as υἰόν with the order of the letters reversed. But in II² 4213.4 (= IG III, no. 620) read υἰόν (cf. AE 1894 p. 182, no. 26).

In Roman times iota is normally present not only in υἰός, υἰοῦ, υἰῶι, etc., frequently attested in all types of text and at all periods, but also in third declension forms, usually used only in metrical texts.

Cf. e.g.: υἱῶς II² 3553.1 (s. Ip.) ded., υἱῶ II² 3964.1, II² 3963.6 (post 128/9 p.) dedications; υἱέα II² 3743.4 (post 158/9 p.) ded.; υἱά II² 13143.3 (s. IIP.) sep. mon.; υἱεῖ II² 4008.3 (s. IIP.) ded.; υἱέος II² 11157.9 (s. IIP.) sep. mon.; and in prose: υἱεῖς II² 3011.6 (144/5–149/50 p.) ded.

That the restored υἱ- was not merely a spelling convention, but that the iota was actually sounded is indicated by the spellings υεἰός and υἰός. υεἰοί, υεἰοῖς occur on two prose dedications of the third century after Christ (cf. 9.024, nos. 20, 33, p. 201 supra); here EI for ι indicates that iota was not silent, as in Ζωεῖλος, Ἀθηναεῖς (cf. p. 200 supra). The diaeresis does not indicate that υ and ι were sounded separately, but is again an indication that iota is sounded (cf. 4.031, no. 2, p. 96 supra). Cf. υἱέα scanned υἱέα in II² 3743.4 (post 158/9 p.) ded. (cited supra). Prose examples: υἱοί II² 2193.9 (198/9–205/6 p., cf. Graindor, *Album* p. 55) eph. cat. (L.); υἱός II² 3764.7 (ca. 217/8 p.) ded.; υἱός AE 1918, p. 24, no. 12 and fig. 15 (= II² 4831.7) (s. IVP.) ded. (priv.) found in the cave of Pan on Mt. Parnes (this part of the text is not metrical, cf. A. Wilhelm, AE 1924, p. 59) (L.).

Lit.: MS³ p. 60, notes 510–511; Lademann pp. 37–40.

18.012 Ἰλαίθυα, Εἰλείθυ(ι)α, etc.

No fewer than nine different spellings are found in Attic texts: (h)υλαίθυα, hελαίθυα, Ἰλύθεια, Εἰλύθεια, Εἰλείθυα, Εἰλίθυα, Ἰλίθυα, Εἰλεθυα, Ἐλείθυα. On vases hυλαίθυα is normal; there is no trace of -θυα. The initial aspirate is perhaps like that in χαριθμός, ἡέχω, etc. (cf. pp. 456, 457, 462 infra). Cf. ABV p. 135, Group E no. 44 (= CVA, England 4, plate 24.1a–1b); ABV p. 96, Tyrrhenian group no. 13 (certainly hυλαίθυα, not hυλειθυι, cf. CVA, France 1, plate 7.5); ARV² p. 494, Birth of Athena painter no. 1 (= HRF2 p. 31, no. 12; Smith, *Catalogue* 3, pp. 256–257, no. E410). hυλίθυα on a vase in Berlin, cf. ARV² p. 1142, Berlin inv. no. 3244, by Xenotimos (= CVA, Germany 22, plate 116.3–5), may show I for ει comparable to Πισίστρατος, etc. (cf. 9.021). HFΛΕΙΘΥΑ is certainly the reading on a bf. vase very close to one cited above, cf. ABV p. 96, Tyrrhenian group no. 14 (= *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 8 [1961] plate 20), i.e. hελαίθυα; is this initial E = [e] and the ει of later texts (cf. infra)? hυλύθυα, with assimilation of ει to υ (cf. 26.01a), occurs on a fr. of a rf. vase according to Beazley, cf. ARV² p. 29, Euthymides no. 19; the inscription is on the fr. in London, but nothing can be read from the photograph in Caskey-Beazley, vol. 3 of text, supplementary plate no. 19β.

Ἰλειθυα was probably the Attic spelling by the end of the fifth century; it appears on a ded. (priv.) shortly after that, cf. Ἰλειθύαι II² 4547 (paulo post 400) and rarely in the Hellenistic Period, cf. Ἰλειθύαι II² 4682.2 (s. IIIa.) ded. (priv.). Perhaps Ἰλ[ε]ίθυα in II² 1607.138–139 (373/2) inv., although this ship is not otherwise known; perhaps Ὠρ[ε]ίθυα (cf. 18.01, no.22, p.339 supra). Also found in the period from ca. 400 B.C. until early Roman times are Ἰλύθεια and Εἰλύθεια. The change to -θεια may be the same as the change from -υῖα to -εῖα seen in perfect participles like γεγονεῖα, normal in the Hellenistic Period, but in (Ε)λύθεια the -θεια is always accompanied by υ before it. This spelling is perhaps due to vowel metathesis and/or influence of ἐλήλυθα. The EI for ι might be an early case of EI for [i-] if it is not due to non-Attic influence. Cf. Ἰλυθείαι *Deltion* 25 (1970) p.68, no.23, line 3 (ca. 350) ded.; Ἰλυθείαι *Hesperia* 28 (1959) p.274, no.2 (ca. 180) ded. (priv.); Εἰλυθείαι II² 4669.9 (s. IV/IIIa.) ded. (priv.); Εἰλυθεία II² 4048.3 (s. Ip.) ded.; cf. the graffito, Ἰλύθει[ι], *Agora* 21, p.54, no. G8 (init. s. IVa.).

In Roman times -θυα is universal except for the first-century A.D. example of -υθεία in II² 4048 just cited. Εἰλειθυα is normal: Εἰλειθυί[α] II² 3895.4 (s. Ia.) ded.; Εἰλειθυίαις BCH 92 (1968) p.72 (= SEG.24.226) (s. Ia./s. Ip.) ded. (priv.); Εἰλειθυῶν II² 5001 (s. I/Ip.) altar; Εἰλειθυίη II² 4793 (s. Ip.) ded. (priv.); Εἰλ[ε]ι-θυ[ι]αίς AM 67 (1942) p.56, no.94 (act. Rom.) ded. (priv.); cf. Εἰλιθυίαϝ with I for ει II² 5099 (act. Rom.) label on a theatre-seat; Ἰλιθυαί with I for ει twice, II² 4066.3 (ante 150p.) ded. (I for ει is common in Roman times, cf. 9.023). The Εἰλειθυα spelling may have been introduced into Attica from the Koine. Peculiar is [Ε]ἰλειθυίαις in II² 3965.6 (ante 150p.) ded., with E in the second syllable; perhaps EI was intended, cf. Νεκόπολις, etc. in 7.0111c, p.139 supra.

For Attic at least the initial ε of Ἰλειθυί[α] in II² 10981.4 (act. Rom.) sep. mon. is probably unique (ἡλειθυα on a bf. vase probably = ἡεἰλειθυα, cf. supra) and a poetical artificiality created to achieve the necessary short syllable: πῆκρον Ἰεἰλειθυίης (note the non-Attic, pseudo-epic -υίης). Ἰεἰλειθυα occurs in Pindar, inscriptions from Delphi, etc. (cf. DEG 2 p.318).

The earliest attestation of the word is Ereutija on Linear B tablets from Cnossos. The Mycenaean probably = Ἰελευθια, cf. later spellings like Ἰελεύθυια (Crete), Ἰελευθία and Ἰελευσία (Laconia), etc. Ἰεἰλειθυα would be due to vowel dissimilation (cf. 26.02) or the influence of Ὠρεῖθυια; Εἰλειθυια is due to metrical lengthening or an assimilation. The Attic ἡεἰλειθυα already shows a further development in the first vowel (εἰ, [e:] or [e:]?) a single case of ἡεἰλειθυα is ambiguous, probably E = εἰ or [e:] to ι, unless all the examples are to be taken as the sort of thing seen in Πισίστρατος or Κλινίας, careless use of I for ει or [e:] frequent on vases and ostraca; note the presence of the λ (cf. Κλινίο?) and for the frequency of I as a grapheme for [e:], cf. Κλινίο, normal on ostraca, but to judge from later practices not an accurate indication of the vowel (cf. 9.021, 9.0211). The -θυα for -θυια shows the deletion of the ι of υι/___V normal in Attic. The examples of Ἰεἰλειθυα on vases are earlier than ἐσεληλυθυῖα (cf. 18.01, nos.1–2, pp.338–339 supra), but the dipinti are frequently ahead of stone texts in orthography or perhaps -υῖα survived longer in the participle where it was an inflectional termination.

It is a matter of dispute whether the word is Greek and related to ἐλεύσομαι, ἡλυθον, etc. or non-Greek, perhaps related to Ἰελευθέρα, but was later imagined to be related to ἐλευθ- (cf.

Chantraine, Frisk in Lit. infra). For recent arguments in favor of Greek origin, cf. Heubeck (Lit. infra) especially pp. 93–95 and notes 24–25 on p. 94 (recent scholarship pro and contra Greek origin of the word).

Lit.: MS³ p. 56, note 477; Lademann pp. 39–40; Chantraine, *DEG* 2, p. 318 (with lit.); Frisk, *GEW* 1 pp. 455–456; A. Heubeck, *Kadmos* 11 (1972) pp. 87–95.

19.00 The diphthong αυ

For αυ, cf. 24.00.

a) Probably mere clerical omissions: Γλῦκογ for Γλαῦκον in *AM* 67 (1942) p. 21, no. 24, line 5 (350–300?) cat. (?) (L.). So also Γλύκη, dipinto on a vase of the Kleophrades painter, *ARV*² p. 192, no. 106 (= *HRF* 2, p. 143, no. 20); ἐμυτῆ, *II*² 13221.5 (s. IIIp.) sep. mon.

b) The spelling ἀτός for αὐτός is common enough elsewhere (cf. Mayser-Schmoll p. 92; Gignac p. 227; Schwyzler, *GG* 1, p. 199), but is not found in Attic inscriptions. In line 15 of the decree, *Hesperia* 34 (1965) pp. 125 ff. (ca. 37 aut paulo post), neither the earlier reading ANTOIS (i.e., ἀν <αὐ>τοῖς as given by J. H. Oliver, *GRBS* 6 [1965] pp. 291 ff.) nor the later ANATOIS (read by J. Bingen from a photograph, cf. Sokolowski, *Lois*² p. 94, no. 50, note to line 15; *SEG* 22.114 with apparatus) is the correct one. The stone quite clearly reads: ANATYIOISΦAI (L.). There is no question that the fourth letter is tau, and that the lower part of an upright hasta in the fifth place was part of a letter, although the stone is broken away in such a way as to make it impossible to tell whether this letter was upsilon, iota or rho. The easiest interpretation is to take the fifth letter as upsilon and assume that a careless metathesis of letters occurred, i.e. ATYOIS was carved for AYTOIS. Otherwise one would have to read AT{I}OIS, with iota of ATOIS carved erroneously before omicron and left uncorrected. If ATOIS was intended, it is best taken as the reflexive αὐτοῖς, used here as an indirect reflexive referring back to the subject of ἀναγραψάτωσαν, viz.: ἀναγραψάτωσαν οἱ εἰσενέγκαντες τόδε ... ἐν τῇ παραστάδι ... ἢ οὐ ἂν αὐτοῖς φαί[νηται] ἐπιτήδην εἶναι. In another decree, *II*² 1043.63 (where the reading is erroneously given as αὐτούς; the correct ATOYΣ in *IG* II, no. 482) (L.), ATOYΣ is certainly the reflexive αὐτούς, cf. 24.01, no. 9. The reliability of the reading and interpretation of the sequence of letters ΚΑΙ ΑΤΟΚΑΙΤΑΕΕΚΕΙΝΟΥ ΑΠΑΝΤΑ as καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ ἐ(ε)κείνου ἅπαντα on a defixio, *IG* III.3, no. 59.6 (s. IIIa.?), is subject to considerable doubt; if reading and interpretation are correct, the isolation of the example makes one suspect no more than a careless omission of a letter without any phonological significance.

c) The spelling Αὐτοκράτης on a sep. mon., *II*² 10706 (s. IV/IIIa.), remains isolated in Attic texts; αο for αυ is common in East Ionic, cf. Buck, *GD*² p. 33, no. 33. The man certainly was not Athenian, and without more evidence it is reasonable to suppose he was East Ionian. Perhaps the same non-Attic αο occurs in Κενταροον, dipinto on a bf. vase, cf. *CVA*, France 8, plate 57.12–16. ΑΟΤΕΝ (= αὐτήν) is a doubtful reading on a defixio full of orthographical crudities, cf. *IG* III.3, no. 90.a 3 (s. IIIa.?).

d) For the Αύλεᾷται of the tribute lists, Ούλιᾷται occurs once, I² 196.7 (= ATL 2, no. 7) (448/7). It is tempting to see some connection with the Carian Ούλι- here. The Carian sound, presumably not quite [a^u] nor [o^u], normally being rendered by ΑΥ, is here spelled ΟΥ. It seems a mistake to reject this connection and assume a purely graphic mistake as do apparently the editors of ATL 1, p. 473.

e) For the Roman name Faustus, the spelling ΦΑΣΤΟΣ, said to occur in a decree (cf. Eckinger p. 12, no. 9), I² 1077.46 (209/10 p.), rests on a misreading of the early copies on which the text of this long since illegible stone is based. The text given in CIG 1, no. 353 II, line 9 (= IG III, no. 10, line 9 of col. 2 of the catalog beneath the decree) is ΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ, which might be interpreted as Φαῦστος (or Φα·ῦ·στος), or perhaps as for Φῆστος, with a rare case of αι for η (cf. 8.01, nos. 52–54, p. 164 supra; 15.013, p. 295 supra), but certainly not Φᾶστος.

f) Νασιγένος for Ναυσιγένος in the inv., I² 1425.228 (368/7), is perhaps a careless omission (this text contains other graphic mistakes). Ναπεγός occurs on a bronze ded. of the Archaic Period, I² 428 (post 550, cf. LSAG p. 68 and note 1). Incomplete rendition of a diphthong in a semi-literate text? As the text is in Attic script, there is no reason to suspect the spelling is non-Attic (cf. νᾱς, νᾱν, etc. cited as Doric, LSJ s. v. νᾱῦς). As the αυ of ναυ/—C was probably not long (cf. Schwyzler, GG 1, p. 578 γ), two later examples of NA- would have to be Dorisms or rare cases of α for ᾱν, not ᾱ ← ᾱν as in ἐατός, ᾱτός with ᾱ (cf. 24.01 infra). Cf. ΝΑΠΑΚΙΑ (= Ναυπακτία) *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p. 68, no. 32 (= I² 9988) (s. Ia.) sep. mon. (L.); ΝΑΣΙΝΙΚΗ (= Ναυσινίκη) Peek, AG 2, p. 39, no. 140 (aet. Rom.?) sep. mon.

g) The tendency to render diphthongs inaccurately in less formal texts is to be seen in Γλακονος corrected to Γλάκωνος on a fifth-century ostrakon, cf. *Deltion* 23 (1968) *Chronika* p. 27, plate 19 d.

Lit.: MS³ p. 61, notes 513–515.

20.00 The diphthong ευ

For the shortening of ηυ to ευ, cf. 24.02, p. 384 infra.

a) For -εύς there are rare cases of -ΥΣ. All are on private texts and are either accidental omissions or incomplete rendition of the diphthong by the semi-literate:

- 1) Λαμπρύς I² 11911 (ca. 350) sep. mon., but Λαμπτρεύς *ibidem*;
- 2) Μεγαρύς I² 9310.3 (s. IV a.) sep. mon.;
- 3) Ἀντιοχύς BCH 71–72 (1947–48) p. 425, no. 3 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.

Cf. ΛΑΛΠΠΙΤΡΥΣ (= Λαμπτρεύς) on an ostrakon of the 480s, AM 80 (1965) p. 108, no. 1. But for the letters EYONYMI recorded by Fourmont in the now lost sep. mon., I² 6169, it is perhaps preferable to take the final upright stroke as part of a damaged epsilon and read: Εὐονυμε[ύς]. In *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p. 268, no. 95, line 3 read: Θημακ'ύς, i.e. space was left for the E which for some reason was never carved.

Characteristic incomplete rendering of diphthongs can be seen in the fairly frequent cases of Y for ευ in the dipinti: Τυδύς ABV p.368, Leagros group no.106 (= CVA, Germany 3, plates 36.4, 39.1–2); ΘΕΡΥΤΑΙ (= Θηρευταί?) ABV p.79, Ergotimos potter no.1 (= HBF p.82, no.1), but Kretschmer's interpretation Θηρύτας (man's name) is also possible, cf. *Vaseninschriften* p.139; Ολνός ARV² p.1045, Lykaon painter no.4 (= HRF 2, p.164, no.9); Ἐρυθός (= Εὐρυσοθέως) (cf. b) infra) ARV² p.62, Oltos no.83 (= CVA, France 17, plates 5, 6), but Ὀλυτεύς; Θεός ARV² p.1043, Epimedes painter no.1 (= CVA, England 4, plate 23.1 a–b); Νερύς ARV² p.1142, Xenotimos painter, Berlin inv. no.3244 (= CVA, Germany 22, plate 116.3–5, cf. Text p.16), but on the same vase Εὐλιμένη (a Nereid). Kretschmer's suggestion (*op. cit.* pp.193–194) that the forms like Θηρύς are true variants in -ύς is not convincing.

Read Νερ[ε]ύς on the François vase, cf. HBF p.152 (= ABV p.76, no.1); Θη[ε]ύς on a vase by Aison in Naples, cf. HRF 1, p.17, no.5 (= ARV² p.1174, no.6); Ἐρεχ·θεύς on ARV² p.1268, Kodros painter no.2 (= CVA, Germany 22, plate 113.1–2) cf. CVA, Text p.14. The suggestion that κελυμε could be for κέλευ'έμέ on a bf. vase in Würzburg, cf. ABV p.166, Würzburg no.418 (cf. Kretschmer, *op. cit.* p.93), was wisely rejected by Beazley, who took the letters as a nonsense inscription, cf. *JHS* 54 (1934) p.91.

b) Occasionally E occurs for ευ. Thus -εϛ occurs for -εύς:

- 4) Ἀθη[ν]οφάνο[υ]ς Φ[ι]λ[ι]π[π]εύς II² 215.3–4 (346/5) decree;
- 5) Παλλήν[ε]ς II² 7135 (350–300) sep. mon.;
- 6) Ἀντισ[τ]ράχ[ε]ς II² 8181 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.;
- 7) ΔΙΟΜΕΕΣΣ (= Διομεεύς) II² 5992.2 (s. IIIa.?) sep. mon., probably just a graphic error, note -ΣΣ;

Copying error (ΛΥ read as Μ): ΦΜΥΕΣΣ (= Φλυεύς?) II² 7662.3 (s. IIIa.) sep. mon.

E for ευ also occurs rarely elsewhere before consonants:

- 8) Λεκονοιεύς II² 2818.7 (357/6) ded.;
- 9) ἐνοίας II² 1291.19 (ca. 250) decree (eranistai);
- 10) Σελεκεύς II² 10251 (s. IIa.) sep. mon.; assimilation? (cf. 26.01 b infra) (L.);
- 11) ΑΕΚΙΟΥ (= Λευκίου?) II² 9880 (s. IIp.) sep. mon.;
- 12) ἐρυοδείης (= εὐρυοδείης) II² 4797.3 (s. IIp.) ded., εὐνομή *ib.* 8.

Doubtful:

Πολυέκτου II² 678.35, 36 (256/5, cf. SEG 21.377) decree; text based on a very suspicious copy of Pococke; Πολυέκτου II² 6205 (date?) sep. mon. seen only by Fourmont. If these readings should happen to be accurate, Πολυεκτ- might be a different name from Πολύευκτος, cf. Πολύοκτος in f) infra.

All the foregoing examples are probably just careless omissions. The tendency to omit the second element of the diphthong [e^u] is a natural one. It can be well seen in a ded., II² 4374.3 (ca. 350), where the Y of Πολυεύκτου has been added later above the line; or in the eph. cat., II² 2102 (paulo post 169/70 p.), where in line 61 Ἐλεθέρου has been corrected to Ἐλευθέρου by the insertion of the omitted Y in the space above the E and the Θ (the text in IG II² needs correction) (L.). Cf. also c), d) infra.

For E for ευ, cf. Ἀχανέ[ς] for Ἀχαρνεύς on an ostrakon, I² 911.2, no.1. On dipinti: Πελέ[ς] CVA, Germany 3, plates 45.2, 46.2 (bf., near the Leagros group); Προμεθέ[ς] ARV² p.438, Douris no.133 (= HRF 1, p.285, no.84); Ἐρυθός (= Εὐρυσοθέως) (cf. a) supra) ARV² p.62,

Oltos no.83 (= CVA, France 17, plates 5, 6), but Ὀλυτεύς; Ἐκράτης (= Εὐκράτης) ARV² p.24, Phintias no.11 (= Caskey-Beazley plate 32); Ἐρεχσέες (= Ἐρεχθεύς) ARV² p.496, Oreithya painter no.2 (= CVA, Germany 12, plate 205.1–2); Ὀλυτέες ARV² p.814, Followers of Makron no.97 (= K. Friis Johansen, *The Iliad in Early Greek Art* [Copenhagen, 1967] p.171, fig.67), but also Ἀχλλεύς; Περσέες (the gorgon-slayer) ARV² p.1060, Polygnotos group no.136. Perhaps Ἐβολός is for Εὐβόλος on the François vase, ABV p.76, no.1 (= HBF p.152). Some have thought these nominatives in -εες to be variant formations in -ης instead of -εες (cf. Morphology).

c) Certain omissions of the υ of ευ before φ are of particular interest because they might be evidence for the change of εϕ- from [e^up^h] to [ef] as in MG. The Attic examples are:

- 13) Ἐφρονίς (= Εὐφρονίς) Π² 11507 (Hellenistic, certainly pre-Roman) sep. mon. of a slave (L.);
- 14) Ἐφραῖος (= Εὐφραῖος) Π² 5310 (Hellenistic or Roman? As the monument was seen only by Pittakes, there is no way of judging the date) sep. mon. of an Athenian.

In no.14 Pittakes also records Ἀζηνεύς. It is difficult to decide if this is an inaccurate copy (made perhaps from memory?) of Εὐφραῖος and Ἀτιηνεύς on the stone, or if the text really had what Pittakes records. If Pittakes' readings are right the εϕ- for εϕ- and -νεύς for -νιεύς are probably linked and the writer had a tendency to omit the weaker elements of diphthongs and triphthongs (perhaps even in his pronunciation): he dropped the second element of the falling diphthong [e^u] and the first element of the rising triphthong [i^eu]. This is a better assumption than that εϕ = [ef], in view of the uncertainty of the date and the lack of other convincing evidence for the change. The early date of no.13 and its isolation in other respects make it most likely that it belongs with the cases of careless omission in b) supra; there is no reason to suppose the slave was not of foreign origin. Cf. 38.03, p.470 infra.

The εϕήβουσι occurring in the metrical introduction to the eph. cat., Π² 2037.1 (125/6 p.) (ἐφήβων in prose *ib.* 4), cannot be regarded as evidence for εϕ- = [ef] in sound. It is clearly a barbarous creation to get the necessary long syllable for the metre (cf. the artificial -οισι ending). Kretschmer and others were correct in pointing out the connection with compounds in εϕ- (cf. *Vaseninschriften* p.138). The alleged dipinto εϕιβος, known only from a drawing (cited Kretschmer, *loc. cit.*), is dubious (the vase is by the Euergides painter, cf. ARV² p.92, no.67). Beazley wrote of this text (cf. *AJA* 31 [1927] p.347, no.6): "The other word [ΕΥΦΙΒΟ] I cannot explain and can but hope with Kretschmer that it is incorrectly reported." He had not seen the vase by the time of ARV² and does not cite it in the later *Paralipomena*. Not evidence for any sound changes is εϕστευφάνοισι in the crude (cf. ΔΣΩ for δίσω in *ib.* 4) sep. mon. in verse, Π² 7195.5 (post 350), as it is undoubtedly only a graphic mistake rather than assimilation.

There is no evidence for ευ going to [ef] in pre-vocalic position. It is not at all likely that the name Εὐβαίων (not necessarily an Athenian) in the inv., Π² 1534B.226 (247/6, cf. SEG 16.118), has anything to do with the name Εὐαίων (as suggested with a query by Teodorsson, *Phonemic System* [p. VIII supra, note 8] p.115). Cf. rare names like Εὐβαῖος, Βαίων, Βαία cited by Bechtel, *Personennamen* p.91.

d) Before vowels E appears occasionally for ευ, perhaps because the υ element tended to become a glide and disappear (as in the case of the much better attested ι between vowels). But the Attic examples are rare and may be accidental omissions:

15) Ἐωνυμεύς II² 6165 (s. IIa.) sep. mon.;

16) κοσμήτῃ II² 3734 (126/7p.) ded., the text is metrical and the metre demands κοσμήτευε;

17) κατεσσεάσαμεν II² 9087 a (in add.) (s. II/IIIp.) sep. mon. (L.).

Cf. παρασκευάζεται on a defixio, IG III.3, no. 94.9 (ca. 400?); καταπαταλεύω corrected from -λέω on another, Ziebarth, GGN 1899 p. 109, no. 10, lines 17–18 (350–300?).

For ἐχέατο, etc. (ἐ)χεύατο may occur in metrical texts, e.g. II² 11385 a (in add. nova) (= II² 11374) (s. IIp.) sep. mon. But the συνεῖναι proposed in the sep. mon., *Neon Athenaiou* 1 (1953) p. 1, no. 1 (s. Ip.), is doubtful, cf. II² 13194.24, II² 13195.16, etc.

e) There are a few cases of EY for ε:

18) Ἀριστοτεύλου *Neon Athenaiou* 3 (1958–60) p. 8, no. 3 (= SEG 18.106) (init. s. IIIa.) sep. mon., alongside Ἀριστοτέλης. Probably the eye of the stone-cutter skipped ahead to the final ου and produced an unwanted Y. If the EY has a phonetic explanation it might be due to an assimilation to the [u·] of the following syllable, cf. A.S. Henry, CQ n.s. 17 (1967) p. 258 (cf. 26.01 d infra).

Uncorrected errors of the stone-cutter are certainly εὐσεβεύας, αὐλεν in the decree, II² 949.19, 21 (165/4), cf. σταθεῖς for σταθεῖς in *ib.* 31.

For EY for ε/— φ, cf. c) supra.

The Πελένος on a rf. bobbin by the Pistoxenos painter, cf. ARV² p. 863, no. 32, might be hesitation between Πελεύς (nom.) and Πελέως (gen.), i.e. a purely graphic mistake, rather than an analogical genitive formation as Kretschmer thought (cf. *Vaseninschriften* p. 137). The reading itself, however, is doubtful, cf. H. Diepolder, *Der Pistoxenosmaler* (= *Berliner Winckelmannsprogramm* no. 110 [1953]) plate 7. Perhaps Μαινευες is hesitation between Μαινεύς and Μαινές (cf. b) supra) if not just a graphic mistake, cf. ARV² p. 1319, Aristophanes no. 2 (= Immerwahr, *Sprunt Studies* pp. 25–27, no. 8).

f) The names Πολύοκτος and Πολύευκτος were normally distinct, cf. Bechtel, *Personennamen* p. 378. The identification of the Πολύοκτος of II² 3472.5 (200–150) ded. with the Πολύευκτος of II² 5613 (s. IIa.) sep. mon. by D.M. Lewis is not certain (cf. BSA 50 [1955] pp. 7–9; cf. PA no. 11936). One would also like to know if the Πολύοκτος mentioned on one of the lead pinakia used to identify horses of the hippeis (the man was certainly an Athenian citizen), cf. AM 85 (1970) p. 228, no. 446 (s. IIIa.), was the same man as the Πολύευκτος mentioned on two others, cf. AM 85 (1970) p. 227, nos. 438–439 (s. IIIa.). For Πολύευκτος, cf. e.g. PA nos. 11921ff.; SEG 2.9 (244/3) decree (thiasotai). For the possibility of a name Πολύεκτος, cf. b) supra.

Lit.: MS³ pp. 61–62, notes 520–525.

21.00 The diphthong ou

a) An inherited diphthong ou, whether from o + u or the o-grade of the ablaut series eu, ou, u, can be shown to have existed in Attic in the following words:

1) οὔτος, τουτο-, also τοιοὔτος, τοσοὔτος, etc.: Etymology somewhat in doubt (cf. Schwyzler, GG 1, p.611 for suggestions), but certainly ou in Attic. Frequent in fifth-century texts, e.g. I² 4.15 (485/4) decree; I² 6.37 (ante 460) decree; I² 232.7 (434/3) inv. (L.), etc. A few attestations are earlier than 500 B.C.: I² 1014 (ca. 540? cf. IGAA p.138, no.46) sep. mon.; IGAA p.139, no.48 (= SEG 10.452a) (ca. 540?) sep. mon. The reading of the last letters of I² 919 (ca. 725?) is quite doubtful; for τοτο = τότο there, cf. 13.01, p.239 supra. Otherwise τοτο- not before 415/4 B.C., cf. 21.011, nos. 4, 5, 6, 10.

2) οὐ(κ), οὐδέ, οὐδεῖς, etc.: Not a frequent word in the earliest texts, but always οὐ(κ) until after 400 B.C.: I² 821 (ante 480) ded.; I² 922 (init. s. Va.) erotic text; I² 39.4, 11, etc. (446/5) decree; cf. οὐ πάύσει on a rf. vase, Beazley, *Paralipomena* p.360, Onesimos no.74 quater; in Ionic letters: I² 826 (475–450? cf. LSAG p.370, no.29) (cf. 2.0121, no.3) ded.; I² 1085.7 (446, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.137, no.51) sep. mon. erected by three Athenian tribes for Pythion of Megara, cf. 2.011, no.20; I² 1084.4 (= Wilhelm, *Beiträge* pp.35 ff., no.22) (ca. 431?) sep. mon. of a Phrygian.

3) βοῦς (← *g^wōus): βοῦς in I² 45.11 (439/8, cf. SEG 21.29; 10.34) decree (L.); I² 84.25 (421/0) decree (L.); Βουταλίονος: I² 370.12 (421/0–416/5) inv. (L.); cf. ostraca with Βουταλίον, e.g. Vanderpool, *Ostracism* fig.13; fig.12 (Βουταλίον has been corrected from Βυταλίον, a spelling occurring on two other ostraca, cf. 13.04, p.261 supra) (480s);

Βουθειῆς in tribute lists, cf. I² 191.19 (= ATL 2, no.1, col.5.19) (454/3); I² 197.9 (= ATL 2, no.2, col.10.5) (453/2); I² 196.36 (= ATL 2, no.7, col.3.30) (448/7); I² 198.63 (= ATL 2, no.8, col.1.62) (447/6); I² 214.21 (= ATL 2, no.27, col.3.29) (428/7); I² 222.1 (= ATL 2, no.28) (427/6 aut 426/5). Correct [B]o[θει]ῆς of I² 194.37 to Κο[δαπ]ῆς (cf. ATL 2, no.4, col.1.29). Quite dubious is βδ[ν] in I² 63.57. The first certain examples of βδς are after 425, cf. 21.011, nos.1, 2, and 9. For Βυταλίων, cf. 13.04.

4) σπουδ- (cf. σπεύδω): OY attested early in names, e.g. Σπουδίδο (retrograde) I² 997 (ca. 625–600? cf. LSAG p.76, no.8; IGAA p.129, no.22). Only the final O is now to be seen on the stone, which has been broken off at the left (L.). The letters Σπουδιδ are known only from an early copy; Jeffery has no authority for Σποδίδδ printed in LSAG p.401. Σ]πουδίας I² 853a (ante 450) ded. (L.); Σπο[υ]δῖς(?) DAA p.94, no.87 (= I² 616b) (ante 450) ded.; Σ]πουδί[ας] I² 942.4 (ca. 446) cas. list. (L.); Σπουδίας I² 949.9 (423, cf. SEG 25.57) cas. list; Σπουδίαι I² 304.19 (410/9) inv. First Σποδίας in 408/7, cf. 21.011, no.7.

5) ἀκολουθ- (cf. κέλευθος): ἀκολ[ο][υ]θ[ο]ισιν (stoich.) I² 6.52–53 (ante 460); ἀκολουθ[ον]τα I² 45.30 (439/8, cf. SEG 21.29; 10.34) decrees.

6) Σουνιεύς: Etymology uncertain, but ου in all the early attestations:]VNIEΣ (= Σουνιῆς) I² 830 (ca. 550, cf. *LSAG* p.78, no.27 and p.73) ded. on a statue found at Sunium; Σουνίο I² 310.56, 174 (429/8) inv. Σουνιεύς not found until after 400 B.C., when, however, it is common, cf. 21.012, no.6.

7) Προκρούστης (κρου-, cf. Frisk, *GEW* 2, pp.27–28); Προκρούστες on a rf. vase of Onesimos, ARV² p.318, no.1 (= *HRF* 1, p.398, no.11) with the expected OY; Προκρόστης on a late rf. vase is an example of O for the diphthong OY, cf. 21.011, no.3.

8) Θουρι-: Θουριακός I² 313.101 (408/7), I² 314.111 (407/6) inventories; cf. Θουρία I² 8895.3 (ca. 350) sep. mon.

9) Πλούτος, etc.: ου, etymologically the o-grade of the root *pleu- and the -tos formant, cf. Schwyzler, *GG* 1 p.501, a.2, and for πλούτος from *pleu-, Frisk, *GEW* 2 p.563. Πλούτων, Πλούσιος derivatives. Πλούσιος on a bf. vase, Kretschmer, *Vasen-inschriften* p.109, note 1 (= *CIG* 8120); Πλούτων: ARV² p.1269, Kodros painter no.3 (= Smith, *Catalogue* 3, p.108, no. E82). A rf. vase of the later fifth century has Πλῶτος, one of the first occurrences of O for the inherited diphthong, cf. 21.011, no.3. Πλῶτω on another rf. vase has Ω = [o·], cf. 2.034, no.14, p.49 supra.

For δούλος with not OY, but δ←ο+ε, Ἀπατῶριος ← Ἀπατορῆιος, Ἀρκτῶρος ← ἀρκτο- + -ορος (as in φροῦρος), cf. 13.01, p.240 supra.

The etymology of Ἰουλιῆται is quite uncertain; most likely it has [o·], but no examples appear in Attic texts before the fourth century when O/OY variation is common: Ἰουλιῆται and Ἰουλιῆται I² 111.5, 6 (363/2) decree (has ὄκ and ούκ, Βοτάδης); Ἰουλιῆται I² 1128.25, 26, 37 (ante 350) decree (of Cean cities) but everywhere else in this text only OY for [o·] (cf. p.242).

b) Clerical errors without phonological significance are the writing of συμβούλοιτο for συμβάλοιτο on three copies of the curse-text erected by Herodes Atticus ca. 150 A.D., I² 13189.27–28, I² 13195.27, I² 13202.10 (L.); the correct συμβάλοιτο on others of the group I² 13188–13208.

21.01 O for ου (inherited diphthong)

21.011 O for ου before 400 B.C.

The first instances of O as grapheme for the inherited diphthong ου are in the second half of the fifth century B.C., somewhat later than the first uses of OY as grapheme for the more recent long o-vowel, first attested at the end of the sixth century (cf. 13.01, nos.1–6). Spellings like βῶς, ὄκ, τότο, point to identity of the long o-vowel and the inherited diphthong, probably through the monophthongization of ου [o^u] to [o·] or to [o·] competing with [u·] (cf. p.239 supra). The spelling Πλῶτω on a rf. vase of ca. 430–420, with Ω as grapheme for ου and the long o-vowel, also points towards monophthongization of the diphthong (cf. 2.034, no.14, p.49 supra). The occurrence of O for ου in public texts, including state decrees (nos.1, 6, 10) distinctly sets it apart from the similar use of E for ει (cf. 16.01, pp.299 ff.

supra). There is a clustering of examples of τῶτ- in two inventories (covering the years 415–413) of the tamiai of Athena (nos. 4–5), although both texts also contain τούτ-, found in the rest of the pronaoi inventories, I² 232–I² 255; clearly a spelling quirk of one secretary.

Lit.: MS³ pp. 62–63, notes 526–538; cf. 13.01.

Examples:

- 1) βῶν I² 76.40 (435–414, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 222) decree; that this could be βῶν, an old accusative (occurring in *Iliad* 7.238 according to some manuscripts available to Aristarchus, cf. H. Erbse, *Scholia graeca in Homeri Iliadem* 2 p. 269) is conceivable, but most unlikely. An example of βῶς (no. 2) follows so soon it is natural to take BON as = βῶν here;
- 2) βῶς I² 190.29 (= Sokolowski, *Lois*² p. 21, no. 11) (ca. 420) sacred law;
- 3) Late rf. vases, e.g. Προκρόστης ARV² p. 1174, Aison no. 1 (= CVA, Spain 2, plates 1–5); Πλάτος ARV² p. 1321, Group of Athens 12144, no. 3 (circle of the Meidias painter); cf. Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* pp. 109, 232; for Πλώτω, with Ω = [o·], on a rf. vase ca. 430–420, cf. 2.034, no. 14, p. 49 supra;
- 4) τότο, τότον I² 247.198, 200, 202, 203, 204, 209 (415/4) inv., τούτο *ib.* 199, 207 (L.);
- 5) τότον, τότο I² 248.220, 221 (bis), cf. 223 (414/3) inv., τούτο *ib.* 217;
- 6) τότο[v I² 6.132 (fin. s. V a., these lines added later) decree (L.);
- 7) Σποδίας I² 374.74 (408–406) inv. (L.);
- 8) --]ON OX [h]υγέ[ς] I² 322[323].26 (s. V a.) inv.; presumably ὁχ ηυγές;
- 9) βῶς κριτή *Hesperia* 4 (1935) pp. 19 ff., no. 2, line 22 (paulo post 403/2) sacred law;
- 10) τῶτων *Hesperia* 40 (1971) p. 280, no. 7, lines 6, 9 (403/2 aut paulo post) decree. 21.012, no. 7 is probably later than 400 B. C., cf. p. 352 infra.

Doubtful:

- 11) βῶ[ν καὶ πανθοπ]λ[ίαν I² 63.57 (= ATL 2, no. A 9.57) (425/4) decree; could also be βῶ[ῶν καὶ παντοπ]λ[ίαν with h omitted, cf. lines 9, 14, etc.

21.012 O for ου 400–350 B. C.

In the first half of the fourth century, O in τῶτο-, ὁ(κ), ὁδέ, βῶς, and Σονιεύς is well attested; also attested are Σποδίας, τοσῶτος, and τοιδῶτος. The examples mainly occur in public documents, chiefly inventories, but also state decrees (ὁ(κ), Βοτάδης, Σποδίας). There is not the same tendency to avoid O for ου as there was to avoid E for ει because ου occurred in only a few lexical items and in no inflectional terminations (cf. 16.01, pp. 299 ff. supra). It is likely, however, that OY remained the normal spelling for ου even in the early fourth century, when O for [o·] was decidedly preferred. Thus there are several large inventories of this period with only O for [o·], but always τούτο- and never τότο-; cf. also the preference for τούτο- in the large decree (75 lines) of 403/2, I² 1, which has exclusively O for [o·]; the same preference can be seen in I² 15 (ca. 395/4), I² 29 (387/6), I² 43 (378/7). In an inv. of 375/4, I² 1445, O is used consistently for [o·], but only OY in οὐ(κ) (also τούτο-); Βουτάδης occurs in an inv. of 93 lines with only O for [o·], but Σονιεύς. For more detailed data, cf. Table A in 13.021, Table B.3 in 13.022.

Examples of O for ου are rare by 355–350, and only two (both in the negative ὄκ, ὀδέ) are later than 345 B.C. (cf. 13.023 a, nos. 5–6; no. 2 *infra*). For the development of [o·] to [u·], cf. 13.01, p. 239 *supra*.

C.D. Buck, *GD*² p. 33, no. 34 a, finding the Attic examples of τότο-, etc. too numerous to be explained in the same way as ὄκ, βός, etc., favors the suggestion (cf. Schwyzler, *GG* 1, p. 611) that a variant form τῶτῶ (doubled τῶ without υ) existed in the genitive. But the Attic examples do not justify the assumption that a variant τῶτῶ existed. When one allows for the much greater frequency of forms of οὔτος in fifth- and fourth-century texts, the number of examples of τότο- does not seem so large, nor are they all genitive. Most of the fifth-century examples are concentrated in two inventories (cf. 21.011, nos. 4–5). In the fourth century τότο- often occurs in texts which also have ὄκ.

Lit.: cf. 21.011.

Examples:

- 1) τότο- (τοσδτος, τοιδτος): II² 1237.77, 110 (396/5) decree (phratry), also ὄκ, cf. no. 2 *infra*, τοσδτος *ib.* 77, τούτο; II² 1605.9 (paulo post 377/6) inv., τούτων *ib.* 6, 7 (L.); II² 1635.31, 36, 78, 80 (post 374/3) inv., also has ὄκ, cf. no. 2 *infra* (L.); II² 1639.10 (355/4) inv.: τῶτων, τούτων *ib.* 14 (L.); II² 1611.210 (357/6) inv., also οὔτοι *ib.* 40; τοιδτος: II² 1175.20 (ca. 360) decree (deme) (L.). Probably OTΩΣ is for οὔτως in the defixio, *IG* III.3, no. 110.2 (400–375) (not Attic?).
- 2) ὄ(κ), ὀδέ, ὀδέις, etc.: II² 11780.12 (init. s. IV a.), II² 10780.1 (init. s. IV a.) sep. monuments; II² 1237.36, 37 (396/5) decree (phratry), also τότο-, τοσδτος, and τουτο-, cf. no. 1 *supra*; II² 1635.112, 116, 121 (post 374/3) inv., also τότο-, cf. no. 1 *supra* (L.); II² 1425.206 (368/7) inv. (L.); II² 111.58, 60, 64, 83 (363/2) decree, οὔκ in *ib.* 59, 64, etc. (L.); II² 1427.8 (ca. 365?) inv. (L.); II² 11169.1 (ca. 350) sep. mon.; Robert, *Etudes* (1938) pp. 296 ff., line 9 (= Siewert pp. 5–7) (paulo post 350? cf. *Charisterion Orlandou A*, pp. 79–87) oath (ephebes), but οὔ in *ib.* 6, 7, ὄκ perhaps due to careless omission? cf. στειρήσω for στοιρήσω in *ib.* 8, cf. 13.023, no. 5; II² 236 a.12 (338/7) decree, cf. οὔθενός, οὔδεμία *ib.* a 9, a 10, οὔδέ restored *ib.* a 8 (L.).
- 3) βός: II² 1358.6, 20, 21, 35, 43 (375–350) sacred calendar, also βοῦς *ib.* 8, 9, 41, 55; *AJA* 40 (1936) p. 461, no. 2, line 3 (373/2) decree: β]όν. Βοτάδης: II² 111.3 (363/2) decree (L.).
- 4) Πιδτος: II² 4321.3 (ante 350) ded. (priv.).
- 5) Σποδίας: II² 104.3 (368/7) decree (L.).
- 6) Σονιεύς, Σόνιον, Σονιάδης: II² 1388.8 (398/7) inv.; II² 1400.48 (390/89) inv. (L.); *Hesperia* 7 (1938) pp. 1 ff., no. 1, lines 4, 95 (363/2) decree (genos), also Σουνι- *ib.* 69, 70; II² 2822.9 (349/8) ded.; II² 7425 (ca. 350? cf. p. 258 *supra*) sep. mon.
- 7) ἀκολοθόντι *ZPE* 25 (1977) p. 243, line 15 (post 403/2) sacred calendar, βοῦν *ib.* 28, 55.

22.00–24.00 Diphthongs with long first element

Here the tendency was to delete the second and shorter element of the diphthong. In *αι*, *ηι*, and *ωι* the deletion has occurred by the end of the Hellenistic Period (cf. 22.00 *infra*), with the result that they fall together with the original long vowels *ᾱ*, *ῆ*, and *ῶ*, and diverge from *αι*, *ει*, and *οι*. In the case of *ᾱυ* there is evidence of deletion of

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- 4) Πιδτος: Π² 4321.3 (ante 350) ded. (priv.).
- 5) Σποδίας: Π² 104.3 (368/7) decree (L.).
- 6) Σονιεύς, Σόνιον, Σονιάδης: Π² 1388.8 (398/7) inv.; Π² 1400.48 (390/89) inv. (L.); *Hesperia* 7 (1938) pp. 1 ff., no. 1, lines 4, 95 (363/2) decree (genos), also Σουνι- *ib.* 69, 70; Π² 2822.9 (349/8) ded.; Π² 7425 (ca. 350? cf. p. 258 *supra*) sep. mon.
- 7) ἀκολοθόντι *ZPE* 25 (1977) p. 243, line 15 (post 403/2) sacred calendar, βοῦν *ib.* 28, 55.

22.00–24.00 Diphthongs with long first element

Here the tendency was to delete the second and shorter element of the diphthong. In *αι*, *ηι*, and *ωι* the deletion has occurred by the end of the Hellenistic Period (cf. 22.00 *infra*), with the result that they fall together with the original long vowels *ᾱ*, *η*, and *ω*, and diverge from *αι*, *ει*, and *οι*. In the case of *ᾱυ* there is evidence of deletion of

the υ in the earlier Roman Period, but it was clearly not general, and with the loss of vowel quantity original $\bar{\alpha}\upsilon$ and $\bar{\alpha}\upsilon$ fall together and the use of A for $\bar{\alpha}\upsilon$ disappears (cf. 24.00 *infra*). In the fourth century B.C. there is increasing use of EI as grapheme for original $\eta\iota$, which indicates shortening of the long first element and possibly even monophthongization to [e'] (cf. 23.00 *infra*); a similar use of OI for $\omega\iota$ also occurs, but is very rare (cf. 17.03, pp.335 ff. *supra*).

22.00 Monophthongization of $\bar{\alpha}\iota$, $\eta\iota$, $\omega\iota$

22.01 Evidence 480–200 B.C.

22.011 $\eta\iota \sim \eta$. Evidence that $\eta\iota$ was simplified to η before such a development in $\alpha\iota$ and $\omega\iota$ makes it necessary to treat it separately for the early period.

Before 400 B.C. In this period there is no convincing evidence of monophthongization of $\eta\iota$ where forces of analogy tended to preserve the diphthong, viz. the dative sing. of η -stems, the subjunctive, and the verbal augment. The isolated example $\tau\delta\nu \pi\upsilon\lambda\delta\nu \xi \delta\lambda\alpha\delta\epsilon$ in the decree, I² 94.35 (418/7), is probably a careless omission; less likely due to suppression of intervocalic iota. In the inv., I² 374.198 (408/7), $\acute{\epsilon}\nu \text{K}\lambda\omicron\lambda\epsilon \text{h}\omicron\iota\kappa\delta\nu$ is an abbreviatory shortening, cf. others in *ib.* 231, 308–9, etc. (L.).

Cf. perhaps ENEOINOIOIEN on a bf. vase, ABV p.147, no.5 (other vases with Exekias), if really for $\acute{\epsilon}\nu \xi \omicron\lambda\upsilon\omicron\upsilon \iota\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\nu$ and not a nonsense text. ΔΥΟΒΕΛΟΚΑΙΜΕΟΙΑΕΣ on a bf. vase of Group E, ABV p.136, no.50 (= CVA, USA 12, plate 12), could be $\kappa\alpha\iota \mu\grave{\eta} \theta(\gamma)\eta(\iota)\varsigma$, but $\kappa\alpha\iota \mu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\iota\gamma\epsilon\varsigma$ seems preferable.

There is, however, in the earliest texts in Ionic script of the late fifth century already an occasional wavering between HI and EI in the dative sing. of η -stems and the subjunctive (one case of EI) (cf. p.369 *infra* for the examples). This sporadic use of EI for HI may indicate that the diphthong $\eta\iota$ has passed or is passing from [eⁱ] to [eⁱ]; or it may be due to uncertainty about the length of the diphthong's first element since there was no corresponding short diphthong to contrast with $\eta\iota$ (because of the monophthongization of original [eⁱ] to [e']) as there was in the case of $\omicron\iota$ vs. $\omega\iota$ (cf. 23.00).

Where $\eta\iota$ was not subject to the analogy of larger morphological systems, for example in nouns like $\kappa\lambda\acute{\eta}\iota\varsigma$, Ἀριστήιδης , etc., there is some evidence of monophthongization even in the fifth century. Thus Prof. E. Vanderpool has pointed out to me three unpublished ostraca from the Agora collection with Ἀριστέδης for Ἀριστήιδης (dated 482, cf. *Hesperia* 15 [1946] p.274, no.12). These texts are all in Attic script, and E could thus represent either [e'] (later EI) or [e'] (later H), but it is virtually certain that E is for [e'] here, as only EI or E occur as variants for HI in this type of word in the earlier fourth century, never H; note also the spelling $\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ (with E = [e']) in a text as early as 368/7 (cf. 23.011 a, p.370 *infra*). The ostraca spellings may of course be careless omissions or inaccurate renditions of diphthongs, but it should

be noted that the $\eta\iota$ of Ἀριστήδης is precocious in other respects: Ἀριστίδου is one of the earliest examples of iota for $\epsilon\iota$ from $\eta\iota$ (334/3, cf. 9.022, no.6) which may be reasonably supposed to be more than a graphic mistake. An even earlier example of iota for $\epsilon\iota$ from $\eta\iota$ may perhaps be seen in the spelling Αἰγῖδι, occurring on a choregic dedication dated by the name of the archon to 352/1, cf. *Deltion* 25 (1970) p.147, no.7 and plate 45 (cf. 9.022, no.2); since normally, however, the names of phylai are rather conservative in their orthography and lag behind in the use of EI for HI, this example may be a clerical error (cf. 23.011r, pp.374ff. infra). There is also the spelling Βῑσις on a sep. mon. dating roughly to the middle of the fourth century, cf. Π² 10983 (cf. 9.022, no.3).

The Οἰνῆδι Παινδιονίδι of the choregic ded., *Hesperia* 29 (1960) p.85, no. 165 (= new fr. of Π² 3064) (384/3), is some sort of clerical mistake: the iota of Οἰνῆδι has ended up after the alpha of Παινδιονίδι, cf. 15.011a, no.2, p.268 supra. The reading Βασίλης cited by Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* p.84, note 3, from a rf. vase (= ARV² p.1065, Mannheim painter no.8), must be corrected to Βασίλῃς (cf. FR plate 168.1). The Βῑυσεες on a vase of the Brygos painter, ARV² p.369, no.1 (= HRF 1, p.119, no.8), could be for Βῑυσεες (i.e. Βῑυσης?) with a careless dittography, but it is perhaps better taken as an attempt to spell a diphthong ending in ι , cf. Κῑοεσος for Κῑοῖσος on ARV² p.238, Myson no.1 (= CVA, France 9, plate 35) (cf. p.323 supra); elsewhere in vases -εις or -ηις, cf. 23.00, p.369 infra.

400–200 B.C. Occasional spellings like κλέξ in an inv. of 368/7 probably indicate that $\eta\iota$ has passed to [e'] in such cases, i.e. it has already fallen together with EI = [e'] of εἶναι, etc.; the comparative rarity of E is due to its increasing rarity for [e'] in the course of the fourth century (cf. 9.012), while the retention of HI is probably a spelling conservatism: in most words EI is universal before 300 B.C., and by early Roman times I is well attested as a grapheme (details on individual words in 23.011 a–r, pp.370ff. infra).

The development of the $\eta\iota$ involved in larger morphological systems (as in τιμῆι, δοκῆις, etc.) poses difficult problems. Here too HI was largely replaced by EI as the normal grapheme by 300 B.C. But whereas EI developed in most positions to $\bar{\iota}$ by about 200 B.C. (cf. 9.022), analogy prevented the EI of τιμεῖ, etc. from developing to $\bar{\iota}$. EI came to be regarded as an unsatisfactory grapheme because it normally represented $\bar{\iota}$, and thus first in the subjunctive and then in the dative of η -stems EI was gradually replaced by a restored HI in the course of the second century B.C. (cf. 23.012a–b, pp.377ff. infra). Since, however, in both these cases H is clearly competing with HI at the time when EI is abandoned, there can be no question of the survival (or revival) of a diphthong in ι in the second century B.C., or at least a monophthong is already competing with it (cf. p.360 infra).

a) But there is also some evidence of monophthongization of $\eta\iota$, or of $\epsilon\iota \leftarrow \eta\iota$, by the second half of the fourth century B.C., i.e. that αὐτῆι ~ αὐτεῖ was pronounced [a^u-te']. The evidence is of three types. First there are a very few examples of E (i.e. E for EI = [e']) or H for $\eta\iota$ in the fourth or even the third century B.C.:

1) Κελεύη, *ει* δὲ μή AE 1971 pp.137ff., line 8 (400–375) decree inscribed on small bronze plaque (cf. p.2 supra); as this case is somewhat earlier than the others it might be only a clerical slip; but note a case of *ηι* = [*ε*] just as early (no. 1, p.356 infra) (L.);

2) Π² 120.35–36 (353/2, cf. *Hesperia* 7 [1938] p.286) decree: ἐν τῇ χαλκ[οθή] κε αὐτὲ πρὸς (reading difficult because of the worn condition of the stone, but almost certainly correct, L.); elsewhere in this text, which does use both *E* and *Ei* as graphemes for [*ε*], only *HI* and *EI* occur for *ηι*, as in the dat. sing. of *η*-stems, cf. τῇ χαλκοθήκει in *ib.* 13, 24, etc.; there are crudities like γραμματεῖας in *ib.* 16; [κ]ατεαότες in *ib.* 41–42 (L.);

3) *Hesperia* 7 (1938) p.281, no. 16, lines B 16–17 (= Π² 1438 + new frr.) (352/1 aut 351/0, cf. *Hesperia* 7 p.288) inv.: χαλκοθήκη (dat. sing.); this text contains a few careless omissions, i.e. -θη of ἡγρέθη omitted earlier on in line 16 (= Π² 1438.41) or ἐλεφάντια for ἐλεφάντινα eight lines later (= Π² 1438.49).

Note that no. 2 and no. 3 are closely related texts. The inv. in no. 3 is based on the inv. at the conclusion of the decree in no. 2; this original inv. of the objects in the chakotheke was prepared by the γραμματεὺς ὁ κατὰ πρυτανείαν along with other officials (cf. lines 18–19 of no. 2), who is now known to be the Φιλοκῆδης mentioned in lines 13–14 of no. 3 (by comparison with Π² 138.2–3 and Π² 139.3, cf. *Hesperia* 7 p.286), γραμματεὺς ὁ κατὰ πρυτανείαν in 353/2. The statement that this Φιλοκῆδης ἔστησεν the inv. in no. 2 is not correct, for the supervising of the actual carving of no. 2 was done by the γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς (cf. no. 2, lines 18–19) and is probably due to the appearance of Philokedes' name as secretary in a heading at the top of no. 2 (cf. Π² 107; *Hesperia*, loc. cit.). Whether Philokedes or the other official prepared the final papyrus copy of no. 2 given to the stone-cutter, the inv. in no. 3 was based upon the inscribed text of no. 2, but its final copy was presumably prepared by a different individual, the unknown γραμματεὺς τοῖς ταμίαις τῶν τῆς θεοῦ.

4) τῇ πόλει Π² 1623.151 (333/2) inv. (L.);

5) ἐς στήλῃ Π² 706.8 (295–287 aut paulo post 262, cf. Pečirka, *Enktesis* p.96; SEG 24.121) decree; there is no doubt that the space after the *E* was left blank (L.);

6) τῇ Ἀθηνᾶι Π² 674.16 (= *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 [1937] p.42, no. 6) (273/2) decree; could be suppression of intervocalic *iota*? (L.);

7) καλλίστε καὶ ἀρίστε *Hesperia* 28 (1959) p.278, no. 7 (archon of 249/8 mentioned) ded. (priv.); Woodhead's suggestion (cf. *Hesperia* 28 p.279, note 9) that this is an archaizing use of *E* instead of *H* (nom. or dat. here?) is unattractive in a text of this period; the *ει* of καλλίστει in Π² 4665, Π² 4667, Π² 4668 is just *ει* for *ηι* normal by this time, cf. [Ἀφ]ροδίτει of Π² 4681. καλλίστε καὶ ἀρίστε would then probably be *ει* for *ηι* with careless omission of the *ι* (twice?) or evidence for monophthongization of *ει* ← *ηι* to [*ε*].

The next example is ἐνδεκάτη in Π² 973.5, a decree of 204/3 B.C. (cf. 22.021, no. 1), but it properly belongs with the series of similar examples of the second century B.C. (cf. p.360 infra).

There might be an additional example in the metrical sep. mon., Π² 5421 a (in add.) (ca. 360), for which an old copy (the stone is lost) records: τῇδ'ἀνέθηκαν (end of a hexameter); but this copy may have regularized the spelling.

In the decree, Π² 159 (ante 353/2), read in line 3: Χολλή[ι]δης, not Χολλήδης (L.).

In Π² 2654 (post 363/2) Ἰπποτομάδε occurs twice (Ἰπποτομάδει once); although not at the end of the physical line, these spellings are most likely abbreviatory shortenings in a mortgage horos (also has Φιλοδήμοι for Φιλοδήμωι, cf. 17.03, no. 1, p.336 supra; Δωροθέω Ἰπποτο-

μάδε, cf. 22.012 p.358 *infra*). Certainly abbreviatory shortenings are: ὀγδόη, τράτη, δωδεκάτε, ἐνάτε (all dative sing.) in a sacred calendar, *BCH* 87 (1963) pp. 603ff., lines E39, A58, Δ14, E2 (= *SEG* 21.541; Sokolowski, *Lois*² p.36, no.18) (375–350?); Πτωχῆ in a cat. of dramatic victors, cf. *Hesperia* 7 (1938) p.116, no.22, line 11 (ca. 251/0). There is also the spelling λῆον for λῆων on an inv. of 368/7, cf. *IP*² 1425.264, which looks like loss of intervocalic iota (cf. 10.02 a, p.209 *supra*).

Φερσεφόνη in a defixio of the beginning of the fourth century may be another case of η for ηι, cf. *IG* III.3, no. 101.3; but perhaps the word is vocative here.

This is a very small number of examples of E and H for ηι during this period. And yet the rarity of E at least is not surprising upon consideration of the rarity of E for ει (= [eː]) after ca. 350 (cf. 9.013); nor would it be reasonable to expect much use of H for ει from ηι if a monophthongization to [eː] is assumed, for instances of confusion of η and ει = [eː] can scarcely be found at this time (cf. 8.03).

b) There is, however, another type of spelling which suggests that ει and ηι are identical by the later fourth century. When the Ionic script was adopted, ΗΙ was reserved for the dative sing. of η-stems and for πόλει (cf. 23.012 d, pp.381–382 *infra*), whereas ΕΙ was the spelling for datives from -es- and -eu-stems. Thus γραμματεῖ is the only spelling found, cf. *IP*² 108 I.32 (410/9), not in Ionic script, but Η = [eː] throughout, also Δεκελεεῖ *ib.* 38; *IP*² 1.28 (403/2); *IP*² 31.16 (386/5); *IP*² 37.16 (post 383); σθένει in *IP*² 15.8 (ca. 395/4); βασιλεῖ in *IP*² 34.11 (384/3) all decrees; etc. The use of ΗΙ in this kind of dative is extremely rare before 360 B.C., but thereafter this and similar cases of ΗΙ = ει become rather more common:

1) ?Δημοκ[ρ]άτη *IP*² 1375 a.25 (399/8? based on a plausible restoration of the archon's name) inv.; there is no doubt of the reading PATHI, although the small amount of text preserved makes restoration risky; the two frr. *IP*² 1375 a and *IP*² 1375 b probably do not belong together: the letters on fr. a are uniformly 0.006 m wide, but those on fr. b are anywhere from 0.007 to 0.008 m wide (L.). The lettering of fr. a is appropriate to an early fourth-century date. Perhaps some sort of morphological confusion similar to later confusion of -ην and -η in the acc. is at work here;

2) Θρασυκλῆι *SIG*³ no. 1259.b4 (= *IG* III.3, p. ii [Praefatio]) (init. s. IV a.) epistle on lead tablet;

3) δοκῆι (must be indicative) *IP*² 107.12 (368/7) decree (L.);

4) τῶ[ι γραμμ]ατῆι *IP*² 148.7–8 (356/5) decree (L.);

5) προσοφήλῃι *IP*² 1678.a B 56–57 (ca. 350, cf. *SEG* 13.49) inv.;

6) Πολυεύχῃι, Πολυμήδῃι *IP*² 1544.8 (333/2) inv.;

7) Ἀπολλοφάνῃι *IP*² 1672.190 (329/8) inv.;

8) χαλκῆι *IP*² 1673.42 (333/2? cf. *AE* 1971, p.112) inv.; the blank space was left intentionally because of a fault in the stone's surface (stone examined by K. Clinton);

9) τετρήρηις *IP*² 1628.216, 219, 223, 226, 227 (326/5) inv., alongside τετρήρεις *ib.* 215, 220, 224, 225 (L.);

10) τετρήρηις *IP*² 1629.341, 342 (325/4) inv., τετρήρηις *ib.* 338, 339, 340; alongside τετρήρεις *ib.* 348, 352, 354, 449, 450, etc.; for Μιλτιάδῃς, Λακιάδῃς in *ib.* 160, 161, cf. c) *infra* (L.);

11) ἔτηι *IP*² 2498.18 (321/0) loc.

In all these cases there is of course the possibility of morphological confusion, and in particular in the case of the dative singulars in η i for ϵ i there might be confusion of the η ς, ω ς, η i, η ν declension type with the η ς, ω ς, ϵ i, η type found in the Hellenistic Period (cf. Morphology). But this confusion may have been fostered in the dative if η i has passed to [e']. Certainly in $\tau\rho\iota\eta\rho\eta$ ς there seems to be genuine hesitation between HI and EI as graphemes for [e'], as nominatives of these types are almost invariably written with ϵ ις (or ϵ ς, with E for [e']) in the fourth century, and the absence of a diphthong can be seen in the fifth-century spellings with ϵ ς: cf. I² 75.16, I² 97.12 (acc. and nom. pl. were both in [e's]). If it is not just a careless omission, the spelling $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon$ for $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon$ i in the decree, I² 107.2 (409/8, cf. SEG 21.54) (cf. 16.01, no. 9, p. 300 supra), is further confirmation for absence of a diphthong in the dative singular.

Some of the late examples of $\langle\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\rangle\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\eta$ i may also belong here; note $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\eta$ i in I² 333, a decree of 335/4 with marked preference for HI in the dat. sing. of η -stems (cf. 23.012d infra). 'Αργήιος for the expected 'Αργείος on the ded., I² 3038.5 (364/3), might be like the cases of HI for ϵ i just cited, but it could also be a survival of the original η ιος spelling or be due to non-Attic influence. Cf. Ποσιδηών, name of the Attic month, in an inv. of the Attic amphiktyons on Delos, I² 377.17 (434–432). Cf. 10.02 a, p. 209 supra.

c) A third type of evidence for passing of η i to a long vowel by the later fourth century is the rare instances of HI for η . Two sep. monuments dated ca. 350 B.C. (on the basis of style only) have names ending in $\langle\eta\rangle$ which are used parallel to names in the nominative singular and seem thus necessarily to have been intended as nominatives: Μαλθάκη I² 12023 a (in text); 'Αμφαρέτη I² 12427 a (in text). Presumably these persons were not Athenian citizens, as no demotics (or ethnics) are given. But the same use of HI for η can probably be seen in $\tau\rho\iota\eta\mu\rho\rho\chi\omicron$ i in a now lost naval inv., I² 1612.101 (356/5). The use of HI for η presumably indicates that the iota of η i was silent, cf. the later use of HI, Ω I, and AI, for η , ω , and $\bar{\alpha}$ when iota was certainly no longer sounded (cf. 22.031).

But in the inv., I² 1629.160, 161 (325/4) (cf. b) supra, no. 10), the stone has Μιλτιάδ Θ ς, Λακιάδ Θ ς (L.); the Θ is certainly not HI or a ligature for EI, but E corrected to H.

Some would not only accept the foregoing evidence for monophthongization of η i by the second half of the fourth century, but would push this sound change back to the earliest occurrences of EI for η i in texts in Ionic script of the later fifth century. But that spelling could indicate hesitation between a long and a short diphthong, i.e. [e^h] versus [e'] (cf. 23.00, pp. 368 ff. infra); but note the early date of HI for ϵ i in b) supra, no. 1. Others would argue for retention of a diphthong in $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\eta$ i/ $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\epsilon$ i until a much later date, explaining $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\epsilon$, καλλίστε, etc. as due to careless omission, and $\xi\tau\eta$ i, $\tau\rho\iota\eta\rho\eta$ ς, etc. as due to morphological confusion. And yet the examples in a)–c) supra seem slightly too numerous to rule out pronunciation of η i, whether spelled HI or EI, as a long vowel, at least in some quarters. The change to a long vowel must certainly have occurred by the second century B.C., as HI and H are competing graphemes for it when EI is abandoned at that time as the grapheme (cf. 22.021 infra). Even as late as that period, however, the diphthongal pronunciation might have continued to exist as a variant, but there is some evidence against this (cf. p. 360 infra).

Cases of *HI* for *ει* after 300 B.C. are virtually unknown. For *ἐπιμέλειαν*, *πρυτανήαν*, cf. 9.031, nos.3, 12, pp.203–204 *supra*; for *Διοκλή*, cf. 23.012a, p.380 *infra*; for the poetical *ἀνδρῆος*, *Ἀρῆος*, cf. 9.031, p.203 *supra*.

22.012 *αι*, *ωι* before 200 B.C. There is very little evidence of any monophthongization in either of these diphthongs before the second century B.C. In the case of *ωι* the occasional confusion of *ωι* and *οι* in the later fourth century is a good indication that *ωι* was still a diphthong at that time (cf. 17.03). The following instances of *ω* for *ωι* are almost certainly careless omissions:

- 1) *ἐν τῷ πρόνοι* I² 253.267 (411/0) *inv.*;
- 2) *ἐν τῷ θιάσῳ* II² 1237.76–77 (396/5) decree (phratry);
- 3) *ἐν τῷ παρ[ε]ληλυθότι χρόνῳ* II² 347.14 (332/1) decree (L.);
- 4) *ἐτέρῳ* (dative) II² 2724.10 (319/8) *horos*;
- 5) *Διὶ μορῶ τρ[ί]ττοαν* I² 844/845 B.9 (fin. s. V a. aut init. s. IV a.) *lex sacra* (early copy only);
- 6) *κηρῶ* IG III.3, no.55.a 16 (325/4?, cf. Wilhelm, *JOAI* 7 [1904] pp.107ff.) *defixio*, has other careless mistakes.

In the mortgage *horos*, II² 2654 (post 363/2), *Δωροθέω Ἰπποτομάδε* in lines 7–9 is probably a graphic mistake caused by two *iotas* in succession; note *Φιλοδήμῳ* for *Φιλοδήμῳι* in *ib.* 9, which would argue against monophthongization of *ωι* (cf. 17.03, no.1, p.336 *supra*); the text also has *Ἰπποτομάδε* twice for *Ἰπποτομάδει* (cf. 22.011a, p.355 *supra*).

Also an abbreviatory shortening: *ἐν Θορικῶ*, cf. *Hesperia* 28 (1959) pp.208ff., lines 464–465, 468–469 (= II² 1556.14–15, 18–19) (ca. 330–320) *inv.*

The sep. mon., II² 10652, with the text *Ἀμφῳι|Βαθυδέω* (entire text) (L.), cannot be any later than 300 B.C. because of the style of the monument, and the lettering certainly looks ca. 350 (note also *O* for *ou*). As no demotic is given, the person is not likely to have been an Athenian, or even freeborn. I have not been able to find another example of the name, and as there are no figures depicted on the monument, which is complete, there is no way to tell whether the individual was *Ἀμφίμος* or *Ἀμφῳ*. If the masculine name is assumed, we may have an actual dative here, as the name is not used parallel to names in the nominative as in the two texts with *HI* for *η* cited in 22.011c, p.357 *supra*. If a feminine name is assumed we may have here a case of *ΩΙ* for *ω*, but it might also be a genuine nominative, as the nominative was in *-ωι* in names of this type in certain Doric dialects (cf. Schwyzler, *GG* 1 p.478, no.6.2). On another sep. mon. of the fourth century G. Daux has advanced the reading *Φυλώι*, cf. *BCH* 92 (1968) p.756; but it remains uncertain whether the mark Daux took for *iota* is really a letter or not, cf. *Deltion* 20 (1965) *Chronika* p.121 and plate 94a. If *Φυλώι* is correct, it could be a case of *ΩΙ* for *ω*, as other names on the monument are in the nominative, but it might also be the Doric nominative just cited.

In the *defixio*, AM 73 (1958) p.97, no.2, line 7 (= SEG 21.1093), dated to ca. 400 on the basis of stratigraphy, *μετ'ἐκένων* for *μετ'ἐκένωνι* is due to confusion in using the Ionic script (cf. pp.50, 161 *supra*); both *H* and *E* are used for *η*.

In the decree, I² 77.2 (= IG I, no.8), read *δέμ|οι*.

For *αι* there are almost no examples of omitted *iota* before 300 B.C.: the *τάθENAIA|αΙΠΑΡΧΕΝ* of I² 456 (fin. s. VIa./init. s. Va.) bronze ded., is clearly some sort of clerical mistake (cf. 15.011a, no.1, p.268 *supra*). Also *τάθENAIA* *ΑΠΑΡΧΕΝ* on one of these bronze dedications, cf. I² 408 (ante 480), and *εργον ἈθENAIA:* of I² 730

(ante 450) ded. are apt to be careless omissions (in the second a gen. sing. may have been intended). The $\tau\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ of II² 1672.112 (329/8) inv., is an abbreviated spelling for $\tau\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota\upsilon$; $\Pi\iota\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$ in *ib.* 52 is probably the same sort of shortening (for $\Pi\iota\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota$) or a casual omission, of which this document contains a good many others. On the sep. mon., II² 10851 (ca. 350), $\text{'}\Lambda\rho\chi\alpha\gamma\acute{o}\rho\alpha\iota$ for $\text{'}\Lambda\rho\chi\alpha\gamma\acute{o}\rho\alpha$ is a false reading: the mark to the right of the final alpha does not appear to be a letter (cf. Kirchner's note in *IG II²*).

In the third century αi and ωi are no longer confused much (cf. 17.03, p.335 supra) and thus $\iota\alpha\tau\rho\omega$ in II² 9052.9, a sep. mon. dated early in the century, might be more than a casual omission, although the example is isolated.

There is also a graffito from the Agora of this century which reads $\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\omega$, cf. *Agora* 21, p.43, no. F199. Note also the graffito $\Delta\iota\omicron\nu\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\omega$ on a kantharos dated either to the third or second century B.C., cf. *Agora* 21, p.55, no. G21 (= *Hesperia* 6 [1937] p.374, fig.39). If later than 200 B.C., it belongs with the examples in 22.021, pp.360–362 infra.

The condition of the stone makes the reading of line 8 of the honorary decree passed by troops stationed at Sunium, II² 1270 (298/7), uncertain, but $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ καὶ $\iota\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota$ ἀγαθόν is most likely to be right (L.) (cf. 34.021h, p.431 infra), with no omission of iota. In II² 1534A.108 (291/0, cf. *SEG* 16.118) inv., the correct interpretation is ἐνδέξια rather than ἐν δεξία(ι) (L.). In another decree of troops at Sunium, II² 1308 (ca. fin. s. III a.), read in line 11: $\iota\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha[\iota]$ ἐκάστωι.

There is inadequate evidence that internal $\bar{\alpha}i$ and ωi before consonants ceased to be diphthongs earlier than final $\bar{\alpha}i$ and ωi , which were members of a paradigm of terminations. $\tau\rho\alpha\gamma\omega\delta$ - first appears in the second century B.C., after two texts with $\tau\omega$ for $\tau\omega i$ (cf. 22.021 infra). Both $\text{'}\Lambda\iota\delta\omicron\upsilon$ and $\text{'}\Lambda\delta[\omicron\upsilon]$ occur on a defixio dated loosely to the fourth century B.C., cf. Ziebarth, *GGN* 1899 p.113, no.15, lines 10, 15, but in a text of this type a purely graphic mistake is clearly possible. The sep. mon. with $\Theta\rho\acute{\alpha}\xi$, II² 8921, is dated only vaguely to the third century B.C.; either a careless omission or a precocious case of $\bar{\alpha}$ for $\bar{\alpha}i$ such as occurs in the next century.

Some of the earlier examples of ω for ωi in pre-vocalic position are probably cases of omission of intervocalic iota (cf. 10.00 supra); cf. $\lambda\omega\omicron\nu$ in the decree, II² 333.25 (335/4), and $\pi\alpha\rho\omega\omicron\varsigma$, an infrequent variant for $\pi\alpha\rho\omega\iota\omicron\varsigma$ on lead cavalry pinakia found in the Ceramicus (this group all of the third century B.C.), cf. 10.02a, p.208 supra.

22.02 Evidence after 200 B.C.

22.021 200 B.C.—end of the first century B.C. The iota is clearly no longer being sounded in all three diphthongs by the second half of the second century, and probably somewhat earlier.

In the case of ηi the century is characterized by a restoration of HI or H for the EI which had become almost universal by the third century (except in ηi), because of the change in ϵi , which became $[i:]$ (cf. 23.012a–c infra). The replacement of $\eta i/\eta$ is earlier in the subjunctive (ca. 175–150 B.C.) than in the dative of η -stems (after ca. 130 B.C.), for reasons which are not entirely clear. In any case, there is no doubt that

H and HI are already being confused both in the subjunctive and the dative during their respective restorations, and in the dative -ηι the return of eta does not pre-date the occasional use of A and Ω for αι and ωι. Thus in the dative of η-stems the diphthong was probably not restored in pronunciation, but merely orthographically, because the additional iota was in writing at least the specific mark of the dative in the paradigm. Therefore it tended to maintain itself long after it ceased to be heard. The analogical pattern which operated was:

χώρα, χώρας, χώραν : χώρᾱ, but normally still written ΧΩΡΑΙ = τιμή, τιμῆς, τιμῆν : τιμῇ, but normally still written ΤΙΜΗΙ.

One might argue that diphthongal pronunciation of αι, ηι, and ωι still existed as a variant, but that does not accord as well with the occurrence of HI and H, AI and A, etc. in the same text, nor for cases of HI for η as in 22.031 *infra*.

In the subjunctive H enjoys about as much popularity as HI because in the analogical pattern λύομεν, λύετε : λύεις, λύει = λύωμεν, λύητε : λύεις, λύηι, the iota of λύεις, λύει does not mark the forms within the paradigm to the same degree as it does in χώρα vs. χώραι because the -s and -ø perform this function. The first examples appear ca. 175 B.C. (nos. 2, 3, 5 *infra*). But H is not universal in the subjunctive (cf. 23.012b *infra*).

The earliest case of H for ηι in the dative is in a decree of 204/3, slightly before the beginning of the second century (no. 1 *infra*). The first case of Ω for ωι is in a text dated to 168/7 (no. 4 *infra*), and several others follow soon after 150 B.C., when A first appears for αι. When the large ephebic decrees begin in 127/6 H and HI are interchanging in the dative singular, and Ω and A are occurring for ωι and αι. EI for ηι rapidly disappears from these texts and is very rare in the first century. Some texts exhibit pronounced preferences for H, HI, or EI (cf. 23.012a).

Indication of the equal phonetic value of H and HI, A and AI, etc. is the occasional writing of HI for H, as in the nominative singular. Examples of this type of thing begin to occur (rarely) in the second century, and while never common, after ca. 100 B.C. they may appear on public documents (cf. 22.031). It is likely that the vowel η was by this time less open in quality than it had been in the Classical Period, cf. the increase in confusion of η and ε = [e] in the later Hellenistic Period (cf. 7.02) and the use of H for ει before vowels, where ει had not been itacized but remained [eː] (cf. 9.031). For the subsequent itacism of η and ηι in the later Roman Period, cf. 8.02 *supra*.

Lit.: MS³ pp. 67–68, notes 586–588; Lademann, pp. 41–44; Sturtevant, pp. 56–58.

Earliest examples of α, η, ω:

NB: According to modern epigraphical convention α, η, ω are printed for A, H, Ω on the stone, and αι, ηι, ωι for AI, HI, ΩΙ. Cf. addenda.

- 1) ἐνδεκάτη, ἐνδεκάτει Π² 973.5 (204/3) decree (L.);
- 2) ἡ Π² 1329.20 (175/4) decree (orgeones); τῇ *ib.* 26;
- 3) δοκῇ Π² 907.13 (ca. 170) decree;
- 4) τῷ θεάτρῳ Π² 945.5 (168/7) decree (L.);
- 5) ἐλθῇ Π² 1330.49 (post 163) decree (synodos of technitai); ἀπολαμβάνῃ *ib.* 55;

- 6) *ὑπάρχῃ* Π² 983.8 (ca. 150) decree (L.);
- 7) *Ὑγείῳ* Π² 4457.6 (post 150) ded.; γόνῳ *ib.* 10, but *ωι* in *ib.* 4, 5;
- 8) *τῶι μητρῶι κατ[* Π² 971.24 (140/39) decree, κοινῇ *ib.* 18; *ωι, ηι, al.* (L.);
- 9) *τραγωδοῖς* Π² 1227.31 (131/0) decree (Salaminian cleruchs); *ηι, ωι al.*;
- 10) *ὑπάρχῃ* Π² 1331 (in add.).7 (ca. 130) decree (synodos of technitai);
- 11) *Hesperia* 24 (1955) pp. 220 ff. (= *Hesperia* 15 [1946] p. 201, no. 41; *Hesperia* 4 [1935] p. 71, no. 37) (127/6) decree (series of five). Of the five decrees, nos. I and II have *η* throughout with no exceptions; nos. III–V have both *ηι* and *ει*; the only case of *ω* is *τραγωδοῖς* in no. II (line 97); cf. p. 379 *infra*;
- 12) *τῇ Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p. 158, no. 92, line 7 (bis) (124/3) decree, ἀγαθεῖ τύχε[ι *ib.* 8;
- 13) Π² 1006 (122/1) decree, has *η/ηι/ει*; α *ib.* 79, α *al.*; φ *ib.* 13, 31, 61; *ωι al.*;
- 14) Π² 1008 (118/7) decree, has *η/ηι, φ/ωι*;
- 15) *Hesperia* 40 (1971) p. 96, no. 1 (125–100?) decree, *η, φ, α, ωι* once each;
- 16) *ἔχῃ* Π² 1228.14 (116/5) decree (Salaminian cleruchs), εἰρέθισαν *ib.* 19;
- 17) Π² 1012 (112/1) decree, has *ει/η, φ/ωι*;
- 18) *ῆ* Π² 1014.2 (109/8) decree, *ἔκτῃ ib.* 4, *ωι ib.* 5;
- 19) Π² 1011 (106/5) decree, *η, φ* almost always; α *ib.* 68, α *ib.* 8, 68;
- 20) *στήλῃ λιθίνῃ* Π² 1054.30 (ante 100) decree, *ηι ib.* 15 (3 times), 17; *τῷ δήμῳ ib.* 13, *ωι ib.* 27;
- 21) *ἐαντῷ* Π² 1023.2 (fin. s. IIa.) decree, *δοκῇ ib.* 26; *ηι/ει, αι al.*;
- 22) *αἰαὶ τῇ Μούσῃ Hesperia* 7 (1938) p. 468, no. 28, line 3 (s. IIa.) sep. mon. (metrical);
- 23) *Θοῤῥῆ* Π² 8902 (s. II/1a.) sep. mon.;
- 24) *Θοῤῥῆ* Π² 8924 (s. II/1a.) sep. mon.;
- 25) *Θοῤῥαες Hesperia* 29 (1960) p. 21, no. 27, line 4 (s. II/1a.) decree (orgeones), *τεῖ, τῶι al.*;
- 26) Π² 1028 (101/100, cf. SEG 24.188) decree, has *η/ηι, τραγωδοῖς ib.* 48, 100, *ωι al.*; α *ib.* 8, α *ib.* 57;
- 27) *ἀγορᾷ* Π² 1029.37 (96/5) decree, α *ib.* 6, 13; *τῇ ib.* 6, *ηι/ει, ωι*;
- 28) *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p. 165, no. 97 (= Π² 1050) (ca. 80?) decree, has *η, φ* throughout;
- 29) *τύχῃ ἀγαθῇ Hellenika* 1 (1928) pp. 233 ff., line 6 (83/2) cat. and decree, *τύχῃ ἀγαθῇ ib.* 15, *τῇ βουλῇ ib.* 16, *μητρῶν ib.* 6, *τῶι ἱερῶι ib.* 9; has also *Χρωτῶν* for *Χρωτῶ* (cf. 22.031, no. 6, p. 366 *infra*);
- 30) *Hesperia* 17 (1948) p. 29, no. 13 (74/3–63/2, not 64/3, cf. *Agora* 15, p. 214, no. 265) decree, has *η* once, *ηι* 4 times, α once;
- 31) *στεφάνῳ ῶι* Π² 1049.11 (57/6, cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 [1937] p. 170, no. 101) decree, *τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ib.* 19 (there is no doubt of these readings despite the texts printed in *IG* Π² and later editions, cf. *Agora* 15, p. 216, no. 268), but *τῇ ib.* 2, *τῶι ib.* 8 (all L.);
- 32) γόνῳ Π² 1717.5 (56/5) cat. of archons;
- 33) Π² 1046 (52/1) decree, has *η/ηι; ἱερῷ ib.* 18, *ωι al.*; α *ib.* 26, 30; also has *ωι* wrongly for *ω* (cf. 22.031, no. 7, p. 366 *infra*);
- 34) *Hesperia* 12 (1943) p. 56, no. 14 (ca. 50–40) pryt. cat., has *η/ηι; φ/ωι*;
- 35) *τῷ Hesperia* 13 (1944) p. 262, no. 15 (49/8?) ded.;
- 36) *κόρῃ* Π² 3490.6 (ca. 50) ded.;
- 37) Π² 1048 (46/5, cf. *Agora* 15, p. 222, no. 281) decree, has *η, φ*;
- 38) Π² 1042 (ca. 41/0) decree, has *η* once in line a 5 (L.), *ηι* 4 times (once in a 5, L.); *τραγωδῶν ib.* d 8, *ωι al.*; α *ib.* a 6 (bis) (L.), α *ib.* a 3 (L.);
- 39) Π² 1043 (38/7) decree, has α twice in line 11, α *ib.* 69; *η/ηι; φ/ωι*; has also α wrongly for *ᾱ* (cf. 22.031, no. 10, p. 366 *infra*) (L.);

- 40) II² 1051 (cf. *Hesperia* 36 [1967] p. 66, no. 12) (post 38/7, ante 31) decree, has η/ηι; ω/ωι; in line b3 read: ἐνιαυτῶι κα[---, not ἐνιαυτῶ as in IG II²; other readings of IG II² are correct (L.);
- 41) *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p. 65, no. 31 (s. Ia.) lex sacra, iota omitted throughout;
- 42) [Λεβ]αδήα *Hesperia* 15 (1946) p. 222, no. 51, line 21 (= new fr. of II² 3152, II² 3153) (s. Ia.) ded. (cf. 9.031, no. 36, p. 204 supra);
- 43) *Hesperia* 33 (1964) p. 196, no. 47 (s. Ia.?) decree, has η once, ηι 3 times;
- 44) κόρη II² 3499.5 (s. Ia.) ded. (priv.);
- 45) κόρη II² 4708 (s. Ia.) ded. (priv.);
- 46) τῆ, Ναίω, συνόδω II² 4707 (s. Ia.) ded. (priv.);
- 47) Θραῖττα II² 8903 (s. Ia.) sep. mon.;
- 48) Θραῖττα II² 8908 a (in add. nova) (s. Ia.) sep. mon.;
- 49) εἰσορᾶς, αὐτᾶ (in Dorizing verse) GVI 1, p. 522, no. 1740 (s. Ia.) sep. mon.
- With the foregoing belongs also the graffito Διονύσω cited p. 359 supra if it is later than 200 B.C., cf. *Agora* 21, p. 55, no. G21 (= *Hesperia* 6 [1937] p. 374, fig. 39) (fin. s. IIa./init. s. Ia.).

22.022 Practices in the Roman Period. To a considerable extent the spelling of αῖ, ηι, and ωι remained unstandardized in Roman times. Some of the principal types of texts will be examined briefly.

Decrees, Imperial Edicts, Letters. The number of texts of any bulk which can be dated fairly precisely is rather small. In some cases omission of iota was clearly avoided. Thus the letter of Plotina, II² 1099 (121 p.), has only a single case of -ηι in line 27, but -ηι, -ωι, etc. everywhere else; the much longer letter of Marcus Aurelius (ca. 175 p.), *Hesperia*, suppl. 13 (1970) pp. 3ff., also tries to use iota throughout (including misuse of iota as in ἄνωι, etc., cf. no. 28, p. 366 infra; and rare spellings like δαιδουχ-, Ἡρώιδης, cf. p. 364 infra), with only a very few exceptions, e. g. ἀναγκασθῆ, line E27, συνεδρίω, E48, ὥρα, E68, ἐλευθερία, E100. In these two texts the use of iota is probably artificial, as the occasional omissions show. A similar retention of iota occurs in a letter of Hadrian dated about 124/5 A.D., II² 1103 (ω only in Ἡρωδιανός), and, perhaps surprisingly in view of the date, in a decree of about 220 A.D., II² 1078 (has παρωχημένον in line 5, but never omits iota of final diphthongs). More often, however, it is the complete avoidance of iota which was preferred. Cf. e. g. a decree of 116/7 A.D., II² 1072; an edict of Hadrian, II² 1100 (ca. 124 p.), and a letter of the same emperor, II² 1102 (131/2 p.); two copies of a decree of about 230 A.D., *Hesperia*, suppl. 6 (1941) p. 125, no. 31 (= II² 1064 + new fr.) and *Hesperia* 32 (1963) p. 26, no. 27 (= *Hesperia*, suppl. 6 [1941] p. 142, no. 32); an edict of 305/6 A.D., II² 1121. Note also the lengthy text with regulations of the Iobacchi, II² 1368 (ca. 162/3 p.), with only two cases of iota in the entire text: ἀπειθῆι in line 99, κοινῶι ib. 110. Other texts show hesitation between the two types of spelling. Cf. the decree, *Hesperia* 36 (1967) p. 68, no. 13 (= II² 1069 + II² 1119 + new fr.) (aet. Augusti); another decree, II² 1070 (paulo ante 19 p.); the decree of hierateousai, II² 1346, probably of the earlier first century A.D.; two copies of regulations for the cult of Menes Tyrannos set up by Xanthus of Lycia, II² 1365 and

II² 1366 (s. Ip.); the decree, II² 1077 (209/10 p.); decree of honors to Julia Domna, *HSCP*, suppl. 1 (1940) pp. 521 ff. (= II² 1076; *Hesperia* 4 [1935] p. 178, no. 45) (196–217 p.). So also the series of letters of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus (ca. 176–180 p.) normally avoids iota altogether, cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 6 (1941) p. 108, no. 24 (= II² 1108 + new fr.), but $\eta\iota$ occurs twice on the one most recently published, cf. *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p. 231, no. 31, which also has ω . A similar hesitation can be seen on another series of letters of Commodus, cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 12 (1967) pp. 187–193 (= II² 1112 + new fr.) (182–184 p.).

Inventories, Catalogs. Unfortunately this type of text rarely offers enough connected prose to contain more than a very few cases of $\eta\iota$, etc. The lengthy financial record, II² 2776, is an exception, however; iota is consistently omitted in it with the exception of $\tau\eta\iota$ $\Gamma\pi\pi\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota$ in line 141, and it can reasonably be assigned to the reign of Trajan (cf. *Hesperia* 41 [1972] p. 476).

Of the eph. catalogs which offer more possible cases of $\eta\iota$, etc. than the heading $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\eta(\iota)$ $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta(\iota)$ there is scarcely a text in which there occurs a consistent retention of iota. The small fr., II² 1963 (13/2), has $\omega\iota$ twice, but no heading (several cases of $\Phi\iota\lambda\acute{\alpha}\delta\eta\varsigma$ can be discounted as iota is always missing in this word in Roman times); the much later II² 2113 (183/–191/2 p.) has $\omega\iota$ twice, $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta\iota$ in heading, ω restored *ib.* 6. Some texts have spellings both with and without iota, cf. II² 1967 (36/7 p.); II² 2024 (112/3 p.); II² 2046 (paulo ante 140 p.); II² 2119 (180/1–191/2 p.); these contain a mixture of spellings within the body of text. But there are also quite a few eph. catalogs which have $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\eta\iota$ $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta\iota$ in the heading, but omit iota consistently in the body of the text: e.g. II² 2044 (139/40 p.) (only $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\eta\iota$ in line 34); II² 2052 (145/6 p.), ω in line 4, the correct reading in line 1 is $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\eta\iota$ $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta\iota$ (L.); II² 2085 (161/2 p.); II² 2086 (163/4 p.); II² 2090 (165/6 p.) (has $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\eta\iota$ $[\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta\iota]$); II² 2208 (212/3 p. aut paulo post); II² 2199 (ca. 200 p.) (heading is on left side); note also $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\eta\iota$ $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta\iota$ II² 1990 (61/2 p.); [$\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\eta\iota$ or $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\eta\eta$? $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta\iota$ II² 2235 (226/7–234/5 p.), ω in line 3. This evidence suggests that there was a tendency to retain iota in the spelling of $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\eta\iota$ $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta\iota$ because of its formulaic character. But $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\eta\iota$ $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta$ does occur at the beginning of II² 2024, II² 2119, cited *supra* for a mixture of spellings within the text. Another group of eph. catalogs always omits iota (* indicates texts which have $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\eta\iota$ $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta\iota$ in the heading): II² 1996 (84/5–92/3 p.)* (L.); II² 2021 (ante 112/3 p.); II² 2026 (116/7 p.)*; II² 2051 (144/5–149/50 p.); II² 2124 (190–200 p.)*; II² 2191 (ca. 200 p.); II² 2193 (198/9–205/6 p., cf. Graindor, *Album* p. 55); II² 2201 (post 200 p.)*; II² 2221 (217/8 p. aut paulo post); etc. Cf. the orations of ephebes, II² 2291 a (has $\lambda\eta\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$), II² 2191 b (ca. 190–200 p.). Many of these documents have no other possible occurrences of these diphthongs except in the heading $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\eta(\iota)$ $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta(\iota)$. Of this group a good number retains the spelling $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\eta\iota$ $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta\iota$, e.g. II² 2068 (155/6 p.) (L.); II² 2079 (158/9 p.); II² 2087 (163/4 p.); II² 2097 (169/70 p.); II² 2128 (190–200 p.); AE 1950/51 p. 48, no. 30 (= II² 2247 + II² 2250 + II² 2484) (ante 192/3 p.); II² 2224 (223/4 p., cf. *Hesperia* 30 [1961] p. 256, no. 56); II² 2239 (238/9–243/4 p.) (L.); II² 2245 (262/3 aut 266/7 p.); etc. The $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\eta\iota$ $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta$ spelling occurs in another group: II² 1998 (fin. s. Ip.); II² 2017 (paulo post 102 post); II² 2030

(118/9 p.); II² 2048 (140–142 p.); II² 2127 (190–200 p.). A third and smaller group has ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ: II² 1973 (40/1–53/4 p.); II² 2032 (119/20–124/5 p.); II² 2047 (140/1 p.?).

The occurrence of ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ in such a large proportion of the headings, including some quite late examples, sometimes in texts which otherwise avoid the use of iota, clearly shows an artificial retention of -ῃ in this formula. In other cases the eph. catalogs seem to avoid the use of the ῃ, etc. spellings, and the spelling ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ is also very frequent, even by 100 A.D. It is hard to see why ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ should occur and not ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ in these texts (reject ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ[ι] in II² 1995); perhaps the phrase was so automatic to the Athenians that it was treated almost as one word.

On the pryt. catalogs there are scarcely any possible cases of the diphthongs ῃ, etc. except the phrase ἀγαθῇ(ι) τύχῃ(ι). The frequent use of the ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ spelling, even in quite late texts, supports the retention of iota seen here in the eph. catalogs, cf. e.g. II² 1763 (ca. 132/3 p.), II² 1771 (138/9–150/1 p.), II² 1774 (167/8 p.) (L.), II² 1775 (168/9 p.), II² 1776 (169/70 p.) (ἀγαθῇ[ι]|τύχῃ), II² 1778 (169/70 p.), II² 1788 (174/5 p.), *Agora* 15, p. 299, no. 419 (= II² 1807 + new fr.) (188/9 p.), II² 1825 (post ca. 217 p.), etc. ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ is also frequent, cf. II² 1759 (96/7 p.) ([ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ]); II² 1764.59 (141/2 p.) (L.), II² 1765 (138/9 p.), II² 1773 (166/7 p.), II² 1795 (184/5 p.), II² 1804 (ca. 197/8–199/200 p.) ([ἀγαθῇ] τύχῃ), II² 1817 (paulo ante 220/1 p.) (L.). For the rather rarer ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ cf. II² 1786 (ca. 170 p.), II² 1787 (post 170 p.).

Dedications, sep. monuments. A good controlled sample is offered by the dedications (on altars) to the emperor Hadrian, II² 3324–II² 3380 and *Hesperia* 32 (1963) pp. 61 ff. (cf. *SEG* 21.705–732), all containing the same text (although some are of course fragmentary) and dating to 132 A.D. Of these 41 have only ῃ or ωι or both, 25 have only η or ω or both spellings without ι, and 13 have a mixture of spellings with and without iota. In the large group of sep. curse-texts set up ca. 150 A.D. by Herodes Atticus, II² 13188–II² 13208, there is not a single case of ῃ, etc. except for the very dubious restoration γνῶμη[ι] in II² 13190.27. By the end of the first century A.D. longer texts normally have only η, ω, etc., e.g. II² 4193 (85/6–94/5 p.) ded., II² 13209 (ca. 150 p.) sep. mon., II² 3592 (165/6–168/9 p.) ded., II² 3169/70 (253–257 p.) ded., etc.; or omission may be normal, with rare exceptions, cf. II² 13210 (ca. 150 p.) sep. mon. The sort of thing seen in II² 3510 (ante 50 p.), a ded. with only ῃ, δαῖδοῦχος (3 times), is normal only in the early Roman Period, δαῖδοῦχος, etc. being in use later. Note also the rarity of Ἡρώδης in the large number of texts of about the middle of the second century A.D. associated with the sophist Herodes Atticus and his family (e.g. II² 3191, II² 3595–II² 3605, II² 3733, II² 3734, II² 3969, II² 3970, II² 3977, II² 4063, II² 4073, II² 4074, etc.), with Ἡρώδης only in II² 3605.3 and II² 4072.5–6. The retention of ῃ in the imperial letter of Marcus Aurelius, *Hesperia*, suppl. 13 (1970) pp. 3 ff. (ca. 175 p.), is unusual: Ἡρώδης occurs in lines D 8, E 24, E 49, E 88, E 90, E 93; cf. the rare δαῖδουχίαν, *ib.* E 4 (this text is fond of iota, cf. p. 362 supra; no. 28, p. 366 infra).

The spellings with iota, however, by no means become extinct. A good many texts, even fairly late ones, contain a mixture of the two types of spelling, e.g. II² 3411 (post 176 p.), II² 3658.1 (ca. 200 p.), II² 4529 (s. II/III p.), II² 4218 (s. III p.), II² 4219 (s. III p.), dedications; II² 13012 (ca. 150 p.), II² 13138 (ca. 150 p.), AM 67 (1942) p. 110, no. 212 (aet. Rom.) sep. monuments; etc. The iota shows particular tenacity in the formula $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\eta\iota$ $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta$, frequent in dedications even in the third century A.D.: e.g. II² 3632 (post 150 p.), II² 3679 (s. II/III p.), II² 3680, II² 3682, II² 3687, II² 3688, II² 4217 (init. s. III p.), II² 3699 (ante 250 p.), II² 3670 (ante 266/7 p.) (L.). Of particular interest are cases like II² 3632 (post 150 p.), with $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\eta\iota$ $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta$ and $-\eta\iota$ once in line 21 ($\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta$; $\eta\mu\acute{\theta}\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ in *ib.* 17 is four syllables), but elsewhere in the text $-\omega$ (twice) or $-\eta$ (once); or II² 3667 (ca. 250 p.), with $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\eta\iota$ $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta$ in the heading, but $-\omega$ thrice in the text; or II² 1739 (181–184 p.) with $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\eta$ $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta$ in the heading and $-\omega$ once in the text, but $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\eta\iota$ $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta$ in the subheading in line 11 (L.); this last text is a short cat., really more like a ded. in form. $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\eta$ $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta$ is also found in dedications, e.g. II² 3577 (ante 128/9 p.), II² 3625 (post 150 p.), II² 3643 (fin. s. II p.), II² 3681 (init. s. III p.), II² 3712 (s. III p.), etc.

Fairly unusual in preference for $\eta\iota$, etc. are the metrical dedication, II² 3662 (ca. 200 p.); a ded. to Julia Domna, II² 3416 (ante 208 aut 209 p.), with $\eta\iota$ twice, and $\omega\iota$ and $\alpha\iota$ plausibly restored. Note the very late metrical ded., II² 4225 (ca. 410–412 p.), with $\pi\rho\omicron\mu\acute{\alpha}\chi\omega\iota$.

Sometimes the writing of the iota serves metrical purposes. Thus in the ded., II² 3606 (ca. 175 p.), iota is normally omitted, but in $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\eta\iota$ (line 5) scanned $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\eta\iota$ it necessarily appears; so also in $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha\iota\delta\eta\nu$ *ib.* 2, $\eta\mu\acute{\theta}\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ *ib.* 18, with diaeresis on the stone (but $-\omega\iota$ in *ib.* 17 is different) (cf. 4.031, nos. 3, 4, p. 96 *supra*). So also $\delta\alpha\iota\delta\alpha\varsigma$, but $\delta\alpha\delta\omega\chi\omega\varsigma$ in II² 4841.8, 9 (fin. s. IV p.) ded. (priv.); etc. Here one is dealing with the metrical licence of diaeresis (cf. 31.00, pp. 411–412 *infra*), and there is no real relationship with the use of iota in prose texts.

22.031 AI, HI, and Ω I for α i, η i, ω i. Once $\eta\iota$ and η , $\omega\iota$ and ω , etc. were identical in sound, uncertainty about proper use of iota after α i, η i, and ω was inevitable, and spellings like $\acute{\eta}$ $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta\iota$, $\gamma\upsilon\mu\upsilon\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota\varsigma$ (gen. sing.), etc. occur. These spellings are well attested by the first century B.C., often in texts which omit iota in $\alpha\iota$, $\eta\iota$, and $\omega\iota$. The large decrees of the late second and early first centuries do not have these spellings (II² 1001–II² 1035), but they do occur in a few decrees of slightly later date (nos. 5–11 *infra*) (cf. *addenda*). After 100 A.D. most of the examples are on sep. monuments and private dedications; the imperial letters in nos. 28–29 *infra* are exceptional.

Three cases of HI for η on fourth-century B.C. texts may be early examples of this type; two of them are sep. monuments of non-Athenians and the third cannot be confirmed (stone is lost) (cf. 22.011 c, p. 357 *supra*). That early cases like $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\iota\mu\omega\iota$, $\Phi\upsilon\lambda\omega\iota$ really contain cases of Ω I for ω is very doubtful, and the reading $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\alpha\iota$ for $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\alpha$ on a fourth-century sep. mon. is not correct (cf. 22.012, pp. 358–359 *supra*).

The spelling $\omega\tau\eta\iota\omicron\rho\alpha$ in the ded., II² 2869.4 (100/99) ($\omega\tau\eta\iota\omicron\rho\iota$ in *ib.* 3), could belong here; but confusion of $\omega\tau\eta\iota\omicron\rho$ and $\omega\tau\epsilon\iota\omicron\rho\alpha$ seems a more likely explanation (cf. 8.03, p. 171 *supra*).

Lit.: MS³ p. 67, note 588; Lademann p. 42; Gignac p. 185.

Examples:

- 1) τῶι θεῶι (dual) Π² 1236.12 (ante 150) decree (genos);
- 2) Βοήθου Π² 6078.2 (s. II a.) sep. mon.;
- 3) ὦι for ὦ Π² 4694 (s. II/Ia.) ded. (priv.);
- 4) Κορινθοί Π² 9067 (s. II/Ia.) sep. mon.;
- 5) ὑπογραφήτωι Π² 1055.24 (ca. 100) decree;
- 6) Χρωτῶι (= Χρωτῶ) *Hellenika* 1 (1928) pp.233 ff., line 4 (83/2) cat. and decree (cf. 22.021, no. 29, p.361 supra);
- 7) ἡ βουλῇ Π² 1046.31 (52/1) decree, νεώτερος *ib.* 28, Κολωνήθεν *ib.* 7–8, ζηλωταί *ib.* 32, ὀπίσωι *ib.* 17, 25 (cf. 22.021, no. 33, p.361 supra);
- 8) ἐκ Κηιδῶν Π² 1053.6 (post 38/7, ante 31, cf. SEG 24.142) decree (L.);
- 9) Ἀθήναις Π² 1063.16 (post 48/7) decree, Ἀθήν[αις] *ib.* 13–14;
- 10) γυμνασίαις (gen. sing.) Π² 1043.21 (38/7) decree, φιλοπονίαις (gen. sing.) *ib.* 44 (cf. 22.021, no. 39, p.361 supra) (L.);
- 11) τῶιν Π² 1343.26 (37/6) decree (soteriastai), τῶιν *ib.* 44; cf. addenda;
- 12) Ἀκτῇ *Hesperia* 29 (1960) p. 73, no. 142 (s. Ia.) sep. mon.;
- 13) Ἐλένη Π² 9538 (s. Ia.) sep. mon.;
- 14) [ἡ] ἐξ Ἀ[ρεῖ]ου πά[γ]ου βουλῇ καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τῶν Χ Π² 2803 (init. s. Ip.) ded.;
- 15) ἡ ἐξ Ἀρεῖου πάγου βουλῇ καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τῶν Χ Π² 2804 (s. Ip.) ded.;
- 16) ἡ ἐξ Ἀρεῖου πάγου βουλῇ καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τῶν Χ Π² 2805 (s. Ip.) ded.;
- 17) Μαράθωνι[ων] *Hesperia* 35 (1966) p.245, line 20 (= *Hesperia* 12 [1943] p. 66, no. 18; Π² 3580 + new frr.) (ca. 60 p.) ded.;
- 18) Ἀβουρνία Κουρτίαι Π² 4731 (s. Ip.) ded. (priv.);
- 19) Ἀγῶι Π² 9302 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.;
- 20) ἔτληι Π² 13132 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.;
- 21) [Φ]ιλωνύμου Π² 8814 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.;
- 22) Λαυδί[κ]ηι Π² 9739/40 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.;
- 23) λαμβανέτωι Π² 1366.17 (s. Ip.) regulations for cult of Menes Tyrannos set up by Xanthos of Lycia, the correct λαμβανέτω in *ib.* 20 (L.);
- 24) Μοσχίνηι Π² 9181 (s. I/IIp.) sep. mon.;
- 25) Ἀμμηι Π² 9385 (s. I/IIp.) sep. mon.;
- 26) ἡ βουλῇ Π² 3798.2 (119/20 p.) ded.;
- 27) γυνήι Π² 8447 (ante 150 p.) sep. mon.;
- 28) ἄνωι καὶ κ[άτ]ωι *Hesperia*, suppl. 13 (1970) pp.3 ff., line C15 (ca. 175 p.) imp. letter, περαιτέρωι *ib.* D2, ἐπιχειροίηι *ib.* E41 (this text fond of iota, cf. p.362 supra, p. 364 supra);
- 29) ἐνκωμίωι *Hesperia*, suppl. 12 (1967) pp.137–193, line 22 (= Π² 1112 + new frr.) (182–184 p.) imp. letter;
- 30) Καλλιστράτηι Π² 7439 (s. II p.) sep. mon.;
- 31) Ἐλένηι Π² 9539 (s. II p.) sep. mon.;
- 32) ἦν for ἦν Π² 12628.5 (s. II p.) sep. mon., has ἐξαέτηι (acc. sing.) *ib.* 6;
- 33) γυνήι Π² 6649 (s. II/III p.) sep. mon.;
- 34) [Σ]τρατῶι Διονυσίου Αἰγ[ῆ] *Agora* 17 p.173, no.984 (= Π² 7986, incorrect) (s. II/III p.) sep. mon.; the woman was certainly foreign, most likely Αἰγινίτις or Αἰγυπτία (I read the final dotted gamma from the photograph, *Agora* 17, plate 79);
- 35) χορηστήι Π² 12674 (s. II/III p.) sep. mon.;
- 36) Ἀμμίαι Π² 10645 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.;

- 37) <Δ>αμασκηγή χρηστή II² 8467 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon. (L.);
 38) Εὐτέρπη *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p.284, no. 164 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.;
 39) Μαραθωνία *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p.287, no. 179 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.;
 40) Ζωσίμη II² 9643 (date?) sep. mon.;
 41) Ἀρτεμῶι II² 9438 (date?) sep. mon.

Notes and Corrections:

In the ded., *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p.272, no.110 (s. II/IIIp.), the peculiar Κεχροπήδος may be due to morphological confusion between -ις, -ιδος and -ης, -ηδος types since *both* were pronounced [iːs] by this time, cf. Ολνίς, Ολνίδος, etc. (cf. 23.011r, p.376 *infra*). Thus ηι = η = [iː] here. The fragment is too small to ascertain whether this part of the text was metrical or not, but it is very likely that it was, and the -ηδος ending a poetical artificiality.

22.032 -ηιος for Latin -eius in Saufeius, Pompeius, etc.

Attic texts agree with the rest of the Greek world in the almost exclusive use of -ηιος, etc., as transcriptions for Latin names in -eius:

Ἀλ(λ)ήιος: e.g. II² 1794.26 (180/1 p.) pryt. cat.; II² 2125.29 (190–200 p.) eph. cat.; etc.

Ἀνήιος: II² 2020.122 (ca. 110 p.) eph. cat.; for the Latin name An(η)eius, cf. Dessau, *ILS* no.2010.

Γραικίος: II² 2239.255, 256 (238/9–243/4 p.) eph. cat. (L.).

Κοκκήιος: II² 4110.2 (45–27), II² 3604.11 (ca. 150 p.) dedications; Κοκκήια II² 3613.5 (ca. 186 p.) ded.

Ἰστλήιος (= Instuleius): Cf. examples in 28.03, p.407 *infra*.

Πομπήιος: II² 4100.2 (118/7), II² 4101.2 (ante 89), II² 4705.1(17?) (priv.), II² 4203, II² 4204 (s. I p.), II² 3800.3 (ante 128/9 p.) (L.), II² 3810.2 (ca. 210 p.), II² 3815.5–6 (ca. 250 p.?) dedications; *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p.64, no.30, line 6 (= II² 1812 + new fr.) (ca. 200 p.) pryt. cat.; *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p.75, no.38, line 7 (= *Hesperia* 28 [1959] p.283, no.12) (ca. 175–185 p.) cat.; etc.; cf. Πομπηιοπολιτῶν II² 3302.3 (132 p.) ded.; Πομπήια, Πομπήιου II² 5540 (fin. s. Ia.) sep. mon. Cf. Πομπήια, *Deltion* 25 (1970) p.78, no.42 (s. II p.) sep. mon. (cf. 9.024, no.23, p.201 *supra*).

Σαυφήιος, Σωφήιος: Cf. examples in 12.04, p.238 *supra*.

Τινήιος: II² 2097.6 (169/70 p.) eph. cat.; II² 1775.2 (168/9 p.) pryt. cat.; II² 3749.3 (169/70 p.) ded.; II² 1825.41 (post ca. 217 p.).

Φοντήιος: *Hesperia* 33 (1964) p.224, no.71, line 2 (= II² 5935 + new fr.) (ca. 200 p.) sep. mon.

Cf. also Ἀπ(π)ολήιος, Κανολήιος, Παντολήιος in 11.043b, pp.222ff. *supra*.

The choice of -ήιος, never -ῆος, has implications for the nature of -ηV ~ -ειV in e.g. Ἀρήιον, etc., where by the early Roman Period ει was certainly not a diphthong; thus also Medea, etc. in Latin (cf. 16.021e, p.312 *supra*).

In two cases there is a diaeresis over the iota: Τινήιον II² 2097.6; Φοντήιον (scanned Φόντιῶν) *Hesperia* 33 (1964) p.224, no.71, line 2. The diaeresis probably does not indicate that -ηιος was three syllables, but points out that the iota was not silent (cf. 4.031, no.2, p.96 *supra*). The use of ει in Πομπήια is analogous, cf. spellings like Ζωειλος, Ἀθηναεις

(cf. 9.024, no. 23, p. 201 *supra* and p. 200 *supra*). The accentuation Πομπη(ε)ῖα is surely wrong, and should be replaced by Πομπήμῃ, Πομπήευῃ (three syllables). The traditional accentuation Πομπήιος is printed here by convention; Πομπήιος (three syllables) would be more consistent with usual practices in regard to accentuation, but many of the examples are later than vowel isochrony and the difference between circumflex and acute is no longer significant.

-ηι- occurs also in -ηιανός, e.g. Πομπηιανός, cf. *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p. 48, no. 11, line 28 (182/3 p.) *pryt. cat.*; II² 2130.194 (192/3 p.) *eph. cat.*; II² 3806.1 (fin. s. II p.) *ded.*; Προκλιανός (rare), cf. II² 4210.11 (post 128/9 p.) *ded.*

Προκλιανός is probably not the result of syncope or contraction, but due to analogy with numerous names in -ιανός such as Ῥηγιανός, Τερτιανός, Ἡρακλιανός, etc. For Προκλιανός, cf. II² 2237.56, 134 (230–235 p.) *eph. cat.* (L.); perhaps κλιανός II² 2226.58 (ca. 218/9 p.) *eph. cat.* (L.). The Προκλειανός of the *ded.*, *Hesperia* 40 (1971) p. 315, no. 12, line 17 (178/9–179/80 p.), is probably for Προκλιανός with ει = ῖ (cf. 9.024, no. 21, p. 201 *supra*), rather than for Προκλιανός with -ει- for -ηι- (so Eckinger p. 81).

The peculiar spelling Σωφέιος in II² 12713 (s. II/III p.), *sep. mon.*, remains isolated; either ηε is for ηι here, or there is hesitation between Σωφή(ι)ος and Σωφέος (cf. 7.0112, p. 141 *supra*).

23.00 ει for ηι

At the time of the adoption of the Ionic script in Attica at the end of the fifth century B.C. there remained in Attic a single diphthong consisting of an e-vowel followed by iota: ηι, whose pronunciation was originally [e^h], i.e. the inherited ē-vowel + the glide [ʲ]. But with ει [e^h] monophthongized to a closer ē [e], probably by ca. 450 (cf. 9.011, pp. 173 ff. *supra*), there remained no corresponding e-diphthong with short initial member (contrast the distinction between ωι and ου), and there was the possibility of uncertainty about the first element of ηι, or even of its shortening to [e^h]. The Attic script is of course ambiguous, but in the earliest Attic texts in Ionic letters there is a hesitation between HI and EI as graphemes for ηι, even when H is used consistently for the simple vowel [e]. This may indicate uncertainty about the quantity of the first member of the diphthong, or that ηι is actually passing from [e^h] to [e^h]. In favor of the latter are two distinct factors: a) the resistance to analogy seen in a spelling like λιθίνει, where the rest of the paradigm λιθίνη, λιθίνης, etc. would have tended to cause retention of λιθίνηι unless there were a real phonetic reason for writing λιθίνει; b) the virtually certain passage of ηι to a long vowel [e], almost certainly via [e^h], by the early fourth century wherever it was not an inflectional ending or an augment (cf. 23.011 a–r *infra*); there is even some evidence that ηι in inflections has become [e] by ca. 350 B.C. (cf. 22.011, pp. 354 ff. *supra*).

Examples of EI for ηι in texts earlier than 400 B.C.:

στήληι λιθίνει I² 93.9 (425–412, cf. SEG 13.11; 23.19) decree (L.); ὀγδόει, τρέιτει I² 305.6, 14 (406/5) inv., which has H for [ε'] throughout, correct line 17 to read Ἀθηναί[ας and line 19 to read Ἀθη[ναί- (L.) (cf. 2.011, no. 27, p. 32 supra); ἀφει[ρέθη-, τρ]ιακοστει, εἰκοστει (3 times), πέμπτει, ἔκτει alongside ἀφηρέθη[η-, δεκάττει in an inv. of 405/4, cf. SEG 15.28 (= I² 1686–I² 1687 + I² 303, cf. *Hesperia* 25 [1956] pp. 109 ff.; SEG 24.44); η-stem datives in both HI and EI occur also in the inv., SEG 21.80 (= *Hesperia* 32 [1963] p. 144, no. 1) (404/3?), likewise [Ο]νείδ[ος] in *ib.* Aa 13. In I² 55.11 (ca. 430) decree, that κωλύει is subjunctive is virtually certain, cf. *BSA* 49 (1954) p. 29; this text is in Ionic script, but E = [ε'] once in ξς in *ib.* 8. But in the inv., I² 304.83 (407/6) (lines 77–92 not in Ionic, but H always for [ε']), read Θυμαί(τάδ)ηι καί etc., not Θυματάδει, cf. W.K. Pritchett, *The Choiseul Marble* p. 8. For πόληι, cf. 23.012 d.

Cf. also Χρυσείς on a vase employing Ionic script, dated to the end of the fifth century, ARV² p. 1313, Meidias no. 5 (= CVA, England 8, plate 91.1 a–d); contrast Βρισηίς on a rf. amphora in Lecce cited by Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* p. 140. Here also belong the datives in -ει in the defixio published in *Kerameikos* 3, p. 91, no. 3, if it is correctly dated to ca. 450 B.C. (cf. Introduction p. 8 supra). Κληπι[πιδ]ης on one of the Kleippides ostraca of 444/3, cf. *AM* 40 (1915) p. 14, no. 31 (= I² 911.2), may be related to hesitation between [ε'] and [e'], although it seems unlikely that the word was usually trisyllabic (one case of Κληπιπιδης is probably due to a careless omission of E, cf. 9.0211, p. 192 supra). Κληπιπιδη- occurs on four others of these ostraca (cf. 2.0121, no. 30, p. 36 supra).

Not related to the fifth-century examples of ει in the dative of η-stems is the spelling Ποσιδωνών in the inv. of the Delian amphiktyons, I² 377.17 (434–432); by a strange kind of error the name of the Delian month Ποσιδωνών has been given to the Attic month Ποσιδεών.

EI for ηι in texts dated 400–350 B.C.:

Examples in decrees: [τ]ήι βολεῖ I² 29.6–7 (387/6), στήλῃι λιθίνει *ib.* 3, λιθίνει *ib.* 10; στήλῃι I² 40.14 (378/7), τήι, βολεῖ *ib.* 15, 6 (L.); Οἰνείς I² 110.4 (363/2) (L.); δωδεκάτει I² 116.7 (361/0), ἤι καταλύει *ib.* 17–18, 27–28; τήι χαλκοθήκει I² 120.7, 13, 24, etc. (353/2, cf. *Hesperia* 7 [1938] p. 286), ἀνοιχθεῖ *ib.* 14, παρασκευασθεῖ *ib.* 24–25, elsewhere ηι in the subjunctive; for E = ηι in this text, cf. 22.011, no. 2, p. 355 supra (L.); εἰ I² 123.8 (357/6); Β]ηριουάδει I² 126.14 (357/6); ὅπως ἂν ἔχει I² 204.51 (352/1) (cf. I² 209.6), ηι in subjunctive elsewhere; [ἀπο]κτ[ε]ίνε[ι] I² 222.32 (ca. 344), ει in dat. *ib.* 47; subjunctive in -ει *Hesperia* 7 (1938) pp. 1 ff., no. 1, lines 13–14 (363/2) decree (genos); etc. Other types of text: Αἰγείδος I² 1658.1 (part of I² 1656–I² 1664, cf. SEG 19.136–144) (ca. 394–391) inv.; κλείς I² 1414.47 (post 385/4) inv.; etc. But in I² 47.1 (init. s. IV a.) decree, read: τήι τροπέξῃ (L.).

After 375 B.C. there is a continuous increase in EI at the expense of HI for ηι in all positions. In cases where ηι is not a morpheme, e.g. κλήις, Ἀριστήιδης, etc. the change from HI to EI is faster than in cases where ηι is involved in a morphological paradigm, e.g. in the dative singular of η-stems, in the subjunctive endings -ηι and -ηις, and in augmented forms of verbs.

23.011 Non-morphemic ηι. Here the development to a monophthong [e'] was rapid, and in some cases may have occurred in the fifth century, cf. Ἀριστέδες on p. 353 supra among early examples of E (i.e. = [e']) for ει←ηι. While the speed

with which EI is adopted may vary from word to word, it is generally universal before the end of the fourth century. As there were no analogical forces to prevent it, these cases of ει←ηι naturally fell together with any other ει as in εἶναι, etc., and changed eventually to ι, although two early examples of ι for ει←ηι in the fourth century may be casual omissions, cf. 9.022, nos. 2, 6. When etymological connections made original ηι obvious, learned revival of HI was encouraged (cf. b), e), g), and r) infra). For the accentuation κλήις, cf. 31.00 infra.

23.011 a) κλήις, κληιδ-, etc.; b/c) κλήιζω; d) ληιτουργ-; e) ληιστής; f) λῆιον; g) θνήσκω; h) παρείας; i) νεῖα; j) Πεντεληϊκός; k) Ἀγρυλειαίος; m) Κερραμειαίος; n) Ἀριστήιδης; o) other anthroponyms in -ήιδης; p) anthroponyms beginning in Δηι-; q) Χολλήιδης; r) Αἰγής, Ἐρεχθής, Οἰνής.

a) κλήις, κληιδ-, etc. HI not after ca. 350 B.C., EI first in a text dated later than 385/4, E (= [e]) already 368/7:

κλήις: Π² 1414.44 (post 385/4), also has κλείς; Π² 1426.22 (post 368/7) both inventories.

κληιδούχος: Π² 4573.5 (ca. 350) ded. (priv.).

κλείς: Π² 1414.47 (post 385/4), also has κλήις; Π² 1424 a (in add.) 386, 393 (369/8) (L.); Π² 1425.389 (368/7), also has κλέις; Π² 1541.22 (356/5) (L.); Π² 1627.342 (330/29); Π² 1672.122 (329/8); Π² 1549.7 (ca. 300) all these texts inventories.

κλειδούχον: Π² 974.23 (= *Hesperia* 28 [1959] p. 188, no. 10) (137/6) decree.

κλειδίον: Π² 1533.27 (post 338/7) inv.

κλειθρον: Π² 1627.319, 320 (330/29) inv.; Π² 1035.43, 46 (10/9–3/2, cf. p. 124 supra, no. 59) decree.

κλεισίον: Π² 1672.91 (329/8) inv.

κλειόμενος: Π² 1668.65 (347/6) inv.; Π² 1035.46 (10/9–3/2, cf. p. 124 supra, no. 59) decree.

κλείεται: Π² 1424 a (in add.) 61 (369/8) inv.; κλείωνται Π² 244.40 (337/6) decree.

κλέις: Π² 1425.399 (368/7) inv., also has κλείς (L.).

In Roman times usually EI, rarely I:

κλειδουχών: Π² 4480.5 (ca. 50 p.) ded. (priv.); Π² 3798.8 (119/20 p.); Π² 3564 (s. I/II p.); *Deltion* 25 (1970) p. 197, no. 3, line 14 (= Π² 3630 + Π² 3997) (post 150 p.); Π² 4823.7 (ca. 200 p.); Π² 3704.13 (ca. 250 p.) all dedications; TAPA 71 (1940) p. 308, line 55 (ca. 220 p.) cat.

κλειθρον: Π² 4841.10 (fin. s. IV p.) ded. (priv.).

κλειδουχών: *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p. 55, no. 18, line 6 (= Π² 3728) (aet. Rom.) ded.

b/c) κλήιζω.

In Π² 1085 (446, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 137, no. 51), a sep. monument set up by three Athenian tribes for Pythion of Megara, occur: εὐκλείζων (must be scanned as three long syllables) and εὐκλείω (could be scanned as –υυ or two longs, more likely the latter). As this text is in Ionic script EI is not representing ηι; the text is, however, not in the Attic, but the Doric dialect.

In Roman times: κλήζει (scanned as a spondee) II² 5006.3 (aet. Hadriani) oracular text; ἀποκληζομένη (κλήζ-, one syllable) II² 3575.2 (non ante 124/5 p.) ded.; κλήζ[εθ]ό (scanned as a dactyl) II² 10118.3 (s. IIp.) sep. mon.; κληίζεται (dieresis on the stone, scanned as four syllables) II² 10826.6 (s. IIIp.) sep. mon.

d) ληιτουργ-. HI last about 330 B.C.; EI first in the second quarter of the fourth century:

ληιτουργ-: II² 1140.14 (386/5) decree (tribe); AE 1965 pp.131ff., line 3 (361/0) decree (tribe); II² 1147.6 (ante 350) decree (tribe); II² 417.4 (post 330) decree (L.). Also in line 4 of the decree inscribed on a small bronze plaque, cf. AE 1971, pp. 137ff. (400–375) (cf. p. 2 supra).

λειτουργ-: *Polemon* 1 (1929) p. 227, no. 9, lines 5, 7 (375–350) decree (deme); II² 305.2 (ante 336/5) decree; II² 1191.26–27 (321/0) decree (deme); Dinsmoor, *Archons* (1931) p. 7, line 13 (= II² 649 + new frr.) (294/3) decree; II² 665.11 (266/5, cf. SEG 15.103) decree; II² 682.17, 61 (bis) (post 256/5) decree; *Hesperia* 45 (1976) pp. 296ff., line 12 (204/3) decree; AE 1953/4 Part 1, pp. 126–129, no. 2, line 13 (= SEG 15.113) (ca. 215) decree (paroikoi at Rhamnus); II² 1323.7, 12 (197/6) decree (thiasotai); II² 1328.7 (183/2), 40 (175/4) decree (orgeones); *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p. 25, no. 1, line 53 (= II² 989 + new frr.) (104/3) decree; AM 66 (1941) p. 181, no. 2, line C51 (= SEG 21.469) (129/8); *Hesperia* 24 (1955) pp. 220ff., lines 19 (= II² 1032.5), 86 (= *Hesperia* 15 [1946] p. 201, no. 41; *Hesperia* 4 [1935] p. 71, no. 37) (127/6) decrees; *Kerameikos* 3, p. 10, no. 6, line 6 (127/6?) decree (synodos); II² 1009.37 (116/5); II² 1033.10 (94/3, cf. SEG 18.29); II² 1013.54 (fin. s. IIa.); II² 840.11 (s. IIa.?) (now legible only: --ιτουργ-) (L.); II² 1028.28 (101/100, cf. SEG 24.188); *Hesperia* 17 (1948) p. 25, no. 12, line 50 (95/4), II² 1039.54 (bis) (79/8, cf. SEG 22.110), II² 1043.47 (38/7) (L.); *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p. 173, no. 105, line 8 (= II² 1059 [= II² 1758]) (ca. 40–30?) (L.) decrees. The first case of λιτουργ- occurs in the cat. and decree, *Hellenika* 1 (1928) pp. 233ff., line 1 (83/2).

In Roman times EI and I are about equally frequent:

λειτουργ-: II² 1721.20 (14/3) cat.; *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p. 65, no. 31, line 20 (s. Ia.) lex sacra; II² 1728.11 (init. s. Ip.) cat.; II² 1729.10 (init. s. Ip.) cat.; II² 4442.19 (s. Ip.) ded. (priv.); II² 4498.2 (s. I/IIp.) ded. (priv.); II² 13162.10 (s. IIIp.) sep. mon.

λιτουργ-: II² 1723.9 (post 9/8) cat.; II² 1722.21 (post 9/8) cat.; II² 1731 (init. s. Ip.) cat.; *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p. 31, no. 2, line 6 (ca. 100p.) cat.; II² 3620.6, 17 (117–180p.) ded.; II² 2774.7 (s. IIIp.) will(?).

e) ληιστής. Both HI and EI in the fourth century: ληιστής II² 284.3, 11 (ante 336/5) decree; λειιστής II² 1623.279–280 (333/2) inv. In Roman times only HI or H: ληιστάς II² 2291 a.44 (190–200p.) oration of ephebes; ληιστών II² 13132 a (in text).2 (= *Hesperia* 7 [1938] p. 470, no. 29; GVI 1, p. 366, no. 1242) (s. IIp.) sep. mon.

f) λῆιον. The word λῆιον (= ‘grain’) occurs once with H(I), twice with EI, all in inventories of 369–367: λῆιον στάχυες II² 1425.264 (368/7); λῆιον στάχυες II² 1424 a (in add.).333 (369/8) and II² 1428 (in add.).215 (367/6). For loss of iota in λῆιον, cf. p. 209 supra.

λεῖος (= ‘smooth’) has of course always EI, e.g. II² 1415.9, 10; II² 1424 a.40; II² 1436.58, etc.

g) θνήσκω. Usually θνήσκω in the fourth century, once θνείσκω. Where θνήσκω occurs in metrical texts it is scanned as two syllables; not necessarily synizesis, but because pronounced as two syllables in Attic (due to synaeresis, cf. 31.00, p.412 *infra*).

θνήσκω: Π² 7227.9, Π² 8708.9, Π² 13102 (all ca. 350), Π² 12236 (ca. 300) all metrical sep. monuments; Π² 7265.4 (post 350) sep. mon. (metrical, but scansion uncertain); Π² 5227 a (in add.).2 (287/6) sep. mon. (publ.), metrical; cf. θνή[ισκον Π² 5225.2 (ca. 350) sep. mon. (publ.). θνείσκω: Π² 12335.8 (ca. 360) sep. mon., θνείσκεις scanned --.

In Roman times only θνήσκω is found, although it is probably accidental that no example of θνήσκω is preserved.

θνήσκω: Π² 8046 a (in add.) (s. II p.); Π² 13012 (ca. 150 p.?). *Deltion* 25 (1970) p.82, no.61 (s. III p.); Π² 5796 (s. III p.) all sep. monuments.

h) παρείας. Only -ΕΙΑΣ is attested: Π² 1421.124 (374/3); Π² 1455.11 (340/39), both inventories.

i) νεῖα. The naval inventories have only νεῖα and νῆα (with intervocalic iota omitted, cf. 16.021, no.32, p.316 *supra*).

νεῖα: Π² 1610.27 (ca. 370); Π² 1627.353, 356 (330/29); Π² 1628.523 (326/5), νῆων *ib.* 526; Π² 1629.1000, 1003 (325/4); Π² 1631.231, 233 (323/2).

νῆα: Π² 1628.526 (326/5) alongside νεῖα *ib.* 523.

j) Πεντεληϊκός. Both HI and EI are frequent in building inventories of the later fourth century, often occurring in the same text:

Πεντεληϊκός: Π² 1666.A55, A77, B15, B33, etc. (356/5–353/2), also has -εικός; Π² 1668.31, 33, etc. (347/6); Π² 1672.309 (329/8), -εικός in the same line.

Πεντελεικός: Π² 1666.B21 (356/5–353/2), -ηϊκός elsewhere; Π² 1665.20 (ante 350); Π² 1672.309 (329/8), Πεντεληϊκός in the same line.

Later Πεντελεικός, cf. *Hesperia* 46 (1977) p.259, line 42 (175–150) inv.

k) Ἀγρυλειαίος: Π² 1665.5–6, 8 (ante 350) inv.

m) Κεραμεικός. The -εικός spelling is the only one actually attested: *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p.209, no.4, line 2 (ante 350) inv.; Π² 2617–Π² 2619 (s. IV a.) three horoi; Π² 968.14 (143/2) decree. Perhaps Κεραμικός in a sep. mon. of Roman date, *IG* III, no.3870.

n) Ἀριστήϊδης. Ἀριστήϊδης is last found in a text of 333/2; Ἀριστειδής is found before 350, is frequent in the second half of the fourth century and normal later. The spelling Ἀριστέδης on a few ostraca of 482 may indicate early monophthongization in this word (cf. 22.011, p.353 *supra*); likewise Ἀριστίδου in a tribal decree of 334/3, Π² 1156.14, if not due to casual omission, indicates early itacism of ει in this name (cf. 9.022, no.6).

Ἀριστήϊδης: e.g. Π² 49.4 (paulo post 385/4, cf. *SEG* 21.224) decree; Π² 6886 (init. s. IV a.), Π² 10756 (init. s. IV a.) sep. monuments; Π² 1409.18 (ca. 384) inv.; Π² 1698.54 (ante 350) cat.; Π² 143.38 (ante 350) decree; Π² 3018.4 (ante 350) ded.; Π² 1742.30 (370/69?) pryt. cat.; Π² 2345.67 (ante 350) cat.; Π² 1635.132 (post 374/3) inv.; also has Ἀριστειδής *ib.* 22–23; Π² 1457.25 (post 339/8) inv.; Π² 1623.20 (333/2) inv.

Ἀριστείδης: Π² 1635.22–23 (post 374/3) inv., has Ἀριστήδης *ib.* 132; Π² 7515.2 (ante 350) sep. mon. (L.); Π² 6645.1 (ante 350) sep. mon.; Π² 2385.17 (ca. 350) cat.; Π² 1459.12 (ca. 340/39) inv.; Π² 1251.16 (post 350) decree (collegium); Π² 1669.4 (post 350) inv.; Π² 3133.9 (339/8) ded.; *Agora* 15, p. 59, no. 49, line 36 (= AE 1917, p. 40, no. 92) (328/7) in bouleutic list before a decree; *Hesperia* 35 (1966) pp. 205 ff., line 199 (304/3) cat.; Π² 1477.6 (= *Hesperia* 40 [1971] p. 448, no. 1) (303/2) inv.; Π² 505.7 (302/1) decree; Π² 1241.6 (300/299) decree (phratry); Π² 2797.7 (ante 271/0) ded.; *Hesperia* 7 (1938) p. 110, no. 20, line 60 (= Π² 700) (258/7, cf. SEG 21.375) decree; *Hesperia* 15 (1946) p. 190, no. 37, line 21 (220/19) decree; Π² 9152.2 (s. IIIa.) sep. mon.; Π² 896.44 (186/5) decree; *Hesperia* 33 (1964) p. 186, no. 37, line 18 (ca. 150) decree; Π² 2452.51 (ca. 125/4) cat.; Π² 1008.3 (118/7), Π² 1043.56 (38/7) decrees.

A woman's name Ἀριστεῖς occurs on a sep. mon., Π² 10876 (init. s. IV a.).

In Roman times the normal spelling is Ἀριστείδης; rarely Ἀριστίδης:

Ἀριστείδης: Π² 1963.21 (13/2) eph. cat.; Π² 1945.119 (45/6 p.) cat.; Π² 1996.80 (84/5–92/3 p.) eph. cat.; Ἀριστίδης *ib.* 131, 248 (L.); Π² 2059.120 (ca. 147/8 p.) eph. cat. (L.); Π² 1796.38 (186/7 p.) pryt. cat.; Π² 2119.208 (180/1–191/2 p.), Π² 2083.54 (post 150 p.) (L.), Π² 2199.95 (ca. 200 p.), Π² 2208.38 (212/3 p. aut paulo post), Π² 2235.78 (226/7–234/5 p.) eph. catalogs; Π² 3680.15 (init. s. III p.) ded.; Π² 5330 (act. Rom.), Π² 6137/8 (act. Rom.) sep. monuments; etc.

Ἀριστίδης: Π² 1996.131, 248 (84/5–92/3 p.) eph. cat., Ἀριστείδης *ib.* 80 (L.); cf. Ἀρισ[τί]-δης in *Agora* 15, p. 299, no. 419, line 48 (= Π² 1807 + new fr.) (188/9 p.) pryt. cat.

ο) Other anthroponyms in -ήδης. These behave in the same manner as Ἀριστήδης: -ήδης is found until about 330–320 B.C.; -εῖδης is attested sometimes even before 350 B.C.:

Ἀναξίηδης: *Hesperia* 35 (1966) p. 241, no. 1 (= Π² 2426) (ca. 400) cas. list.

Ἀριστολείδης: Π² 2387.3 (ca. 350) cat.; Π² 6887 (post 300) sep. mon.

Ἀρρενήδης: Π² 1742.92 (370/69?) pryt. cat.; Π² 1623.177 (333/2) inv.; Π² 1628.410 (326/5) inv.

Ἀρρενείδης: Π² 1953.11 (357/6) cat.; AM 66 (1941) pp. 219–221, no. 2, line 3 (ca. 350) decree (phratry); Π² 1672.196 (329/8) inv.; Π² 1629.533 (325/4) inv.; Π² 2318.313 (fin. s. IV a.) cat.

Ἀρχενήδης: Π² 1611.129 (357/6), Π² 1621.60 (348/7? cf. SEG 24.160), Π² 1627.431 (330/29), Π² 1626.5 (ca. 330), Π² 1628.572 (326/5), Π² 1629.750, 853 (325/4) all naval inventories.

Ἀρχενείδης: Π² 1631.621 (323/2), Π² 1632.134, 144 (323/2) naval inventories.

Στησιλήδης: *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p. 263, no. 20, lines 4, 5 (338/7?) inv.

Στησιλείδης: Π² 1623.204, 251, 268 (333/2), Π² 1627.194, 196 (330/29), Π² 1631.431, 436 (323/2) all naval inventories.

Χαιρελήδης: Π² 1742.54 (370/69?) pryt. cat.

Χαιρελείδης: Π² 1580.6 (ante 350) inv.; Π² 1753.40 (ca. 330) pryt. cat.

π) Anthroponyms beginning in Δη-. The Δήξενος of the cat., Π² 1929.13 (init. s. IV a.), and the Δεῖξενος of the sep. mon., Π² 6970 (init. s. IV a.), are the same man,

cf. PA no.3254. Δήλοχος occurs on a fourth-century sep. monument, Π² 10113; Δήμαχος is attested in a second-century decree, Π² 957.37, 38, 65 (157/6).

q) Χολλήιδης. The spelling with EI appears first in a dedication not much later than 400 B. C.; the last text with HI dates 333/2:

Χολλήιδης: *Hesperia* 29 (1960) p.25, no.33, line 3 (370/69) inv.; Π² 1742.39 (370/69?) pryt. cat.; Π² 159.3 (ante 353/2) decree, the reading is Χολλή[ι]δης, not Χολλήιδης (L.); *Hesperia* 30 (1961) pp.30ff., line 235 (336/5) cat.; *Hesperia* 9 (1940) p.59, no.8, col.2.20–21 (333/2) decree (tribe); Π² 1673.35 (333/2?) cf. AE 1971 p.112) inv.

Χολλείδης: Π² 4548.5 (paulo post 400) ded. (priv.); Π² 7797, Π² 7798, Π² 7807 (all ca. 350) sep. monuments; Π² 410.17 (ca. 330) decree; Π² 1926.56 (325/4) cat.; *Hesperia* 28 (1959) pp.208ff., line B8 (= Π² 1556.33) (ca. 330–320) inv.; Π² 1673.36, 89 (333/2?) cf. AE 1971 p.112) inv.; Π² 640.8 (301/300) decree; Π² 7806 (ca. 300) sep. mon.; *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p.562, no.40, line 22 (281/0) decree; Π² 1214.2 (300–250) decree (deme); Π² 7802 (post 317/6) sep. mon.; Π² 7795 (ca. 200) sep. mon.; *Hesperia* 16 (1947) p.164, no.64, line 56 (161/0) decree; Π² 1940.3 (130–120) cat.; Π² 1009.75, 78 (116/5) decree; Π² 7808 (s. IIa.) sep. mon.; Π² 7801 (s. IIa.) sep. mon.; Π² 7800 a (in text) (s. Ia.) sep. mon.; etc.

In Π² 1009.67 read not Χ[ο]λλείδης but Α[ι]θαλίδης (L.).

In Roman times EI is common, I occasionally appears:

Χολλείδης: Π² 3558.8 (ca. 100p.) ded.; Π² 7809 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.; Π² 4065 (ca. 150p.) ded.; Π² 2917 (ca. 150p.) ded.; *Hesperia*, suppl. 8 (1949) p.243, line 1 (= *Hesperia* 5 [1936] pp.91ff.) (ca. 220p.) Serapion monument; *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p.213, no.60, line 6 (184/5p.) pryt. cat.; Π² 7796, Π² 7810, Π² 7805, Π² 7811 (all s. IIp.) sep. monuments; Π² 3619 (ca. 150p.) ded.; *Hesperia* 40 (1971) p.315, no.12 (178/9–179/80p.) ded.; Π² 3704.3, 6 (ca. 250p.) ded.; Π² 7794 (date?) sep. mon.; Π² 7804 (date?) sep. mon.; Π² 3725 (date?) ded.

Χολλίδης: Π² 7800, Π² 7803 (both s. Ip.) sep. monuments; Π² 7793 (ca. 150p.) sep. mon.; Π² 3983 (post 150p.) ded.; Π² 7791 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.

r) Αλγής, Ἐρεχθής, Ολνής. 403/2–351/0. The spelling with EI first appears at the end of the fifth century, but remains very unusual until after 350 B. C.:

-είς, -είδος: [Οι]νεῖδ[ος] *Hesperia* 32 (1963) p.144, no.1, line Aa 13 (404/3?) inv.; Αλγείδος Π² 1658.1 (= part of Π² 1656–Π² 1664, inv. dated ca. 394–391, cf. SEG 19.136–144) but [Ο]τνη: in Π² 1661.3; Ολνείς Π² 110.4 (363/2) decree, but Ολνήιδος *ib.* 3.

-ής, -ήδος (in this period normal): cf. e.g. decrees: Π² 1.56 (403/2); Π² 6.4 (paulo post 403/2); Π² 17.1 (394/3); Π² 21.10 (390/89); Π² 49.6 (paulo post 385/4, cf. SEG 21.224); Π² 50.2 (init. s. IVa., if not earlier, cf. SEG 14.38); Π² 145.1 (ante 358/7, cf. *Hesperia* 10 [1941] p.266, no.68); Π² 23.3 (388/7); Π² 63.4, Π² 76.3 (both ante 378/7); *Hesperia* 8 (1939) p.5, no.3 (367/6); Π² 123.2 (357/6); decree (tribe): Π² 1146 (ante 353/2); inventory: Π² 1661.3 (= part of Π² 1656–Π² 1664, building inv. dated ca. 394–391, cf. SEG 19.136–144): [Ο]τνη[-](δος), also has Αλγείδος, cf. supra; catalogs, dedications: *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p.287, no.78, line 56 (403/2); Π² 3063.3, Π² 3030.1 (both init. s. IVa.); *Hesperia* 29 (1960) p.85, no.165, line 2 (= Π² 3064 + new fr.), has Ολνηδι Παιν[διον]ιδι, but Ολνήδι Πανδιονίδι was certainly intended, cf. 15.011a, no.2, p.268 supra; Π² 3066.2, Π² 3038.3 (both 364/3); *Deltion* 25 (1970) p.143, no.1 (363/2); *Deltion* 25 (1970) p.144, no.2 (362/1); *Deltion* 25 (1970) p.144, no.3 (361/0); *Hesperia* 32 (1963) p.36, no.33, line 3 (356/5); Π² 1698.2, Π² 1697.30 (both

from same cat., cf. *Agora* 15, p.341, no.492 (ca. 370); *Hesperia* 16 (1947) p.150, no.41, line 13 (ante 350); etc.

Cf. also the name Ἐρσής, Π² 11345.1, 3 (ca. 400) sep. mon.; this woman was buried at Athens τῆλδ πατρίδος.

Unique in this period is the choregic ded., dated by the archon's name to 352/1, with Αλγίδι, cf. *Δελτιον* 25 (1970) p.147, no.7, line 3 and plate 45. In this word such an early example of ι for ει is surprising, and it is quite likely a careless omission, probably of H rather than E, which is involved. Probably a similar omission: Βευσίς Π² 10983 (ca. 350) sep. mon. (cf. 9.022, nos. 2, 3, p.196 supra).

350/49–301/300. The spelling with ΗΙ is still a good deal more frequent, but ΕΙ becomes common after ca. 330 B.C.:

-εις, -ειδος: decrees: Π² 225.1 (343/2); Π² 337.3 (333/2); Π² 353.2 (329/8); Π² 360.2 (325/4); Π² 362.2 (324/3); *Hesperia* 8 (1939) p.27, no.7, line 3 (323/2); Π² 373.16 (322/1); Π² 388.3 (319/8); Π² 471.3, Π² 473.3 (both 306/5); Π² 481.1, Π² 483.2 (both 304/3); Π² 796.1 (305/4); Π² 500.3 (302/1); inv.: Π² 1672.263 (329/8), -ῆιδος in *ib.* 7, 264, 267; catalogs: Π² 1749.86 (341/0), Αλγῆιδος *ib.* 1 (L.); Π² 1924.8 (330/29), ῆιδος in *ib.* 2; etc.

-ῆις, -ῆιδος: decrees: Π² 212.4 (347/6); Π² 224.3 (343/2); Π² 227.4 (342/1); Π² 338.2 (333/2); *Hesperia* 3 (1934) p.3, no.5, line 1 (327/6); Π² 359.3 (326/5); Π² 417.6, 9, 21 (post 330); Π² 366.2–3 (323/2); Π² 380.2–3 (320/19); Π² 454.1 (308/7); Π² 553.17 (ca. 307); inventories: Π² 1678.26 (ca. 350); Π² 1622.386, 412, 478 (ca. 342/1); Π² 1672.7, 264, 267 (329/8), -ειδος *ib.* 263; Π² 1587.10 (= *Hesperia* 19 [1950] p.279, no.32) (ca. 325–300); catalogs, dedications: Π² 3021.2, Π² 3072.1 (ca. 350); Π² 1749.1 (341/0), Αλγείδα in *ib.* 86 (L.); *Hesperia* 30 (1961) pp.30 ff., line 1 (336/5); *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p.206, no.52, line 2 (post 350); Π² 2835.3 (331/0); Π² 1924.2 (330/29), Αλγείδος in *ib.* 8; Π² 3052.1 (328/7); Π² 1926.3, 23, 87 (325/4); Π² 3054.2 (post 323/2); Π² 3084 (ca. 300); Π² 2318.53, 206, 333 (s. IV a.); etc.

300/299–251/0. ΕΙ is dominant, and ΗΙ is quite rare:

-ῆις, -ῆιδος: decrees: *Hesperia* 7 (1938) p.100, no.18, line 2 (282/1); Π² 705.1 (init. s. III a.); *Hesperia* 7 (1938) p.110, no.20, line 48 (= Π² 700) (258/7, cf. SEG 21.375); *Hesperia* 29 (1960) p.9, no.11, line 5 (ante 250?); decree (tribe): Π² 1165.27, 30 (300–250), [Ἐρεχ]θεῖ[δαι] *ib.* 17–18; ded.: Π² 3081.3 (277/6), Π² 3078.3 (init. s. III a.).

-εις, -ειδος: decrees: *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p.281, no.54, line 2 (296/5); Π² 656.4 (284/3); Π² 680.1 (275/4); *Hesperia* 33 (1964) p.170, no.25, line 1 (275/4); Meritt, *Athenian Year* p.192, no.1 (271/0); Π² 687.2 (265/4); *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p.43, no.9, line 8 (256/5); Π² 766.28 (246/5); *Hesperia* 38 (1969) p.418, no.1, lines 1, 7, 13, 17, 24 (254/3); Π² 799.2 (ca. 250?); cf. [Ἐρεχ]θεῖ[δαι] Π² 1165.17–18 (300–250) decree (tribe) (cf. supra).

250/49 B.C.–ca. 100 A.D. During the period 250/49–117/6 B.C. the spellings with ΗΙ are extraordinarily rare, and only two examples can be found:

Hesperia 15 (1946) p.198, no.40, line 2 (= *Hesperia* 3 [1934] p.14, no.17) (171/0) decree; Π² 1134.64 (117/6) Attic decree in an amphiktyonic document: Ολνῆιδος (L.).

In the earlier part of the Roman Period there is an isolated example of -ῆις, cf. Ολνῆις, Π² 3112.1 (75/6–87/8 p.) choregic dedication. There are apparently no

other cases from 117/6 B.C. to the Hadrianic Period. Correct II² 1039, col. 2.83 (79/8, cf. SEG 22.110), decree, to read: Οἰνεῖ[δ]ος (L.).

EI is the normal spelling during this period:

E.g. decrees: *Hesperia* 17 (1948) p. 3, no. 3, line 2 (244/3); II² 785.2 (196/5); II² 787.b 13 (236/5); II² 788.1 (235/4); *Hesperia* 16 (1947) p. 185, no. 92, lines 4, 7 (ca. 235); II² 792.16 (fin. s. IIIa.); *Hesperia* 45 (1976) pp. 296ff., line 83 (204/3); *Hesperia* 15 (1946) p. 190, no. 37, line 18 (220/19); *Hesperia* 38 (1969) p. 425, no. 2, line 1 (220/19); II² 843.2 (ca. 229/8); *Agora* 15, p. 132, no. 147, lines 11, 35 (= II² 915 + new fr.) (203/2); *Hesperia* 9 (1940) p. 85, no. 16, line 2 (199/8, cf. *Hesperia* 26 [1957] p. 62); *Hesperia* 5 (1938) p. 419, no. 15, line 1 (196/5); *Hesperia* 17 (1948) p. 17, no. 8, line 1 (ca. 190); *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p. 109, no. 53, line 12 (188/7); II² 910.1 (169/8); II² 945.2 (168/7); II² 952.5 (161/0); II² 956.56, 59, 63, 84 (161/0); II² 957.30, 33, 40, etc. (157/6); II² 958.41, 48, 59 (154/3); *Hesperia* 33 (1964) p. 191, no. 40, line 16 (ca. 150); II² 967.9 (145/4); II² 961.8, 20, 23 (ca. 140); *Hesperia* 24 (1955) pp. 220ff., line 1 (= *Hesperia* 15 [1946] p. 201, no. 41; *Hesperia* 4 [1935] p. 71, no. 37) (127/6); *Hesperia* 2 (1933) p. 163, no. 9, line 7 (125/4); II² 1006.2, 115 (122/1); II² 1008.49, 90, 99, 114 (118/7); II² 1009, col. 1.79, col. 3.64 + on new fr., *Hesperia* 16 (1947) p. 170, no. 67, line 2 (116/5); II² 1011.97, col. 3.95 (106/5); *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p. 25, no. 1, line 18 (= II² 989 + new fr.) (104/3); II² 1028.119, 123 (101/100, cf. SEG 24.188); II² 1034.21 (98/7); II² 1039, col. 1.73, 83, col. 2.83 (79/8, cf. SEG 22.110), note the correction to εἰ in col. 2.83, cf. supra (L.); II² 1036.27, 39 (108/7); II² 1048.2 (46/5, cf. *Agora* 15, p. 222, no. 281); II² 1043.95 (38/7) (L.); II² 1070.2 (paulo ante 19p.); etc.

Catalogs: II² 2362.16 (ca. 200); II² 2314.37, 39 (182/1 et 178/7); II² 2316.39, 41 (ca. 166/5); II² 2317.8, 14, 35 (162/1 et 158/7); II² 1942.8 (ca. 100); II² 1963.5, 19 (13/2) (eph.); etc.

After ca. 100 A.D. In this period the normal spelling was with EI, as large numbers of instances in the ephebic catalogs testify. This εἰ had passed to [i·] and spellings like Αλγῖδος, etc. also occasionally occur. From the reign of Hadrian on the spellings with HI are occasionally revived, a learned revival.

-ῆς, -ῆδος: eph. and pryt. catalogs: II² 1765.5 (138/9p.); II² 2067.24, 33, 122 (154/5p.); *Hesperia* 16 (1947) p. 177, no. 79, line 3 (165/6p.); *Hesperia* 16 (1947) p. 179, no. 83, line 2 (ca. 180p.); *Agora* 15, p. 294, no. 411, line 6 (= II² 1796 + II² 1800 + new fr.) (186/7p.); *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p. 64, no. 30, line 4 (= II² 1812 + new fr.) (ca. 200p.); *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p. 65, no. 31, line 3 (ca. 200p.); II² 2213.28 (post 212/3p.). Cf. also *Hesperia* 32 (1963) p. 26, no. 27, line 7 (= *Hesperia*, suppl. 6 [1941] p. 142, no. 32) (ca. 230p.) decree; II² 3287.A5, II² 3287.C5 (124/5p.) dedications (in same hand, but on different stones) (L.). Cf. also Βελεισίμης on the sep. mon., II² 6771 (s. II p.); Βελωῆς, II² 10981 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.

-ίς, -ίδος: eph. catalogs: II² 2050.95 (143/4p., cf. SEG 24.191); II² 2051.53 (144/5–149/50p.), EI in *ib.* 4, 10; II² 2132.3 (ca. 192/3p.), EI in *ib.* 19; II² 2194.31 (ca. 200p.); etc. On II² 10982 (aet. Rom.?), sep. mon., appears Βελωίς.

-εῖς, -εῖδος: These were the normal spellings, cf. e.g.: eph. catalogs: II² 2049.35, 86 (142/3p.) (L.); II² 2051.4, 10 (144/5–149/50p.), I in *ib.* 53; II² 2052.78 (145/6p.) (L.); II² 2058.10 (146/7p. aut paulo post) (L.); II² 2065.51, 57 (150/1p.); II² 2081.10, 15 (ca. 160p.) (L.); II² 2086.39, 47, 142 (163/4p.); II² 2097.43, 53, 203 (169/70p.); II² 2103.51, 117 (172/3p. aut paulo post); II² 2119.41 (180/1–191/2p.); II² 2122.46 (paulo ante 190p.); II² 2132.19 (ca. 192/3p.), I in *ib.* 3; II² 2128.5, 21, 66 (190–200p.); II² 2193.43, 48, 103 (198/9–205/6p., cf.

Graindor, *Album* p.55); *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p.71, no.37, lines 55, 61, 101 (fin. s. IIIp.); etc.; pryt. cat.: *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p.48, no.11, line 2 (182/3p.); ded.: *TAPA* 71 (1940) p.308, line 11 (ca. 220p.); etc.

23.012 Morphemic ηι. In the course of the fourth century there is an increasing use of EI for morphemic ηι, especially after ca. 325, and by 300 EI is more common than HI. The use of EI becomes so dominant in the third century that HI is in fact rather rare by 250 B.C., except in the relative pronoun ἥι, where HI is retained (cf. a) p.378 infra).

There were, however, analogical forces present to prevent the extinction of HI, and after ει passed to ī [iː] in most positions, probably by ca. 200 B.C. (cf. 9.022), these analogical forces began to cause a restoration of the original spelling with H. The ει of the dat. sing. τιμεῖ was prevented from passing to ī by the similar paradigms of χώρα, ὄρος, which retain a- or o-vowels in all the singular cases. It is therefore not surprising that in the course of the second century, first in the subjunctive (after ca. 175 B.C.) and then elsewhere (after ca. 130 B.C.), EI (now = ī) is abandoned as a grapheme for morphemic ει from ηι, and HI is gradually restored. By 100 B.C., EI for ηι is rare, and only a few examples from the first century can be found.

When the restoration of HI as the grapheme for original ηι begins, however, H is already competing with it, and it is not likely that the survival (or revival) of a diphthong in the second century B.C. is involved, or at least the monophthong is already competing with it; but there is some evidence against the existence of a diphthong in this period even as a variant pronunciation (cf. 22.021, p.360 supra). There are already contemporary examples of Α, Ω in analogous datives like χώραι, τῶι (cf. 22.021, nos.4, 7). The date of the monophthongization of morphemic ηι is problematic, but there is some evidence to suggest it has occurred by the fourth century (cf. 22.011, pp.354ff. supra).

Thus the standard orthography of Attic e-vowels is substantially changed in the course of the second century B.C.: HI/H are restored for ει←ηι; EI and I are increasingly confused because both ει and original ī are pronounced as [iː]; the first use of H for ει/—V appears (before vowels ει did not pass to [iː] so early), although this practice does not become frequent until early Roman times (cf. 9.031).

The results of the exhaustive study of Lademann pp.14–24 are confirmed by the larger decree texts of the Hellenistic Period which have been unearthed in the Agora excavations. For a statistical study of these and other Hellenistic texts apparently independent of Lademann, cf. A.S. Henry (cf. Lit. infra pp.240–243). The evidence is presented in summary form in the following sections with illustrative examples drawn from securely datable texts, chiefly decrees.

23.012 a) ηι in the dat. sing. of η-stems; b) ηι in subjunctives; c) Augmented and reduplicated forms of verbs in αι-; d) πόληι.

a) -ηι in the dat. sing. of η-stems. -ει for -ηι in the dat. sing. of η-stems is first found in texts in Ionic script of the later fifth century and occurs very rarely in the earlier fourth century (examples before ca. 350 on p.369 supra). Increased fondness

for -ει is observable from ca. 340–330 on, beginning with II² 223 (343/2), decree with -ηι 25 times, but τεῖ *ib.* 4, 8; βουλεῖ *ib.* 8; αὐτεῖ *ib.* 5; and -ηι rapidly wanes in the last decades of the century.

Ca. 340–ca. 300. In the period ca. 340–325 -ει is still fairly rare; some decrees have only -ηι, e.g. II² 338 (333/2), Sokolowski, *Lois*² p. 63, no. 33 (= II² 334 + new fr.) (335–329), etc.; others have ηι much more frequently than ει, e.g. II² 330 (335/4), II² 333 (335/4), II² 360 (325/4), etc. A few have -ηι and -ει in equal frequency, e.g. II² 337 (333/2), II² 349 (331/0), *Agora* 15, p. 59, no. 49, lines 41–57 (= *AE* 1917, p. 40, no. 92) (328/7). After about 325 B.C. -ηι quickly declines: e.g. *Hesperia* 6 (1937) p. 442, no. 1 (321/0) -ηι once, -ει three times; II² 448.35–88 (318/7) ἦι, -ηι once *al.*, ει five times; II² 471 (306/5) εῖ, -ει three times; II² 483 (304/3) -ει five times, ἦι, -ηι once; II² 500 (302/1) -ει seven times, ἦι, -ηι five times; II² 505 (302/1) εῖ, -ει eight times, -ηι five times; II² 641 (299/8) εῖ, -ει four times; etc.

Ca. 300–ca. 125. After 300 -ει is normal except in the relative pronoun ἦι. Typical decrees are: II² 654 (285/4), ἦι, -ηι twice, -ει five times; II² 657 (283/2) εῖ, -ηι five times, -ει ten times; II² 674 (273/2) -ει seven times, ἦι, -ηι three times; *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p. 43, no. 9 (256/5) -ηι once, -ει six times; II² 772 (268/7) ἦι, -ει seven times, -ηι once; *Hesperia* 45 (1976) pp. 296 ff. (204/3) -ει fifteen times; *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p. 73, no. 29 (228/7) -ει eleven times, ἦι; II² 839 (221/0) ἦι, -ει seven times; II² 844 (181/0, cf. *TAPA* 95 [1964] p. 239) -ει only; II² 890 (188/7) ἦι, -ει *al.*; *Hesperia* 3 (1934) p. 14, no. 17 (= *Hesperia* 15 [1946] p. 198, no. 40) (171/0) εῖ twice (read εῖ in line 44, L.), -ει eight times, -ηι once; II² 909 (ca. 170) -ει six times; II² 949 (165/4) ἦι, -ει twenty times; II² 950 (165/4) -ηι twice, -ει seven times; *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p. 148, no. 84 (= *Hesperia* 3 [1934] p. 31, no. 21) (155/4) ἦι, -ει thirteen times; etc. As can be seen, some texts of the early second century avoid -ηι everywhere except in ἦι.

In the last part of the fourth century and occasionally in the third, decrees can still be found which are conservative and exhibit either a pronounced preference for -ηι in the dat. sing. or employ it exclusively, e.g. II² 450 (314/3), II² 653 (285/4), II² 659 (283/2), II² 780 (252/1, cf. *SEG* 21.382), *Hesperia* 17 (1948) p. 3, no. 3 (244/3), II² 788 (235/4), II² 790 (235/4).

There is no question that εῖ is consciously avoided in many decrees. It is, however, found occasionally throughout the period in which -ει for -ηι is common, e.g. II² 471 (306/5), II² 505 (302/1) has -ηι, II² 641 (299/8), II² 657 (283/2) has -ηι, II² 672 (279/8), II² 794 (ca. 250?), *Agora* 15, p. 120, no. 129 (= II² 848) (222/1), II² 929 (init. s. II a.), *Hesperia* 15 (1946) p. 198, no. 40 (cf. *supra*) (171/0), II² 963 (ca. 140), etc. Lademann (cf. *Lit. infra*, p. 19, note 1) sought the reason for the avoidance of εῖ in conservatism in writing prescripts, but several cases of εῖ occur in prescripts, and there is no hesitation in using -ει in the ordinal numerals of prescripts. A. S. Henry's suggestion that εῖ was avoided in the relative pronoun to prevent confusion with the conjunction εἰ may be right (cf. *Lit. infra*, p. 245).

After ca. 125 B.C. The last large decrees in which -ει predominates are: *AM* 66 (1941) p. 288, no. 4 (138/7 aut 137/6) decree (orgeones) -ει three times, τηι; II² 974

(= *Hesperia* 28 [1959] p. 188, no. 10) (137/6) -ει six times, ηι once; II² 1227 (decree of cleruchs) (131/0) -ει eight times, no ηι; II² 977 + *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p. 282, no. 77 (131/0) -ει eight times, -ηι twice, ηι; II² 1004 (122/1) -ει four times, ηι. A new fondness for ηι may be seen in the decree II² 971 (140/39), with -ει twice, -ηι five times, and the greatly increased preference for ΗΙ or Η over ΕΙ can be seen especially in the large decrees honoring ephebes which begin to appear 127/6:

Date	Text	EI	HI	H
128/7 (decrees III–V)	} <i>Hesperia</i> 24 (1955) pp.220ff, (= <i>Hesperia</i> 15 [1946] p. 201, no. 41; <i>Hesperia</i> 4 [1935] p. 71, no. 37)	3	3	0
127/6 (decrees I–II) all carved 127/6		0	0	7
122/1		II ² 1006 (L.)	2 (lines 29, 38)	32
118/7	II ² 1008	4 (lines 78–80)	14	5
116/5	II ² 1009	4 (lines 4, 7)	15	0
108/7	II ² 1036	0	2, perhaps 3 (line 12)	0
106/5	II ² 1011	2 (lines 14, 23)	1 (line 46)	50
101/100, cf. SEG 24.188	II ² 1028	0	32	4

Cf. II² 1013, a large decree dealing with weights and measures, probably of the late second century B.C., with -ηι twelve times, -ει once; -ηι once on the small fragment of a decree dated by archon's name to 117/6, cf. *Hesperia* 45 (1976) p. 287, no. 3. The small decree dated with certainty to 112/1, II² 1012, with -ηι four times, -ει eight times, is something of a throwback. It happens that the spelling εἷ is not attested for the relative pronoun, but there is no definable tendency for particular words to have -ει, -ηι, or -η in these lengthy texts.

Kirchner dated the decree, II² 1027 (-ει six times; ηι once), to the end of the second century (at least as late as 102/1 B.C.), presumably on the basis of the lettering. Even if the attribution of the text to 159/8 has to be given up, it is likely it belongs to about 160 B.C. (cf. SEG 21.457).

After 100 B.C. -ει is decidedly rare for -ηι in the dative of η-stems. The latest examples are: II² 1337.6, 7 (97/6, cf. *Hesperia* 18 [1949] p. 6) decree (orgeones) -ει five times, no -ηι or -η (L.); II² 2872 (ca. 97/6) ded., -η[ι] once, -ει once; *Hesperia* 17 (1948) p. 25, no. 12 (95/4) decree, -ει in dat. sing. (ten times) (but ηι (bis), cf. p. 381 infra) (L.); II² 1029.23 (96/5) decree, κοσμητεῖ, -ηι eight times, -η once; II² 1047 (49/8) decree, very small fr., -ει three times (L.); II² 1045 (ante 50? perhaps not this late?) decree, very small fr., -ει twice in dative, also εἷ.

Correct II² 1039.26 (79/8, cf. SEG 22.100) to read not ἐν τεῖ [τ]ε, but: ἐν τε εὐτά[(new fr. added, AE 1964, pp.36ff.) (L.). In II² 1078.41 (ca. 220p.) the reading is now ὑπὸ τ[ῆ]ι πόλει, and it is doubtful whether more could ever be read than this on the stone (L.).

The spelling 'Εμμεῖ also occurs twice in the first century B.C., viz: II² 2873 (95/4) ded.; *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p.270, no.100, line 4 (59/8) ded. (L.). This spelling also occurs later on a defixio of the third century A.D., cf. 8.02, no.30, and is known in other parts of Greece. It is probable that a variant dative 'Εμμεῖ (= [er-mi]) existed, possibly due to confusion with the -ους, -ει, -η declension paradigm. The normal spelling at Athens at this time and later was certainly 'Εμμηῖ or 'Εμμηῖ, e.g. II² 2992 (60/59), II² 2993 (55/4), II² 2997 (paulo post 8/7) dedications; II² 4742 (s. I/II p.) ded. (priv.). The spelling Διοκλήι on a decree, II² 1046.19 (52/1), is more likely an analogical formation rather than due to over-extension of restored η; perhaps due to non-Attic influence (cf. p. 147 supra).

b) -ηι in subjunctives. Here -ει for -ηι is first attested in the fifth century and occurs very rarely in the earlier fourth century (cf. 23.00, pp.368–369 supra). An increase in subjunctives in -ει may be observed in II² 223 (343/2) decree with five subjunctives in -ει alongside two in -ηι, and ῆι; II² 226 (ca. 343/2) decree with -ει twice, -ηι once; II² 244 (337/6) decree with -ει twice, -ηι seven times; etc. After 315 B.C. -ηι is fairly rare (except in ῆι), but note II² 653.42 (285/4), II² 677.18 (ca. 275), *Hesperia* 17 (1948) p. 3, no.3, line 11 (244/3) with a pronounced preference for -ηι, decrees; II² 1299.68 (post 236/5) decree (troops and Eleusinians). There is, however, a tendency to avoid εἰ for ῆι before ca. 300, although both spellings are found ca. 340–ca. 160, e.g. εἰ II² 1183.29, 30, 31, 32 (post 340) decree (deme), II² 1631.396 (323/2) inv., and frequently in the third century; ῆι II² 244.62, 85, 103 (337/6), II² 463.27, 54, 85 (307/6), II² 466.b32 (307/6), II² 468.9 (306/5), II² 558.11 (ca. 303/2), II² 505.41 (302/1) decrees, etc.; ῆι is infrequent in the third century, e.g. II² 653.50 (285/4) conservative decree which avoids -ει in the dat. sing. of η-stems and other subjunctives; II² 654.57 (285/4) decree with -ει more frequent than -ηι in the dat. sing.; II² 659.21 (283/2) decree which prefers -ηι to -ει in dat. sing.; *Deltion* 18 (1963) p.103, no.1 (= SEG 21.525) (282/1) decree for phylarchs and hipparchs with τῆι, λυθεῖ, -ει in dat. sing.; II² 670.13 (282/1) decree; II² 700.b17 (258/7, cf. SEG 21.375) decree with -ει in dat. sing.; II² 1292.18 (215/4, cf. Vidman p.4, no.2) decree (sarapiastai), etc. Both εἰ and ῆι in a decree of 247/6, *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p.287, no.56 (= II² 791 + new fr.).

After 200 B.C. -ηι and -η are gradually restored for -ει in the subjunctive; in the first half of the second century all three spellings are well attested:

Subjunctives in -ει: II² 926.13 (init. s. II a.), cf. II² 927.4 (init. s. II a.), II² 908.17 (181–170), II² 909.20 (ca. 170) decrees; II² 1326.45, 46, 47 (176/5) decree (orgeones); etc.

εἰ: II² 931.10 (init. s. II a.) (L.), II² 908.17 (181–170), II² 909.19 (ca. 170), II² 955.14 (ante 159) decrees; II² 1324.21 (ca. 200) decree (orgeones); II² 1327.20 (178/7) decree (orgeones); etc.

The last examples of -ει are: II² 1223.15 (post 167), II² 1224.b4 (ca. 166) decrees (cleruchs); of εἰ: II² 984.6 (ca. 150), II² 1045.2 (ante 50? perhaps not this late) decrees.

Subjunctives in -ηι: Π² 924.6 (init. s. II a.), Π² 891.17 (ca. 188/7), Π² 982.15 (post 150), Π² 968.61 (143/2) decrees; Π² 1328.36, 42 (175/4) decree (orgeones); and frequently after 150 B.C. ἦι: Π² 945.12 (168/7) decree; Π² 1227.20 (131/0) decree (cleruchs); *Hesperia* 23 (1954) p. 240, no. 11, line 7 (s. II a.) small fr. of a decree; Π² 1039.65 (79/8, cf. SEG 22.110) decree.

Subjunctives in -η begin to appear in the second quarter of the second century, cf. 22.021, nos. 2, 3, 5, 6. The subjunctives in -ει cease before 150 B.C., some time before the dat. sing. in -ει: note *Hesperia* 17 (1948) p. 25, no. 12 (95/4) decree with -ει only in the dat. sing. (ten times), but ἦι twice.

For μετακινήσεις (= μετακινήσης) in a sepulchral curse of ca. 150 A.D., cf. 8.02, no. 21, p. 169 *supra*.

c) Augmented and reduplicated forms of verbs in αι-. Here the number of examples is small, but the trend appears the same as in the datives of η-stems. ει- first appears ca. 340 (cf. εἰρέθη in a decree of 343/2, Π² 223.B 11) and is well attested in the aorist almost immediately, e.g.:

εἰρέθη Π² 360.36, 44 (325/4) decree; Π² 1672.300 (329/8) inv.;

ἐπείνεσαν Π² 379.7 (ca. 320) decree; etc.

ἐπήνεσαν in Π² 500.17 (302/1) decree, has -ει in dat.

Before 300 ει- is rare in the perfect:

εἰρημένος Π² 1493.5 (334/3), Π² 1496.201 (334/3–331/0) inventories.

ἡρημένος Π² 244.32, 38 (337/6) decree; Π² 1627.383 (330/29) inv.; Π² 1629.210, 1018 (325/4) inv.

In the third century ει- is normal in both aorist and perfect:

ἐπείνεκε, εἰρέθησαν Π² 1299.62, 81 (post 236/5) decree (troops and Eleusinians), alongside ἐπήνεκε *ib.* 63 (cf. *infra*); ἐπείνεκασιν Π² 1163.14 (284/3) decree (tribe); παρειτήσατο Π² 657.26 (283/2), Π² 682.16 (post 256/5) decrees; εἴτηκεν Π² 682.94 decree; εἰρέθησαν Π² 1300.15 (ca. 230) decree (troops); εἰρημένος Π² 1534.B.160 (247/6, cf. SEG 16.118) inv.; εἰρημένων, καθειρέθη Π² 1539.3, 4 (215/4) inv.; εἰρέθησαν SEG 2.9.12 (244/3) decree (thiasotai); etc.

ηι- in ἡι[ρη]μένοι Π² 1283.8 (263/2, cf. SEG 24.155) decree (Thracian aliens); ἐπήνεκε Π² 1299.63 (post 236/5) decree (troops and Eleusinians), has ει- *ib.* 62, 81 (cf. *supra*).

Examples are rare in the period after 200 B.C., but it seems clear that there was restoration of ηι and η here also, cf. ἐπηνέθησαν Π² 1006.31 (122/1) decree, ἐπηνέθη *ib.* 67. The last examples of ει- are εἰρημένος Π² 1331.b 5 (ca. 130) decree (technitai), εἰρέθησαν Π² 1228.19 (116/5) decree (cleruchs).

d) πόληι. The dative singular of πόλις is a special case. The original form of the dative was πόληι in Attic (cf. Meillet-Vendryes p. 477), a spelling well attested in decrees of the late fifth and early fourth centuries, cf. *Hesperia* 14 (1945) p. 115, no. 10, line 3 (425/4) in Ionic script; I² 108 I.35 (410/9) not in Ionic script, but H used consistently for [ε]; Π² 13.10 (399/8); Π² 17.10 (394/3); Π² 24.b 8 (paulo ante 387/6); Π² 53.7 (390–370, cf. SEG 24.77); Π² 84.4 (ante 378/7) has ἀκροπόληι; Π² 42.5–6 (378/7); Π² 106.17 (368/7) has ἀκροπόληι. Note that πόληι is not confined just to the old formula ἐν πόληι, cf. I² 108 I, Π² 42.

But πόλει is also attested: twice in one fifth-century decree in Ionic script, I² 93.9, 11 (425–412, cf. SEG 13.11; 23.19), but this text has been cited for λιθίνει, i.e. it wavers between HI and EI for ηι (cf. 23.00, p. 369 *supra*); and (ἀκρο)πόλει occurs in fourth-century decrees: II² 29.4 (387/6); II² 57.4 (ante 386); II² 34.21 (384/3); II² 40.17 (378/7); II² 76.20, II² 79.15, II² 82.15 (all ante 378/7). In II² 21.4 (390/89) [πόλει might be either πόλει or ἀκρο]πόλει, and the apparent distinction between ἀκροπόλει and πόληι in the examples may not be significant, for ἀκροπόληι occurs in II² 84 and II² 106, πόλει in I² 93, II² 57.

πόλει and ἀκροπόλει become normal by ca. 370:

e.g. II² 98.26 (375/4); II² 107.20 (368/7); II² 111.25 (363/2); II² 116.44 (361/0); II² 149.20 (ante 355); II² 206.30 (349/8); II² 223.15 (343/2); II² 226.21 (ca. 343/2); II² 240.23 (337/6); II² 276.20 (ante 336/5); II² 287.16 (ca. 350, cf. SEG 24.90); II² 344.21 (332/1); II² 351.35 (330/29); II² 360.24 (325/4); II² 365.b14 (323/2); II² 368.15 (322/1); II² 373.12 (322/1); II² 392.12 (321–318); II² 393.11 (321–318); II² 396.6 (321–318); II² 398.b8 (ca. 320/19); II² 426.14 (336–334, cf. SEG 24.97) all decrees; etc.

ἀκροπόληι is not attested in a text securely dated between 368/7 and 346/5, and is altogether rare thereafter: II² 217.9 (346/5); II² 222.29 (ca. 344); II² 333.a12 (335/4); of uncertain date: II² 293.5, II² 278.11 (both ante 336/5) decrees; II² 1152.12 (fin. s. IV a.?) decree (tribe). These are the last examples of -ηι in this word; only -ει is found in the Hellenistic Period.

It has been suggested (cf. 22.011) that the use of HI for the dative of πόλις in the late fifth century in opposition to the almost exclusive use of EI in the datives of -es- and -eu-stems is not accidental and ties it up with datives like τιμῇ, ἀρχῇ, etc., where HI is also far more frequent than EI. If, as is likely, in ca. 400 B.C. the HI of τιμῇ was a diphthong, whether [ɛi] or [ei], that of πόληι was also.

The later examples of ἀκροπόληι, however, are contemporary with a spread of EI at the expense of HI and with the extension of HI to forms where it certainly represents [ɛ], e.g. τετρήρης, ἔτη, etc. (cf. pp. 356–357 *supra*). By this time the use of HI in πόληι might be merely spelling conservatism or the same type of confusion as in τετρήρης, etc., i.e. = [ɛ], rather than an indication of a diphthong. The matter is made more difficult by the uncertainty of the value of ει ~ ηι as in τεῖ, τῇ, etc. (cf. 22.011, p. 354 *supra*). Certainly -ει is universal in πόλει after II² 333 and II² 1152 cited *supra*, and it clearly develops like cases of original ει, as in σθένει, κεῖται, etc., or cases of ει ~ ηι, as in γραμματεῖ, κλείς, etc., and passes to ι (= [i]).

The reviving of πόληι in Roman times was probably confined to metrical texts: cf. ἀκροπόληι (ηι two syllables, cf. *Iliad* 3.50) II² 4258.3 (aet. Augusti) ded.; πόληι (scanned as a bacchiac) II² 4008.4 (s. III p.) ded.

]ΠΟΛΗΙ[occurs on the very small fr. of Roman date, *Hesperia* 41 (1972) p. 433, no. 70 (ded. in prose?), but there is too much uncertainty to suggest an archaizing revival of πόληι in prose texts on the basis of this fragment. The πόλη of II² 3592.21 (165/6–168/9 p.) ded. must be corrected to πόλι (L.).

The normal spelling in the Roman Period is πόλει, less often πόλι:

πόλει: II² 3177.3 (aet. Augusti) ded.; *Deltion* 25 (1970) p. 58, no. 6 (post 313/2 p.) agonistic ded.; II² 3627.5 (post 150 p.) ded.; II² 3592.19 (165/6–168/9 p.) ded., has πόλι in *ib.* 21 (L.);

Π² 1078.41 (ca. 220 p.) decree; Π² 3169/70.17 (bis), 20 (253–257 p.) ded.; Π² 2775.17 (s. III p.) will; etc.

An unusual diaeresis has been recorded over the iota of *πολεῖ* (scanned *υυ-*) in a sep. mon. of the Roman Period, Π² 13161 a (in add.).4 (s. III p.), but there is now no trace of it on the stone (L.) (cf. 4.031, no. 7, p. 97 *supra*).

πόλι: Π² 3592.21 (165/6–168/9 p.) ded., *πόλει* in *ib.* 19 (L.); Π² 5206.2 (s. IV p.) ded.

Lit.: MS³ pp. 36–39, notes 194–217; Lademann pp. 9–29; A. S. Henry, *CQ* n. s. 14 (1964) pp. 240–245.

24.00 The diphthongs *āu*, *ηυ*, *ωυ*

24.01 A for *āu*: *έατοῦ*, *άτοῦ*, etc.

Slightly over twenty examples of *άτο-* or *έατο-* can be collected, of which 75% can be dated with virtual certainty to the period ca. 50 B.C.–ca. 30 A.D. One or two are a few years earlier (cf. nos. 1, 2 *infra*), but the examples of considerably later date are doubtful: no. 28, certainly of 132 A.D., but known only from Fourmont; no. 25, with no very precise indication of date. The normal spellings *έντο-* and *άυτο-* are also common in this period, and sometimes occur in the same text as *έατο-*, etc. (cf. nos. 8, 9 *infra*). Cf. *addenda*.

The long diphthong of *έντο-* (← **ēo ōt-*), *άυτο-* has been shortened to [a] through loss of its second element as in the case of *ā* for *āi*, *ω* for *ωi*, etc., as Wackernagel saw (cf. *Lit. infra*; Schwyzler, *GG* 1 p. 203); but the short *au* of *άτός* remained unaffected. The cessation of the spellings *άτο-*, etc. is due to the loss of quantitative distinctions in vowels: *āu* became the same as *au*, and they underwent the same development. It is unlikely that the pronunciation of *āu* as *ā* in *άτο-* etc. was anything more than a substandard variant; if, however, it had become universal, the restoration of *au* will have been due to etymological connection felt with *άτός*.

For a possible case of *άτός* (= *άτός*), cf. 19.00b, p. 344 *supra*; the *Να-* in *Νασινίκη*, *Ναπακτία*, etc. is probably from *vāu-*, cf. 19.00f, p. 345 *supra*.

In Π² 1533.6–7 (post 338/7) *inv.*, *έα|τοῦτο* has been carved for *έντοῦ{τοῦτο}* through a simple copying error; there is no question of *έατοῦ* here, as Lademann saw (p. 102): the stone-cutter forgot his EA- because of the new line and thought he was carving the word *τοῦτο*, itself superfluous here.

Lit.: MS³ p. 154, note 1318; Lademann pp. 102–103; J. Wackernagel, *ZVS* 33 (1895) pp. 4–8.

Examples:

έντοῦ, *άτοῦ*, etc.: Nos. 1–18 can be dated on basis of evidence other than *ā* for *āu*:

- 1) *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p. 166, no. 98, line 21 (paulo ante 60) decree: *έιατῶν* (cf. 7.03, no. 1 c, p. 152 *supra*; cf. also p. 148 *supra*);
- 2) Π² 1050.13 (ca. 80?) decree: *έιατῶν*;
- 3) Π² 1049.17 (57/6, cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 [1937] p. 170, no. 101) decree: *έιατούς* (L., text in IG Π² needs correction);
- 4) Π² 1046.15 (52/1) decree: *έιατῶι* (L.);

- 5) II² 1756.29 (ca. 50) pryt. cat.: *ἐατῶν*;
- 6) II² 3442.3 (post 50) ded.: *ἐατόν*;
- 7) II² 1048.5 (46/5, cf. *Agora* 15, p. 222, no. 281) decree: *ἐατῶν* (L.);
- 8) II² 1042.c6 (ca. 41/0) decree: *ἐατῶν*, but *ἐαυτοῖς ib. c 10, al.*;
- 9) II² 1043.63 (38/7) decree, *ἀτοῦς* is the correct reading (L.);
- 10) II² 1343.19 (ca. 37/6) decree (*soteriastai*): *ἐατόν* (L.);
- 11) *Deltion* 23 (1968) p. 7, no. 3, plate 2b (31?) ded.: *ἀτοῦ*;
- 12) II² 3440.5 (37–27) ded., *ἐατόν* has been corrected to *ἐαυτόν* (cf. Kirchner's note in *IG* II²);
- 13) *Eleusiniaka* 1 (1932) pp. 223 ff. (25/4–18/7, cf. *Mélanges Bidez* pp. 819 ff.) decree: *ἐατοῦ* in line 33;
- 14) II² 4123.4 (ca. 23) ded.: *ἐατοῦ*;
- 15) II² 4122.4 (post 23) ded.: *ἐατοῦ*;
- 16) *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p. 246, no. 97 A, line 14 (21/0) decree: *ἐατῶν*;
- 17) II² 4157.5 (ante 15 p.) ded.: *ἐατόν* (L.);
- 18) II² 3241.3 (14–29 p.) ded.: *ἐατ[ῆς]* (L.).

Nos. 19–26 with no very precise indication of date:

- 19) II² 3504.9 (fin. s. I a.) ded.: *ἐατοῦς*;
- 20) *Hesperia* 30 (1961) pp. 247–248, no. 45, line 3 (fin. s. I a.) ded.: *ἀτόν*;
- 21) II² 4038.2 (init. s. I p.) ded.: *ἐατῆς* (L.);
- 22) II² 4163.4, 5 (init. s. I p.) ded.: *ἐατόν*;
- 23) II² 4161.4 (init. s. I p.) ded.: *ἐατόν* (L.);
- 24) II² 4186.5 (ca. 50 p.) ded.: *ἀτῶν*, has *ἡαυτοῦ ib. 7* (L.);
- 25) II² 10770.5 (s. II p.) sep. mon.: *ἀτῆ*;
- 26) *Annuario* 4/5 (1921–22) p. 64, no. 139 (aet. Rom.) ded.: *ἀτοῦ* (not *ἐατοῦ*, cf. the photograph).

Doubtful:

- 27) II² 1056/7.9 (init. s. I a.?) decree; that the reading is *ἐαυ[*, and not *ἐατ[*, cannot be excluded (L.);
- 28) II² 3291 (132 p.) ded.: *ἐατῆς*; text known only from Fourmont; the date is certain.

24.02 Shortening of ηυ to ευ

A development of ηυ [e^u] → ευ [e^u] similar to the earlier stages in the development of ηι probably occurred in Attic by the mid-fourth century B.C., as the spelling εὔλει occurs on an agonistic dedication dated to 352/1, cf. *Deltion* 25 (1970) p. 147, no. 7; the same spelling on a later ded. (prose), II² 3112.12 (75/6–87/8 p.). Here mere neglect of the augment cannot be the explanation, as αὔλει would have resulted. Cf. the spelling of the perfect participle *ἐπευξημένον* in II² 1338.30 (78/7) decree (*synodos* of *technitai*); later *εὔξησεν* in II² 1343.18 (ca. 37/6) decree (*soteriastai*); *εὔξη[ται]* for *ἡῦξηται* in II² 5006.5 (aet. Hadriani), oracular verse text probably later than loss of vowel quantity.

For the normal spelling *ἡῦλει*, cf. e.g. II² 3029.3, II² 3093.4 (init. s. IV a.); II² 3064.3 (384/3), II² 3037.3 (375/4), II² 3065.4 (365/4), II² 3038.5 (364/3), II² 3067.6 (ante 350); II² 3046.3, II² 3049.3, II² 3071.4 (ca. 350); II² 3069.1, II² 3068.3 (344/3); II² 3042.2 (335/4), II² 3052.2

(328/7), II² 3055.2, II² 3056.3 (320/19); II² 3058.3 (s. IV a.), II² 3078.5 (init. s. III a.), II² 3079.4 (282/1), II² 3081.4 (277/6), II² 3083.4, 9 (271/0); *Deltion* 25 (1970) p. 143, no. 1 (363/2), p. 144, nos. 2 (362/1), 3 (361/0), p. 145, no. 4 (360/59), p. 146, nos. 5 (359/8), 6 (355/4), p. 147, no. 8 (349/8); II² 3088.3 (175/4) all dedications. Cf. ἐπηύξησεν II² 1326.11 (176/5) decree (dionysiastai). ἠύλεεν (probably scanned as a choriamb) in the ded., II² 3115 (s. Ip.?), is a poetic artificiality.

In the case of verbs in initial ευ- (like εὐρίσκω, etc.) spellings in ευ- in the aorist and perfect also appear by the end of the fourth century, and it is likely that they too are due to the change of ηυ to ευ rather than merely neglect of the augment or reduplication. Cf. εὔεργέ[[τ]ηκεν II² 1191.9–10 (321/0) decree (deme) (stoichedon); εὔε[ργ]έ[τ]ηκε[ν] II² 506.4 (302/1, cf. SEG 21.339) decree; εὐεργετήκασι II² 573.10 (fin. s. IV a.) decree; εὐεργε[τηκόσιν] II² 735.7 (ante 250) decree; εὐρ' ἐνὶ τέχναι end of a hexameter in the ded., II² 3783.1 (s. II a.) ded. But in the Classical Period only ἠύρεθι, ἠύρεται, etc. (cf. Morphology). Later case of ευ-: εὐωχῆθησαν II² 2221.21 (217/8 p. aut paulo post) eph. cat. (prose).

Lit.: MS³ pp. 171–172, notes 1430–1432; Lademann p. 125.

24.03 ου

ου is not found in Attic. The spelling αὐτων (for αὐτοῦ) in the deme decree, II² 1183.23 (post 340) (L.), remains isolated. The text contains a number of copying errors (cf. 8.01, no. 7; 11.041 supra; 41.03, 42.012 infra), and ΩΥ here is probably of no significance. The spelling Σωννι(εύς) occurs for Σουντιεύς in an eph. cat. of 84/5–92/3 A.D., cf. II² 1996.67 (L.); although of a type not otherwise found at Athens, it is due to the equivalence of omega and omicron at this time: the same text has elsewhere: Λεονᾶς, Οράριος, Ἀφρωδείσιος (cf. 12.012, nos. 5, 17, p. 230 supra).

25.00–34.00 Other phenomena related to vowels

25.00 Loss of quantitative distinction in vowels

The original distinction between long and short Greek vowels eventually disappeared with the result that vowels no longer had any significant differences in length, or were isochronic, as they are in MG. This change probably occurred because of an increase in the expiratory character of the accent. There is conclusive evidence of vowel isochrony in Attic texts of the Roman Period, especially after 100 A.D.:

EI for ĭ: The first example is probably Ἀπόλλωνει on a ded. (priv.) certainly dating to the reign of Nero, but the use of EI for ĭ is normally only found in texts later than

(328/7), II² 3055.2, II² 3056.3 (320/19); II² 3058.3 (s. IV a.), II² 3078.5 (init. s. III a.), II² 3079.4 (282/1), II² 3081.4 (277/6), II² 3083.4, 9 (271/0); *Deltion* 25 (1970) p. 143, no. 1 (363/2), p. 144, nos. 2 (362/1), 3 (361/0), p. 145, no. 4 (360/59), p. 146, nos. 5 (359/8), 6 (355/4), p. 147, no. 8 (349/8); II² 3088.3 (175/4) all dedications. Cf. ἐπηύξησεν II² 1326.11 (176/5) decree (dionysiastai). ἠύλεεν (probably scanned as a choriamb) in the ded., II² 3115 (s. Ip.?), is a poetic artificiality.

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100 A.D. With the exception of the instance just cited EI is not used for *ĩ* in inflectional endings. Typical examples: Βάκχειος, Ειάσων, Ειούλιος, στρατειώτης, ἐπιν(κ)εια (cf. 9.024, pp. 199–202 *supra*).

Confusion of O and Ω: Pre-Roman examples are insufficient to support isochrony. In the first century A.D. confusion of O and Ω is still very rare, but cases become more numerous thereafter, especially after the middle of the second century. In public texts orthographical conservatism prevented much confusion of O and Ω except in a few lexical items: most typical are Λεοντίς, Ζοίλος, and confusion of O and Ω in Roman names. Confusion of O and Ω in inflectional endings is very rare (cf. 12.012, pp. 228 ff. *supra*).

Confusion of E and H: This is very rare at all periods, but the pre-Roman examples can probably be explained without reference to vowel isochrony (cf. 8.01, pp. 159 ff., nos. 1–34 on pp. 162–3 *supra*). There are certainly some examples of confusion of E and H as late as the third century A.D., but it seems likely that one factor causing its rarity even in texts of Roman date was the spread of the pronunciation of η as [iː], as there is occasionally confusion of H and I by 150 A.D., including use of H for *ĩ* (cf. 8.02, pp. 165–170 *supra*). Very rare cases of H, instead of E, for αι (now pronounced [e]) also point to loss of quantitative distinction between η and ε (cf. 15.013; 8.01 nos. 52–54).

Another spelling providing indirect evidence for vowel isochrony involves the diphthong αυ: although αυ and αυ later undergo the same developments, the second element of the long diphthong αυ is occasionally dropped in the period ca. 100 B.C. – ca. 50 A.D., but αυ never loses its υ. The disappearance of A for αυ about 50 A.D. probably indicates that αυ and αυ are by this time identical (cf. 24.01, pp. 383–384 *supra*).

Metrical anomalies of the Roman Period also must be the result of isochrony:

Κῶ·ς μέν μοι πατρίς ἐστὶν ἔγ[ω] δ' ὄνομα Νεικομήτης[ς]

Π² 9145.3–5 (s. I/II p.) sep. mon.

ὀγδοήκοντα δυοῖν ἔτεσιν [βιοτήν ἀπέλυσα]

[δῆμόν] τε Κερκόπων ἱερὰν βουλὴν τε γέ[ραίων]

Π² 13150.3–4 (s. II/III p.) sep. mon.

Ἦν γάρ ἔτη καὶ μοι ἑπτὰ τε καὶ ἡ

Π² 12701.12–14 (s. III p.) sep. mon.; η = εἰκοσι.

In these examples there is no discernible relationship between the accent and the counting of a short syllable as long. Cf. Π² 12828 (s. III/IV p.) sep. mon.; etc.

The foregoing cases are of course distinct from those in which freedom in the metre is to accommodate a proper name, such as in Νικοβ[ολέ] ἡλιό (with -βο-, i.e. -βου-, scanned short) in the sep. mon., Π² 6004.5–6 (390–365). Cf. Πυθίων, etc. in 31.00, pp. 412–413 *infra*.

In the sep. mon., Π² 12794.5 (= GVI 1, p. 552, no. 1836) (fin. s. II p.), the spelling ἔνατον (scanned as a dactyl) may belong here as a *contra metrum* spelling. But it might also be for an intended εἵνατον (familiar in epic) (cf. 7.0111 c, p. 139 *supra*) or ἔννατον (frequent variant for εἵνατον in codd.) (cf. 43.012, p. 516 *infra*).

The lengthening of the final α of πατέρα before the break in the middle of the pentameter seen in the cat., AM 67 (1942) p.31, no.30 (act. Rom.), may not be due to vowel isochrony, but an ancient metrical device:

Χρύσιππον πατέρα ἐν τελείαις θυσίαις.

The irregularities in some poetry of the Roman Period go far beyond mere confusion of vowel quantities, cf. e.g. II² 10699 a (in add.) (= GVI 1, p.367, no.1244) (s. II/IIIp.) sep. mon.

A fairly long list can be made of examples of confusion between E, O and H, Ω on stone texts from the fourth century and the Hellenistic Period (cf. 8.01, nos.1–34, pp.162–3 supra; 12.011, nos.1–42, pp.224–226). Many of these can be explained as graphic mistakes or as due to assimilation, and more of the documents are private, usually sep. monuments, than public. It seems doubtful that these examples are really evidence for the breakdown of vowel quantity rather than confusion of similar sounds by the careless or ignorant. The frequent confusion of E, O and H, Ω is especially characteristic of the semi-literate defixiones (cf. pp.161, 224 supra). Significantly, there is no certain example of EI for ĭ before the first century A.D., although EI for ĭ is not rare after 200 B.C.; and yet EI for ĭ is found in the papyri before 200 B.C. (cf. Mayser-Schmoll p.69), and its absence in Attica in the cruder texts (one alleged example should be corrected, cf. 9.024 a, p.202 supra) probably shows that the tendency towards vowel isochrony was not as early there. The nature of the examples of confusion of O and Ω also seems to change markedly after about 100 A.D.

The genitives in -έως for -έως are a special case (cf. 12.011, p.224 supra and Morphology); so also Ὡαθεν for Ὡαθεν (cf. 12.011, pp.227–228 supra). For spellings in -ις, -ιν, etc. cf. 28.01, pp.400 ff. infra. For Πουδέντα (ou = Latin ū), cf. 11.043 a, p.222 supra.

Lit.: MS³ p.68, note 590; Lademann p.115; Schwyzer, *Gram. pergamenischen Inschriften* pp.94–97.

26.00 Vowel assimilation, dissimilation, metathesis

26.01 Vowel assimilation

Not infrequently a vowel becomes identical to a vowel in an adjacent syllable. In some cases examples are frequent enough that a fairly general assimilation in a large segment of the population may be assumed, e.g. ἡμισυ, Ὀρχομένιος, etc., or an assimilated form may even replace the original form, e.g. Ἀκαδήμεια, χίλιος, ὀβολός (= 'coin'), etc. But there are also isolated cases, and it is reasonable to suppose that occasionally assimilated pronunciations occurred which were not very general. Since, however, it is quite easy for the eye of a copyist to skip from one syllable to the next, some assimilated spellings may be only writing mistakes, and there are usually no reliable criteria for deciding whether a given case is purely graphic or not. And yet that some of the examples are due to phonological causes is demonstrable from certain tendencies which can be observed in them. Thus assimilation tends to be more frequent when the vowels are separated by ρ, λ, or ν; assimilation of a vowel to the following syllable (regressive assimilation) is more common than the opposite (pro-

gressive assimilation). Both of these tendencies can be seen to be characteristic of Greek generally, in places where assimilation has certainly taken place, cf. ὀβολός, χίλιος, etc.

a) *Regressive assimilation:*

- α:ε → ε:ε δ'ερετή (unless δέ'ρετή) (cf. 6.01 a, no. 1, p. 120 supra).
- α:ο → ο:ο παρσκευάσσοτο (cf. 6.03 b, p. 130 supra), κολός on a vase (cf. 6.03 d, p. 130 supra) both probably graphic mistakes.
- α:αι → αι:αι Ἄναικαιεύς, Ἐκαιταῖος (cf. 15.011, nos. 3, 5, p. 268 supra).
- ε:α → α:α Earlier Ἐκάδημος, Ἐκαδήμεια develop to Ἀκαδη- (loss of [h] unexplained) (cf. 6.015, p. 128); Ἀκαλήθεν, ἔθαράν- (in two texts), ἀκάτερος, δράπανον (cf. 6.01 a, nos. 2–6, p. 120 supra).
- ε:η → η:η Ἐργαμήνης, λήβητες, ἀνέθηκη- (three times), ἐπεμηλήθη, ἐνεπησκήφατο (cf. 8.01, nos. 20, 25, 26–27, 29, 33, 19 on pp. 162–3 supra). Later spellings of this type are due to vowel isochrony (cf. 25.00, pp. 385–387 supra).
- ε:ι → ι:ι Ὠφιλίων, Ὠφιλίμη occur several times on a group of fourth-century defixiones, alongside the normal Ὠφελίων, etc. (cf. 7.012 f, p. 144 supra).
- ε:ο → ο:ο Ὀρχομένιος first appears in the fifth century, is normal after 400 B.C. (Ἐρχομένιος only once after then) (cf. 11.012, p. 216 supra); Ἀλωποκοννήσιος (cf. 11.015, p. 217 supra).
- ει:η → η:η No certain cases: correct Ἡρήνη to Εἰρήνη (cf. 8.02, Notes and Corrections, p. 170 supra).
- ει:ι → ι:ι χίλιος (← χεῖλιος) already established as the Attic form at the time of the first attestations in the fifth century, Μελίχιος and Μιλίχιος both found in the Classical Period but Μιλίχιος does not survive after 300 B.C. (cf. 9.0212 b, p. 194 supra). The ι of Κλινίας, Κλιτίας, Κλυπιδες is probably due to the preceding κλ-, cf. Κλίταρχος (cf. 9.0211, p. 192 supra). Other early examples of ι for ει may be due to assimilation, although other explanations are usually possible, e.g. Πισιστρατος (cf. 9.021, no. 1, p. 190 supra); Αἰγίδι, Στιριέως, ἄπιμ, χιρίδια (cf. 9.022, nos. 2, 4, 15, 16, p. 196 supra).
- ει:υ → υ:υ χιλύθρα on rf. vase (cf. 18.012, p. 342 supra).
- η:ει → ει:ει ἐπιμελειταιών, but probably confusion of ἐπιμέλεια and ἐπιμελητ- (cf. 8.02, no. 5, p. 168 supra).
- η:ι → ι:ι Νουμνίαι, Μνισιοφόν (cf. 8.02, nos. 2, 16, pp. 167–8 supra); later cases are probably due to identity of η and ι.
- ι:η → η:η Ἰσηπητήρια, Μηλήσιος (cf. 8.02, nos. 6, 8, p. 168 supra); Σηληνός, Βερνηκήδης post-date change of η to [i] (cf. 8.02, nos. 24, 39, p. 169 supra).
- ι:υ → υ:υ ἥμυσο frequent in fourth and third centuries B.C. (cf. 14.011, p. 262); Κυνδύε, due to difficulty with foreign toponym? (cf. 14.015, p. 265 supra).
- ο:ε → ε:ε ἀγρετέρα (cf. 11.01 b, no. 1, p. 215 supra).
- ο:ου → ου:ου οὔτου for δτου in a text with many copying errors (cf. 11.041, p. 218 supra); Πουστούμιος (cf. 11.042, p. 220).

ο:υ → υ:υ	Τρικυρυσίου (= Τρικορυσίου) (cf. 11.02, p.218 supra).
υ:ε → ε:ε	Εύθεμένης (cf. 14.03, p.267 supra).
υ:ι → ι:ι	Δυονισιαλῆν(?), Εύτιχίς, Σκιθικοῦ (cf. 14.01, nos.4, 6, 3, pp.261–2 supra); βιβλίο-, variant for βυβλίο- occurring in a decree of 403/2 B.C. and an imperial edict of 305/6 A.D. (cf. 14.012, p.263); Διονισός, Διονισιγένης on vases (cf. p.261 supra).
ο:ω → ω:ω	ὦπας, Ἀπωλώδωρος, Θιωδώρα, Ἀντιγώνωι (cf. 12.011, nos.30, 35, 36, 37, pp.225–6 supra); but Θιωδώρα probably foreign name (cf. 7.012c, p.143 supra).
υ:ο → ο:ο	Λύβοος for Λίβυος? (cf. 11.02, p.218 supra).
υ:ου → ου:ου	χρουσοῦ (copying error?) (cf. 14.02, p.267 supra).
ω:α → α:α	ΣΑΚΡΑΤΗΣ probably an uncorrected copying error (cf. 12.02a, no.4, p.234 supra).
ω:ο → ο:ο	Λεύκονος (cf. 12.011, no.18, p.225 supra).

b) *Progressive assimilation:*

α:ε → α:α	Καλανδ- is normal in Greek for Latin Kalend-, Οὐαλα[ρία] (cf. 6.01c, p.121 supra); προ]σπαράδοσαν (omission of the augment?) (cf. 6.01a, p.120 supra).
α:ι → α:α	Ἀφαδναῖος (cf. 6.02d, p.129 supra).
α:ο → α:α	καλᾶς on a vase (cf. 6.03d, p.130 supra).
α:ω → α:α	δραχμᾶν probably a copying error (cf. 12.02a, no.3, p.233 supra).
ε:ευ → ε:ε	Σελεκεύς careless omission? (cf. 20.00b, p.346 supra).
ε:η → ε:ε	Μοιρογένης (cf. 8.01, no.12, p.162 supra).
ευ:υ → ευ:ευ	Εὐθεύμαχος doubtful, Pococke's copy unreliable: II ² 678.21 (256/5, cf. SEG 21.377) decree; εὐστευφάνοις (cf. 20.00c, p.347 supra).
η:ε → η:η	Ἐκαλήθην (cf. 8.01, no.32, p.163 supra).
η:ει → η:η	Ἡπηρεῶτις, κατηλῆον (cf. 8.03, pp.170–171 supra).
η:ι → η:η	[Ἐπι]κηφῆσιος, date unknown (cf. 8.02, no.43, p.169 supra).
ι:α → ι:ι	Μιθριδάτης for earlier Μιθραδάτης, where most likely ι is the linking vowel of composition (cf. 6.02a, p.129 supra).
ι:ει → ι:ι	φυλῖν graphic mistake? (cf. 9.021, no.7, p.191 supra).
ι:η → ι:ι	Διοσκοουρίδης, probably graphic mistake (cf. 8.02, no.3, p.168 supra); Νικιφόρος, Μειλίσσιος, where ει = [i:], both later than change of η to [i:] (cf. 8.02, nos.31, 35, 48, pp.169–170 supra).
ι:ει ~ ηι → ι:ι	Ἀριστίδου probably careless omission of Ε? (cf. 9.022, no.6, p.196 supra).
ι:υ → ι:ι	Σίβιλλα, Ἰθικλῆς, Κικιννεύς (cf. 14.01, nos.2, 7, 8, pp.261–2); Ἰδιμῆς difficulty with foreign sound? (cf. 14.015, p.265).
ο:ε → ο:ο	ἀγνωθότης, where ο is probably the linking vowel of composition (cf. 11.01, no.4, p.214 supra). Note Φρεσοφόνη in the defixio, IG III.3, no.101.2 (init. s. IV a.), but Φρεσοφόνη in the next line.
υ:η → υ:υ	γυνύ graphic mistake? (cf. 14.04, p.267 supra).

υ:ι→υ:υ Μυτυλιγναῖος (cf. 14.01, no. 1, p. 261 supra and 14.016, p. 266); Σύβυλα (= Σύβιλλα?) (cf. 14.01, no. 5, p. 262 supra).

ου:υ→ου:ου Σουρβουλα (← Σουρβύλλα) not certain (cf. 14.02, p. 267 supra).

ω:ο→ω:ω ὤμωσαν (cf. 12.011, no. 34, p. 225 supra).

Probably only a graphic mistake: τῶι θεῶι ὠνοχόη (cf. 17.03, no. 14, p. 337 supra).

c) *Regressive and progressive assimilation combined:*

ε:η:ε→ε:ε:ε Ἀλωπεκῆθεν (cf. 8.01, no. 15, p. 162 supra).

ε:ι:ε→ε:ε:ε Μελετέως graphic error? (cf. 7.0111 a, no. 1, p. 138 supra).

ο:ε:ο→ο:ο:ο Τριπτόλομος on a vase, Ὀφολονίδης (cf. 11.01 a, nos. 1, 2, p. 214 supra); ὀβολός = 'coin' is normal by the Hellenistic Period (cf. 11.011, pp. 215–216); for -κόντερος normal in the fifth century -κόντορος appears in the later fourth century (cf. 11.013, p. 216 supra).

d) *Other vowel assimilations:*

In all the foregoing examples the assimilative change has produced two identical vowels. But there are also a few cases in which a vowel is assimilated to another without becoming identical to it. Thus Κόρχυρα from earlier Κέρχυρα arose because of a tendency to assimilate [e] to the following [u]; the change was probably a local Corcyrean one, as Attic υ was pronounced [y] and the earliest Corcyrean coins already have KOP (cf. 11.014, p. 217 supra). Ἀμφιέρεια, the normal spelling, might show assimilation of α to [e] or [i] (cf. 6.012, p. 125 supra). A few cases of προτανεία, etc. for περτανεία might show influence of α on preceding [y], although a false connection with προ might be the explanation (cf. 11.02, pp. 217–218 supra). Ὀργάνη for Ἐργάνη might be due to assimilation or influence of ὄργανον (cf. 11.01 a, no. 3, p. 214 supra). Μουνυχ- occurs occasionally in Μουνυχιών, Μουνυχία, etc., and the ι of the second syllable may have been rounded under the influence of the preceding syllable, which contains both [m] and [u] (cf. 14.014, pp. 264–265 supra). Isolated cases which may be due to assimilation are: Κηφισέως, but probably a graphic mistake (cf. 7.0111 a, no. 3, p. 138 supra); Πουανειψιών (cf. 11.01 b, no. 2, p. 215 supra); Ἀριστοτεύλου, probably graphic mistake (cf. 20.00 e, p. 348 supra); in Σακόνδα assimilative tendencies may be combined with differences between Latin e and Greek ε (cf. Καλαν- in 26.01 b supra) (cf. 6.01 c, p. 121 supra). The isolated Ἀλητεύς might be due to assimilation of [a^l] to following [e^u] or dissimilation of [a] : [a^l] to [a] : [e^l] (cf. 6.041, p. 132 supra).

Read XIPONEIA, not XIPENEIA, on a rf. vase in Berlin, cf. ARV² p. 329, Onesimos no. 134 (= Immerwahr, *Book Rolls* p. 21, no. 4).

For Ἰλείθνα, Εἰλείθνα, etc., cf. 18.012.

Lit.: J. Schmidt, ZVS 32 (1893) pp. 321 ff.; Mayser-Schmoll pp. 120–122.

26.02 Vowel dissimilation

This is fairly rare in comparison with vowel assimilation. Σεραπίων, etc. for earlier Σαραπίων is probably the result of dissimilation (cf. 6.011, p. 122 supra). So perhaps

Ψεμάθε, an isolated spelling on a vase, for the usual Ψαμάθη (cf. p. 121 *supra*). But Ἀμφιέρσος (cf. 6.012, nos. 8, 11, 23), Ἀμφιεράων (cf. 6.012, nos. 19, 21–22), Ἀμφιεραιστής (cf. 6.012, no. 12) are more likely due to confusion of Ἀμφιέρεια and Ἀμφιέρσος (cf. 26.01 d *supra*) than to dissimilation. What part assimilation or dissimilation might have played in ἐρρηφόρ- and ἄρρηφόρ- remains obscure (cf. 6.014, p. 127 *supra*).

Dissimilation of ε:ε to ι:ε can be seen in later Greek πιπεριν, the only spelling attested in Attic inscriptions (cf. 7.012 d, p. 144 *supra*).

Dissimilation may have caused the change from Ἐλεύθυια to Ἐλείθυια; the earliest Attic texts have ηλείθυα and ηΕλείθυα (= ηελείθυα or ηελείθυα?) (cf. 18.012, p. 342 *supra*).

ΗΠΙΑΣΑΣ for ἀπάσας on a defixio is more likely a clumsy graphic mistake than dissimilation (cf. p. 132 *supra*). For Ἀληιεύς, cf. 26.01 d *supra*.

Lit.: cf. 26.01.

26.03 Vowel metathesis

The vowels υ and ι occasionally undergo metathesis. Thus Μιτυληναῖος occurs several times on sep. monuments of the Hellenistic Period for the more usual Μυτιληναῖος, and Συκιωνίων occurs once in a fourth-century decree, alongside Σικυωνι- elsewhere in the same text. Here may also belong Τύριθι for Τίρυνθι on a rf. vase. For the foregoing examples, cf. 14.016, p. 266 *supra*. ΥΑΙΝ was carved for ἰλύν in Π² 2498.9 (321/0), a locatio of the demesmen of Piraeus; perhaps more than a graphic mistake is involved here. Metathesis of υ and ι is also well attested in the papyri (cf. Mayser-Schmoll pp. 122–123).

The change from earlier Attic (Ε)λθείθυα to (Ε)λθύθεια, chiefly found during the Hellenistic Period, perhaps involves the metathesis of υ and ει, for while the -εια may be related to the -εῖα of perfect participles like γεγονεῖα, etc., there is more involved in this word than change of -υ(ι)α to -ε(ι)α because in Attic at least -θεια never appears without upsilon in the syllable before (cf. 18.012, pp. 342–344 *supra*).

Clumsy graphic mistakes are spellings like: ΣΟΥΝΙΕΙΑΣ, where Σουνιεύς was intended (ΙΑ for ω is a simple copying error) (cf. 12.02 a, no. 2, p. 233 *supra*); Ὁρειάδης for Ἐρμούδης *Geras Keramopoullou* p. 514, no. 14 (= SEG 13.115), Πιεραεύς Π² 7181, μνημεῖα (= μνημεῖα) Π² 11659.1 (all s. IV a.) sep. monuments; etc.

A sort of metathesis takes place in the Hellenization of Latin names in -Cienus: cf. ΑΥΗ(νιος) (= Avienus) in *TAPA* 71 (1940) pp. 302–3, line 17 (= Π² 2481.17, corrected) (ca. 200 p.) cat.; Πουπῆνιος (= Pupienus) in *Hesperia*, suppl. 6 (1941) p. 125, no. 31, lines 15, 19 (= Π² 1064 + new frr.) (ca. 230 p.); *Hesperia* 32 (1963) p. 26, no. 27, lines 4, 14 (= *Hesperia*, suppl. 6 [1941] p. 142, no. 32) (ca. 230 p.) duplicates of a decree.

Lit.: cf. 26.01.

27.00 Alterations in ι, ε/___V when initial or post-consonantal

Under this heading will be considered changes in initial vowels in pre-vocalic position or of post-consonantal vowels in pre-vocalic position such as cannot be included under Syncope (cf. 28.00), Contraction (cf. 32.00), or Elision and Aphaeresis (cf. 33.00).

27.01 Development of initial υ/___V to [j]; weakening of initial ε/___V to [i]

Development of an initial unaccented iota in pre-vocalic position to a semi-vowel [j] with the possibility of subsequent deletion is a possible linguistic change: thus Ἰαχχος might develop from original [i-a-kk'os] to [ja-kk'os] or even [a-kk'os]. The comparative weakness of initial [h] would presumably have allowed λερός, etc. to be subject to the same changes as Ἰαχχος. As Greek had no grapheme for [j], disappearance of the I might be an indication of either stage two or stage three. Since MG has usually gone no further, however, than stage two with initial [j], spellings without initial iota would presumably indicate that stage if they are phonetically accurate.

The evidence in Attic texts, however, discourages the assumption of the universal change of initial iota to [j]. In the first place spellings in which the iota is dropped are so rare that they are not likely to be any more than careless omissions: cf. ἐφ'ἐρέ[ως] in an inv. with many careless mistakes, II² 1534 A.70 (291/0, cf. SEG 16.118), alongside ἐφ'ἐρέως *passim al.*, including the same line; τοῦ ἐρέως II² 1019.42 (= *Hesperia* 28 [1959] p.187, no.9) (184/3? cf. *Hesperia* 40 [1971] p.309), a decree, note τῶι λεῶι *ib.* 37. Moreover, the use of EI for initial ι, as seen in spellings like ειερεύς, etc. which are found occasionally in Roman times (cf. 9.024, nos.9, 15, 25, 27, 38, 48, pp.201–202 *supra*), clearly indicates that initial ι was separated from the following vowel and had not developed to [j]. The same assumption is supported by the frequent use of a diaeresis over initial ι in λερεύς, λόβαχχος, etc. without regard for the end of the previous word, a practice still common in the third century A.D. (cf. 4.031, no.1, p.95 *supra*). The variant spellings which do occur for λερεύς, etc. in Roman times are ιρεύς and ειερεύς (by no means confined to metrical texts), which indicate contraction of ιε to ī (written I or EI), cf. e.g. ιρεύς II² 3934.1 (s. Ip.); ειερέως II² 4481.3 (85/6–94/5 p.) both dedications in prose.

Also against the assumption that initial υ/___V went to [j] are spellings like Ἰγέρωνος for Ἰερόνος, but the only Attic examples are much earlier than Roman times (cf. 36.013, p.441 *infra*).

Metrical texts are not always an indication of contemporary speech, but it is worth noting that in them throughout Roman times an initial υ/___V is still normally a separate syllable: e.g. πέμψαν Ἰαχῶι II² 4788.5 (s. II p.) ded. (priv.); νῦν Ἰαχῶ II² 3811.4 (ante 250 p.) ded.; Ἰερόφαντιν II² 3674.1 (s. II/III p.) ded.; Ἰερά φαίνειν II² 3662.5 (ca. 200 p.) ded.; Ἰερόις II² 3714.17 (s. III p.) ded.; Ἰερά σπῆων II² 4841.9 (fin. s. IV p.) ded. (priv.), the diaeresis is on the stone; Ἰερόν GVI 1, p.380, no.1282 (= IG III, no.1383) (s. III/IV p.) sep. mon., the diaeresis is on the stone; etc.

There is also a contracted form ἰρεῦς, e.g. ἰρεᾶ, ἰρεῆας, ἰρείας in II² 3606.6, 13, 15 (ca. 175 p.) ded.

There is perhaps a single case in a metrical text in which an initial iota of ἰεγο- is ignored: Μυρτίς Ἰεροκλείας, in a sep. mon., II² 12210a (in text).¹ (ante 350). But the line makes a dactylic heptameter, and it is possible that the first part of the epigram, which contains the proper name, was only intended to be quasi-metrical. If the metrical scheme without initial ι- was intended, the writer was probably influenced by scansiones like Πυθῶν, Γναῖος, etc. (cf. 31.00, p. 413 infra). The date of this text is much too early for any deletion of initial ι- in ἰερεῦς to have occurred.

There is no convincing evidence in Attic texts of weakening of initial ε/___V to [i]. The very hesitantly proposed suggestion of Schwyzler (cf. Lit. infra p. 93) that rare spellings like ἡαυτοῦ are actually for ἰαυτοῦ with η = [i] (vowels now isochronic) cannot be true for the Attic examples. ἡαυτοῦ, etc. tend to occur at Athens in the early Roman Period, before there is much evidence for η = [i] (cf. 8.02 supra), and at a time when Ἀρήου, etc. are in use (cf. 9.031 supra). Probably ἡαυτοῦ, etc. are successors of the earlier εἰαυτοῦ, etc. found in the period before εἰ passed to [iː] (cf. 7.03, pp. 147 ff.) and are evidence for a closer pronunciation of ε in pre-vocalic position than elsewhere (cf. 7.02, pp. 146–147 supra).

Lit.: Schwyzler, *Gram. pergamenischen Inschriften* pp. 92–93.

27.02 Cι/___V → C/___V

In post-consonantal position an unaccented short ι is occasionally omitted before a following vowel, e.g. Νουμήνος, Πρασεῦς, etc. Such variants might be an indication that ι here tended to become consonantal, i.e. it developed to [j], possibly with later deletion (omission of iota could indicate either, cf. p. 392 supra): thus Πρασιεῦς developed from [pra-si-eːs] to [pra-sjeːs] or even [pra-seːs]. That such pronunciations existed and were considered substandard in the late fifth century B.C. is certain because the potter Hyperbolos was ridiculed for saying δητώμην instead of διητώμην by Plato comicus, cf. fr. no. 168 Kock, cited by Herodian 2 (= *Gramm. gr.* 3.2) p. 926.5. But such pronunciations were probably not very widespread, for there are not very many examples, and of these a large proportion are known only from early copies which may not be reliable, and of the remainder some look like accidental omissions of a purely graphic sort (nos. 2, 3). Some cases of demotics in -Ceῦς for -Cieῦς might just be confusion of demotic types (cf. Λαμπιρεῦς, etc. in 29.00b, p. 409 infra). That -CιV did not tend to go to -CV much in Athens is clear from spellings like Βάκχειος, γυμνασειαρχήσας, etc., which clearly indicate its preservation and are attested in later Roman times (cf. 9.024, pp. 199–202 supra), and from the type of syncope seen in Βάκχης, Ἀπολλώνις, etc., also frequent in Roman times (cf. 28.01, pp. 400 ff. infra).

Especially difficult to evaluate are a few cases in which the omitted iota bears the accent in the penultimate syllable (because the final syllable is long), but normally the accent is on the antepenult in the paradigm, e.g. Μιλησα for Μιλησία from Μιλήσιος. This kind of thing is also

fairly well attested in Ptolemaic papyri (cf. Mayser-Schmoll pp. 126–7, nos. b–c), and in those texts at least a shift in the accent should probably be assumed, i.e. Μῆλσα from Μῆλσαι. It is difficult to decide what to do with the three examples in Attic texts, but since they involve sep. monuments of foreigners it is probably risky to relegate them immediately to examples of vowel omission without phonetic significance as in 28.00 c *infra*. In any case there is no convincing evidence of any such shift in the accent in Attic in other epigraphical sources. The examples are: Μῆλσαι Π² 9738 a (in add.) (ca. s. Ia.), Μεσσηνα Π² 9345 (s. Ia./s. Ip.), and the doubtful Δημητρου (seen only by Chandler) Π² 9692 (aet. Rom.?) all sep. monuments. The reading Διονισων (= Διονυσίων) in Π² 1042.d8 (= IG II, no. 478) (ca. 41/0), decree, rests only on the authority of Lebas and is suspect. For Ζωσιμη, cf. p. 400 *infra*.

Note ἀλειτῆρόν, poetical variant for ἀλειτήριος, on an ostrakon of the 480s, cf. *AJA* 51 (1947) pp. 257 ff. + *AJA* 53 (1949) pp. 266–8 (= *Archaeology* 1 [1948] p. 80, fig. 3). Cf. also Πόντα in a metrical ded., Π² 3634.1 (post 150 p.). There is also the metrical licence (probably really a kind of synizesis) which allows names like Πυθίων, Χαυρίων, etc. to be accommodated to the needs of the metre. This licence is found in Attic texts as early as the Archaic Period. The details of the working of the process and the resulting accentuation are not entirely clear (cf. 31.00, pp. 412–3 *infra*).

The name Ὀλβανός in the fr. of a cat., Π² 2486.27 (ca. 250 p.), might be for Ὀλβιανός, or be an actual variant in -ανός; perhaps also Ἰουεντανού in Π² 4221.3 (s. III p.?) ded. For Προκλιανός, Προκλιανός, cf. 22.032, p. 368 *supra*; for Αὐή(νιος) = Avienus, Πουπῆνιος = Pupienus, cf. 26.03, p. 391 *supra*.

For ἱερωσύνη ← ἱερε(ι)ω-, cf. 32.00, p. 416 *infra*; examples in 7.03, no. 3 d, p. 154 *supra*. For Ὑγ(ε)ῖα contracted from Ὑγίεια, cf. 32.011, pp. 416–417 *infra*.

Lit.: cf. 27.01.

- 1) ὁ]ππᾶνα (= ὀππᾶνια?) *AM* 66 (1941) pp. 171 ff., no. 1, line B 7 (= *SEG* 10.38; 21.27) (ca. 445) sacred calendar (L.);
- 2) Κηφισῆς Π² 398.20 (408/7) ded. (tribal), added by a later hand; in the original hand Κηφισῆς in *ib.* 18 (L.); for the two hands, cf. *Agora* 15 (1974) p. 27, no. 1;
- 3) θυματήρον Π² 1425.366 (368/7) inv., has the correct spelling in *ib.* 94 and many other nouns in —Cιον;
- 4) χοίσκον Π² 1533.115 (post 338/7) inv., this text has χοίσκιον elsewhere, e.g. *ib.* 102, and many careless omissions;
- 5) Σωσίβος Π² 3105.22 (= Reinmuth p. 51, no. 13) (329/8 aut 324/3) ded.;
- 6) κανίσκον Π² 1472.41 (post 319/8) inv. (L.);
- 7) Πυθονίκου (= Πυθιονίκου) *Hesperia* 35 (1966) pp. 205 ff., line 69 (= Π² 2413.14) (304/3) cat.;
- 8) Νουμήνος Π² 1710.11 (ca. 200) cat.;
- 9) ---ON Ὀλυμποδοφ[--- Π² 1024.14 (fin. s. II a.) decree (L.);
- 10) Σαρδανοῦ Π² 10240.5 (fin. s. Ia.) sep. mon.;
- 11) ἐκ Κηφισέων Π² 6441 (ca. 150 p.) sep. mon.;
- 12) ἐκ Κηφισέων Π² 6401 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon. (L.);
- 13) Ἀπολλωνέως Π² 5687.3 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.;
- 14) Ἀπολλώνως Π² 10264 a (in text) (aet. Rom.) sep. mon., has ΘΕΟΣ for θεοῖς.

Doubtful:

- 15) ἐναντόν Π² 678.11 (256/5, cf. *SEG* 21.377) decree, based on a very poor copy of Pococke;
- 16) Ἀντόχισσα Π² 8229 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.;

- 17) Ἀζηγεύς II² 5310 (date?) sep. mon.; perhaps Pittakes misread Ἀτηγεύς (cf. 20.00 c, p. 347 supra);
 18) Πρασεύς II² 7288 (date?) sep. mon.;
 19) Κηφισεύς II² 6440 (date?) sep. mon.; for Κηφισιεύς;
 20) Ἀζινεύς II² 4349 (date?) ded. (priv.).

Cf. Ἀμάσος for Ἀμάσιος (genitive sing. of the name Ἀμασις) on a bf. amphora, *ABV* p. 145, no. 14 (= *The Museum Journal, Philadelphia* 6 [1915] pp. 90–93; *HBG* p. 111, no. 17). Σουνεῖς in the pryt. cat. published *Hesperia* 41 (1972) p. 431, no. 62, line 4 (170–185 p.) does not belong here; if not a careless omission it is due to contraction of the two identical vowel sounds (ει = ῑ/ι by this time), cf. Ὑγία (cf. 32.011, p. 418 infra).

Read Κηφισιεύς, not Κηφισεύς, on the dikast's pinakion published in *Hesperia* 20 (1951) p. 216.

28.00 Vowel syncope

There are only a few cases in which something which might be called vowel syncope normally occurs in Attic, and all are phenomena found chiefly during the Roman Period. The suffixes -ιος, -ιον, and -ιως are often found shortened to -ις, -ιν, and -ις; especially affected are personal names, often from Latin (cf. 28.01 infra). Another frequent syncope is the loss of two identical unaccented short vowels separated by a liquid: σκόροδον occurs as early as the last quarter of the fourth century B.C., but Βερεν(ε)ικίδης is not well attested for Βερεν(ε)ικίδης until after the end of the first century A.D. (cf. 28.02 infra). A sort of vowel syncopation is normal in the graphemes employed in the transliteration of Roman names like Decimus, Lentulus, etc., which normally appear as Δέκμος, Λέντλος, etc., with the Latin reduced vowel not appearing in the Greek (cf. 28.03). Other instances of omitted vowels which might be called syncope are rare, and since omission of a letter is involved, it is usually difficult to distinguish cases which might be due to tendencies toward vowel syncope from purely graphic mistakes (cf. especially c), pp. 398 ff. infra).

a) An unaccented vowel following a consonant is sometimes dropped when followed by another vowel. Where the two vowels are identical, as in Πειρεύς < Πειρεεύς or Σουνεῖς < Σουνιεῖς (in the Roman Period after ει = [iː]), the shorter spelling is simply a contraction; for the examples cf. 32.00 infra (see there also for ιερε(ι)ωσυν- ~ ιερωσυν-; ὕγ(ι)εια, etc.). Where a short iota is omitted before a different vowel, as in Νομήνος, Ἀζηγεύς, etc., the omission is perhaps evidence of the development of this type of iota to a consonant, i.e. to yod [j], unless the omission is purely clerical or due to some other type of confusion; cf. 27.02 supra for the examples.

b) In another group of examples an unaccented vowel, usually short (exceptional are ἀνα)τέθκεν, Σόλνος infra), is omitted between two consonants, whether single or in

clusters. Most often the following syllable bears the accent, less frequently the one preceding; exceptionally a more distant syllable (cf. *Κβυρῶτις* infra). A high proportion of the examples occur on sep. monuments, often those containing other irregularities, or other private texts. It is certainly possible that some of these spellings are due to a tendency to drop unaccented vowels in rapid speech, but the syncopated spellings are rather rare. Moreover, since there are many instances of omitted vowels in these same types of texts which leave unpronounceable combinations of letters and can therefore only be due to careless omission (cf. c) infra), the assumption of any very widespread tendency to syncopate vowels in Attic on the basis of these examples is scarcely justified. Spellings showing a syncope near a liquid, like that seen in *Βερν(ε)ικίδης*, etc. (cf. 28.02 infra), have the greatest chance of being actual vowel syncope rather than graphic mistakes: cf. *θάλμος*, *Σόλνος*, *Εὔπρος*; next after them examples like *Ἡρακλεῖ*, *Μενκράτου*, *Ἀπολλδώρου*, and instances of *Διονσι-* as e.g. *Διονσίου*. Occasionally the purely graphic character of the error can be seen when the forgotten vowel has been inserted later in the line above, cf. *Ἀρίμνστος* corrected to *Ἀρίμνηστος* in *Π² 2375.3* (ante 350) cat.; *Σωσιβις* corrected to *Σωσιβίας* in *BCH 92* (1968) p. 72 (= *SEG 24.226*) (s. Ia./s. Ip.) ded. (priv.).

In some cases the presence of a liquid next to the omitted vowel makes the resulting combination of letters pronounceable only with a syllabic [r] or [l], cf. *ἀπρχέν* on the ded., *Π² 689* (= *DAA* p. 51, no. 50) (ca. 500); *ΓPNXEE* for *Γρυνχῆς* in a tribute list, *ATL 2*, no. 39.23 (416/5); *ΤΡΙΩ* = *Τριτώ* on a sep. mon., *Π² 12824.1* (ca. 400), right after *Τριτώ* (L.); *Ἥγησας* *Π² 11564* (init. s. IVa.) sep. mon.; *ΧΡΣΤΗ* = *χρηστή* *Π² 12242.2* (post 350) sep. mon.; *σιρτεύεται* *IG III.3*, no. 55.a.9 (325/4? cf. Wilhelm, *JOAI 7* [1904] pp. 107 ff.) defixio; *δρχμάς* *Π² 448.86* (318/7) decree; *Φιλόδομος* *Hesperia 38* (1969) p. 425, no. 2, line 39 (220/19) decree; [*προγε*] *γρμμένων* *Hesperia 40* (1971) p. 101, no. 3, lines 15–16 (84/3) decree fr.; etc.; cf. *Μλυάδο* on ostraca of Kimon, *Kerameikos 3*, p. 60, no. 54; *ib.* p. 61, nos. 60, 61 (461 B.C.) (cf. 40.012, p. 478 infra); *Ἀνφιτρε* on a bf. vase of the Lysippides painter, *ABV* p. 260, no. 30 (= *CVA*, Italy 42, plates 28.1–2; wrongly read as *Ἀνφιτρε* on p. 12 of the text of *CVA*); etc. Likewise syllabic [n] would have to be assumed in *ἐποίησν*, found occasionally on vases (cf. infra), if the spelling has any phonetic accuracy. Such spellings occur rarely on stone texts, cf. e.g. *ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥΣΝΙΤΑΙΡΟΙ* (= *στεφανοῦσιν ἐταῖροι*) in *Π² 1037*, a sep. mon. of the late fifth century B.C., where the purely graphic nature of the mistake can be seen (the missing iota of *στεφανοῦσιν* has been inscribed in the place of the E of *ἐταῖροι*, cf. 7.012b, no. 1, p. 142 supra); *ἐχουσν* *Π² 1623.311–2* (333/2) inv.; *ΠΑΣΝΑΠΟΦΘΙΜΝΗ* (= *πᾶσιν ἀποφθιμένη*) *Π² 5773* (date?) sep. mon. (note omitted *έ*, cf. c) infra); cf. *Ἀρίσαι[χ]μν* on a defixio, *Hesperia 20* (1951) p. 223 (s. IVa.); etc. Whether these spellings are merely omissions like those in c) infra, or are evidence for [r], [l], and [n] must remain in doubt, but the former seems more likely.

Kretschmer (cf. *Vaseninschriften* p. 124) thought *ἐποίησν*, etc. comparable to the words used by a fishmonger hawking his wares in a fr. of Attic comedy cited by Athenaeus 6.224d (= *Amphis* fr. 30 Kock), in which the initial syllables of words are dropped: *ῥάρων ῥολῶν* for *τεττάρων ὀβολῶν*, *ῥτώβολῶν* for *ὀκτώ ὀβολῶν*. But such truncation is characteristic of phrases shouted, probably as loudly as possible, to attract buyers, and does not necessarily indicate a tendency to this type of truncation in ordinary speech, even when executed rapidly. In any case the kind of shortening seen in *ῥάρων ῥολῶν* is not identical with that of *θάλμος*, *ἐποίησν*, etc. (for *ὀκτώβολῶν* cf. also 34.021n, p. 432 infra).

Illustrative examples from stone texts:

ἀνα?}τέθεν Ι² 406 (550–500?) ded. (bronze); has also ὙΑΜΣΙΔΑΙ (= Δαμ-ασίδα?);

ἀνέθεν Ι² 729 (= DAA p. 245, no. 216) (init. s. V a.) ded.;

Δμότιμος *Hesperia* 25 (1956) pp. 375–377, line 40 (ca. 465) cas. list; perhaps an error due to the copyist who is the only source for this lost text;

Εὐξέθεο Ι² 1951.131 (406, cf. SEG 10.356; 22.53) cat.;

[Μν]ηουθείδς Ι² 2364.5 (ca. 400, aut paulo ante) cat., cf. omission of λ in Καλλικλ-ειδ- in *ib.* 8 (L.);

Ἐπικράτης Ι² 1928.4 (init. s. IV a.) cat.;

Ἡράλει *Hesperia* 17 (1948) pp. 137 ff. (400–350) ded. (priv.); ΠΑΝΣ is not necessarily for Πανίας cf. *Polemon* 4 (1949) p. 32, no. 27;

θάλμος Ι² 12151.3 (400–350) sep. mon.;

στάχυς (= στάχυες) Ι² 1425.264 (368/7) inv., κεχρυσμένος *ib.* 269; cf. ΝΩΙ for νεώι *ib.* 283; θηματήρον *ib.* 366 (cf. 27.02 supra); etc.;

ἐποικευ[η]ς Ι² 1612.215 (356/5) inv.;

ΔΣΩ (= δισώ) Ι² 7195.4 (post 350) sep. mon., cf. ἀνενπτο[v] in *ib.* 7;

Χαρκλῆς Ι² 1622.659 (ca. 342/1) inv.;

Ἀφωναῖος Ι² 1675.33 (ca. 337/6) inv.; the difficult cluster φδν left after the vowel's omission indicates a purely graphic mistake here;

Κτησιλῆς Ι² 1570.90 (ca. 330–320) inv.; almost certainly a copying mistake: as K has the form IC in this text, the stone-cutter probably mistook his iota for the upright hasta of the K (L.);

Χαρπίδου *Agora* 15, p. 59, no. 49, line 41 (= AE 1917 p. 40, no. 92) (328/7) decree;

Πειθδήμου *Deltion* 22 (1967) pp. 38 ff., line 5 (= SEG 24.154) (264/3, aut paulo post) decree (deme); perhaps -ΓΩΣ in *ib.* 9 is for πύργους (cf. 13.03, p. 259 supra);

Ἀπολλδώρου Ι² 8072 (s. III a.) sep. mon.;

Μενκράτου *Hesperia* 17 (1948) p. 51, no. 55 (s. III/II a.) sep. mon.;

Κιβυράτης (= Κιβυράτης) Ι² 9027 (s. II a.) sep. mon.;

Διονοίου Ι² 9510 (s. II/I a.) sep. mon.; cf. ΜΙΑΗΙΟΥ for Μιλησίου *ibidem*;

Σόλνος Ι² 11830 (s. I a.) sep. mon.;

Εὐπρος (= Εὐπορος?) Ι² 8657 (s. I a.) sep. mon.;

Χρύσιππος Ι² 8317 (s. I p.) sep. mon.;

Διονοίου Ι² 9567 (s. I/II p.) sep. mon.;

Διονυσδώρα Ι² 11189 (s. II p.) sep. mon., has other errors;

Εὐκτῆμονς Ι² 1822.14 (init. s. III p.) pryt. cat.;

Ἀρσιώ *Hesperia* 23 (1954) p. 276, no. 136 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.

Doubtful: [Ἡ]γησιλέ[η]ς AM 67 (1942) p. 21, no. 24, line 16 (350–300?) cat. (?), where the stone is extremely worn and the reading is quite doubtful (L.).

There are many comparable examples on ostraca, dipinti and defixiones. Cf. e.g. Ἀρσιονύμο on an ostrakon of 483 or 482 B.C., *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p. 383, no. 8; Θεμισθαλε-, Θεμισθαλε- on others of the 480s, cf. *Hesperia* 7 (1938) pp. 232–3, no. A. O. 136; pp. 238–9, no. A. O. 146;

etc.; ποιειον (cf. supra) on two bf. vases, cf. *ABV* p. 188, Villa Giulia no. 50679 and once Berlin 1766; ἐποιειον, e.g. *ARV*² p. 112, Thalia painter no. 1 (= *HRF* 1, p. 188, no. 4); *ARV*² p. 1318, Aristophanes no. 1 (= *HRF* 1, p. 51, no. 1; *CVA*, Germany 22, plate 119); etc.; ἔγρασαν *ARV*² p. 432, Douris no. 52 (= *HRF* 1, p. 240, no. 17); both Ἀρχαλῆς and Ἀρχικλῆς on a bf. vase, *ABV* p. 160, Archikles no. 1 (= *HBV* p. 58, no. 2); Ἀθηνεθν (= Ἀθῆνηθεν) *ABV* p. 89, Burgon group no. 1 (= Smith, *Catalogue* 2, p. 98, no. B130); Ἀππλόδορος *ARV*² p. 1565 (= *CVA*, Italy 28, plate 23.1, text p. 29); etc. Even a long vowel has been omitted in Εὔχρος for Εὔχειρος, cf. *ABV* p. 162, no. 1.

On defixiones: ἀκρετήρια *IG* III.3, no. 89.b 3 (400–350?), τὸς ῥεῦς *ib.* a 10; Χαιροστράτην *IG* III.3, no. 64.10 (s. IV/III a.); τὸν ἀγθόν *IG* III.3, no. 90.a 6 (s. III a.); etc.

Μάξιμανός on a late Roman milestone, *Π*² 5202 (285–305 p.), may well belong with this group of examples, since Μάξιμος (not Μάξιμος like Δέκιμος, etc.) is universal for Maximus in Attic texts (cf. 28.03 infra).

Γλέοντες, Γλεωντίς, not Γελεοντ-, etc., are the only spellings attested in Attic inscriptions of the Classical Period for the name of the old Ionian tribe and its eponymous founder. The three attestations are: Γλεόντων, twice in the sacred law, *Hesperia* 4 (1935) pp. 19 ff., no. 2, lines 35, 47 (paulo post 403/2) (L.); Γλεωντίδος on a horos of about the same date, *Hesperia* 17 (1948) p. 35, no. 18 (ca. 400). Γελέοντος occurs as epithet of Zeus in a decree of the Roman Period, cf. *Π*² 1072.6 (116/7 p.) (L.). The Γελεοντ- spellings occur in Ionia (cf. *LSJ* s.v. Γελέοντες) and in codd. to Herodotus 5.66. The codd. give Τελέων at Euripides *Ion* 1579, usually emended to Γελέων, although either Γελέων or Γλέων would suit the metre; the initial tau (also occurs Pollux 8.109) is due to clumsy attempts to find an etymological connection for the obscure word. The occurrence of Γελεοντ- in Ionia makes it likely that the Attic Γλεοντ- was probably a syncope of an original Γελεοντ-, although with so few examples of the word it is impossible to tell whether both Γελεοντ- and Γλεοντ- were variants in Attica ca. 400 B.C., or if only Γλεοντ- was in use at that time. The later Attic examples of Γλεοντ- could be due to the influence of Ionic or the result of learned attempts to relate Γλεοντ- to γελάω.

The lack of iota in the adjective ἀχονδες is confirmed by the attestation of an adverb χόνδην, cf. φιδάκναι ἀχονδες *Hesperia* 22 (1953) pp. 249 ff., no. 2, line 251 (ca. 414) inv.; φιδάκνας, ἀμφορέων χόνδην *Hesperia* 31 (1962) p. 54, no. 138, line 19 (350–300) lease record. The meaning and derivation of these obscure words is doubtful; perhaps ἀχονδες = 'not buried in the ground', cf. *Hesperia* 31 p. 56; L. Robert, *REG* 76 (1963) p. 134, no. 90. There is no reason to assume a syncope.

For σκόροδον only the syncopated σκόροδον is actually attested in inscriptions, cf. 28.02, p. 405 infra.

Πόλχος is the correct reading on a ded. of ca. 70 A.D., as originally published *AE* 1964, pp. 120 ff. (stone examined by K. Clinton), not Πόλ[ι]χος as urged by Prof. G. Daux, *BCH* 92 (1968) pp. 251 ff. (cf. *SEG* 24.220). It is doubtful if the obscure name Πόλχος is a syncopated form of Πόλιχος; it looks like a development from Πόλχερ < Pulcher.

There is no syncope in περυσ-, cf. περυσινός: *I*² 216/217.45 (= *ATL* 2, no. 26) (429/8) trib. list; *Π*² 1183.26 (post 340) decree (deme); *Π*² 1672.58 (329/8) inv.

c) In a third group of examples the vowel bearing the accent is omitted. A combination of letters is left which cannot be pronounced without a shift of accent. Such spellings can only be envisioned as graphic mistakes without phonetic significance. They occur in both public and private texts, but are most frequent in sep. monuments of private individuals.

Illustrative examples from stone texts:

Θεωδωρ Π² 10220 (s. I p.) sep. mon.; unless accented like Θεόδωρος(?);

Ἐπικητος Π² 2128.196 (190–200 p.) eph. cat.;

ΕΙΟΥΔΑ Π² 9706/9707 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.; perhaps accented like Ἰσίδωρος?;

Ζωσμη Π² 2337.16 (init. s. I p.) cat.; if non-Athenian perhaps Ζώσμη?;

θαλοση Π² 3299.4 (132 p.) ded. of people of Laodicea; certainly graphic (cutter mistook his Λ for alpha without cross-bar) (L.);

ΠΑΣΝΑΠΟΦΘΙΜΝΗ (= πᾶσιν ἀποφθιμένη) Π² 5773 (date?) sep. mon., probably inaccurately transcribed, cf. BSA 27 (1925–6) p. 74, no. 15 (for πᾶσιν, cf. p. 396 supra);

ἀφ'ἐ]στας Π² 3677.1–2 (s. II/III p.) ded.;

Νικηφορος Νικηφορου Π² 12277 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon., seen only by Spon, who probably failed to notice a ligature; etc.

That ΜΗΝΔΟΣ = Μηνίδος in Π² 9450 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon., is a doubtful interpretation. In Π² 1700.79 (= AM 29 [1904] pp. 244 ff.) read Τελέωνος, not Τελώνων; in Π² 9873 read Ἐπικαρπίας, cf. SEG 12.197.

Such omissions are also found on ostraca, dipinti, and defixiones. Cf. Καλλχος (never completed), on an ostrakon of Kallixenos, *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p. 381, no. 1 (480s); on rf. vases: e.g. ἡυπλόχος ARV² p. 75, Epiktetos no. 64; Ἀρχνος ARV² p. 939, Painter of London E777 no. 1; etc. Cf. Πραχσνε (= Πραξιμένη), graffito of the first quarter of the sixth century B.C., cf. *Agora* 21, p. 18, no. D 10. Defixiones: γλτταγ καί Ziebarth, GGN 1899, p. 109, no. 10.2 (350–300?); Πανφλο- IG III.3, no. 63.1, 2 (s. IV/III a.); Θεοδτην IG III.3, no. 90.a 1 (s. III a.), κτοχον ib. a 2; etc. Cf. ἀνθεκεν I² 443 (550–500) on a bronze ded. from the Acropolis.

Personal names in -ώνδης are to be distinguished from those in -ωνίδης; cf. Αισχρώνδης, e.g. *Hesperia* 17 (1948) p. 17, no. 9, line 93 (140/39) decree; Σμώνδης, e.g. Π² 1582.90 (cf. *Hesperia* 19 [1950] p. 244, no. 16) (342/1) inv.; etc.

Lit.: MS³ p. 69, notes 591–594; Lademann pp. 118, 130–1; M. Scheller, *Die Oxytonierung der griechischen Substantiva auf -α;* O. Szemerényi, *Syncope in Greek and Indo-European and the Nature of the Indo-European Accent*; Mayer-Schmoll pp. 123–5.

28.01 Nouns in -tv, -v (← -iov, -ios); in -avis (← -aios)

Several explanations have been proposed for the nouns in -tv (← -iov) and -v (← -ios), and a true syncope may not be involved, cf. Schwyzler, GG 1 p. 472. The early date of some of the examples certainly rules out any influence from Latin. Georgacas (Lit. infra pp. 255 ff.) posits a weakening of the -o- of -iov ([^h-ion] or [^h-íon]), caused by an increase in the expiratory character of the accent and a tendency to nasalize the -o- before -n; the resultant [-iən] assimilated to [-iin] which contracted to [-īn]. In his view the masculine nouns in -v would be analogical to an acc. in -tv. A simple contraction of ι + ο to ī in Koine seems very unlikely, and some sort of influence of the accent, especially when it was on the antepenult, is probably the best explanation for the necessary intervening stage -ia. Whether the nasal played any part, i.e. whether the forms in -tv are earlier than those in -v, is disputable, although in Egypt at least the -v forms are not attested as early as those in -tv. The length of the -v is also uncertain (cf. infra).

In Egyptian papyri neuters in -tv are attested before 250 B.C., and the -v anthroponyms begin before 150 B.C. The very few pre-Roman examples from Attica

cannot be dated with any precision, and three are certainly sep. monuments of non-Athenians (nos. 1–3; the attribution of no. 3 to Attica remains doubtful). In the first century A.D., however, several texts have examples of -ις or -ιν, and the date of the ephobic list mentioning an Athenian named Βάκχης can be fixed to the reign of Claudius (no. 6). After 100 A.D. examples of -ις and -ιν are fairly frequent in ephobic lists, dedications, and sep. monuments.

All the -ις nouns are masc. anthroponyms except Μαραθῶνις (no. 12), Ἐλευσεῖνις (no. 36), Μιλήσις (no. 19), three words taken from Latin, λεντιάρις, καψάρις, Συμπέλις (nos. 35, 38, 59). Several of the anthroponyms are Latin, viz. nos. 3, 11, 20, 23, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 35, 43, 47, 53, 55, 60, 62. The -ις spellings always remain unusual: contrast Διονύσις (6 cases), Βάκχης (3 cases), Τέρτις, Κοῦρτις, Ἴαν(ου)άρις, Ἀπολλώνις (2 cases each), Ἀφροδείσις, Ἀντώνις (once only) with the numerous examples of the -ιος spelling (cf. Indices to IG III). Although native Athenians with -ις names are certainly known (e.g. nos. 6, 25, 27, 33, etc.), a general sound change of [ʼ-ios] to [ʼ-i's] cannot be posited for Attica at this time because the spelling -ειος (with ει = [i]) is found occasionally (cf. 9.024 nos. 1, 7, 25, 26, 46, pp. 200–202 supra). The identification of the Παράσις of no. 56 *infra* with the man listed as Παγράσιος in II² 2228.6, eph. cat. of ca. 220 A.D., is certain (cf. also II² 2223.33).

Neuters in -ιν are fem. anthroponyms like Ἐρώτιν, Φιλημάτιν, etc. and the following nouns: χαριστήριον (no. 4), κνηστρίν, ἀμ]φιδέξιν, noun here, = 'bracelet' (no. 26), πανκράτιν, στάδιν (no. 40), ἡρώϊν (no. 49), μνημόριον (no. 64). In no. 40 both πανκράτιν and πανκράτιον(v) occur.

The ι of -ιν and -ις is thought by some to have been long, but conclusive evidence for [iː] is lacking. In Greek words only one example of -ει- (in καμβεῖν) is cited from Ptolemaic papyri, and it is more than a century later than the first examples of ει for ĭ, cf. Mayser-Schmoll pp. 69, 131. Coins from Asia Minor with -εις are at least as late as the time of the Empire. The rarity of -εις, -ειν in Georgacas' long lists of examples (cf. Lit. *infra* pp. 244–247) is striking, although, as many of these are later than the first examples of EI for ĭ in their respective localities, the avoidance of -ει- in them is not evidence that the -ι- of -ις, -ιν was not originally long. The presence of the ι in the oblique cases (cf. Παρθένις, Παρθενίου in no. 31 *infra*), and the peculiar look of a masc. anthroponym in -εις or a neuter in -ειν probably prevented much use of -ει- here. Attic texts normally use only -ις and -ιν: the unparalleled Ἀφφειν occurs on a sep. mon. (no. 30), which cannot be precisely dated, but which is almost certainly considerably later than the earliest certain examples of ει for ĭ (cf. 9.024, nos. 1–7). The man's name Ἥλεις is a peculiar exception. Two epengraphoi (non-Athenians of unknown origin) bear this name in the second century A.D. (nos. 35, 42); in the third century there is one Ἥλεις (no. 54), another Ἥλις (no. 61), both Athenian. The preference for Ἥλεις may be more than a strange coincidence: in Greek inscriptions from Asia Minor it is frequently impossible to distinguish between a non-Greek man's name Ηλεις and the Greek Ἥλεις (= Ἥλις ← Ἥλιος), cf. L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* pp. 180–181; this may have contributed to a certain spread of the -εις spelling in the Greek word. Thus the two epengraphoi could well be eastern Greeks.

The relationship between the *-ις*, *-ιν* forms and those with *-αις* for *-αιος* is uncertain. Georgacas (Lit. infra pp. 255–256) separates the two and derives the nominatives in *-αις* from an unattested contracted form of the vocative in [e], i.e. [-ee] (the pronunciation of *-αιε* after *αι* goes to [e], cf. 15.013), which then contracts to [e]. But that an influence of the accent on *-αιος* ([*′*-eos] or [*′*-éos]), similar to that which produced [-iən] and [-iəs], produced [-eəs] and then [-es] seems a more convincing explanation. That *-αις* was pronounced [es] is certain, cf. Λιμνές cited by Georgacas.

Anthroponyms in *-αις* are found in Egyptian papyri as early as the third century B.C., but these are still later than the first instances of *ε* for *αι* in these texts, cf. Mayser-Schmoll pp. 85, 131. The first example on an Attic inscription dates to the year 36/7 A.D. The Attic examples are Ἀθηναίς (12 examples, cf. nos. 5, 7, 8, 10, 25, 31 (bis), 32, 35, 37, 39, 51), Δίκαις (no. 50), Λήναις (no. 37), Ἐρμαίς (no. 45); of these individuals some were certainly Athenians (e.g. nos. 5, 25, 32, 35, 37, etc.); but Γάις (nos. 47, 62) = [gá-is] from [ga¹-os], cf. Γάειος, Γάϊος.

Spellings in *-αις* (female personal names) for *-αίς* do not belong here, cf. 9.024, p. 200 *supra*.

Lit.: MS³ p. 74, note 646; Lademann p. 119; J.A. Notopoulos, *AJP* 69 (1948) pp. 417–418; D.J. Georgacas, *CP* 43 (1948) pp. 243–260; Mayser-Schmoll pp. 130–131.

Examples:

The acute accent has been used throughout: most of the examples belong to the period after quantitative distinction had broken down (cf. 25.00), and there is some uncertainty whether *-ις*, *-ιν* had long *ι*.

- 1) Βάκχης Διοσκουριδου Ταρο[εύ]ς II² 10418 (s. II/Ia.) sep. mon. (lost);
- 2) Διονύσις ἡ Θραῖξ χρηστός II² 8905 (s. II/Ia.) sep. mon.; the date is based on the lettering, and could perhaps be revised down somewhat: the alpha has a broken crossbar, but the letters are not otherwise especially Roman in appearance. Perhaps s. Ia. (L.);
- 3) [Κ]αικίαις *Mnemosyne* 4 (1936–37) pp. 8ff., no. 5 (= GVI 1 p. 522, no. 1740) (s. Ia.) sep. mon. Verse text in literary Doric; ascription to Attica remains doubtful;
- 4) χαριστήριον II² 4709 (s. Ia.) ded. (priv.);
- 5) Ἀθηναίς II² 1967.13 (36/7 p.) eph. cat.;
- 6) Βάκχης II² 1973.34 (40/1–53/4 p.) eph. cat.;
- 7) Ἀθηναίς II² 1969.16 (45/6 p.) eph. cat.;
- 8) Ἀθηναίς II² 1737.14 (53/4 p.) cat.;
- 9) Ἀπολλώνης II² 3112.34 (75/6–87/8 p.) ded., Ἀπολλώνιος *ib.* 14, 38;
- 10) Ἀθηναίς II² 1996.160 (84/5–92/3 p.) eph. cat. (L.);
- 11) Τάτιν II² 12761 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.;
- 12) Μαγαθώνης II² 6770 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.;
- 13) Φιλημάτων II² 7853 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.;
- 14) Ἐρώτιν II² 5302 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.;
- 15) Φιλημάτων II² 4734 (s. Ip.) ded.;
- 16) Χαρίτιν II² 9932 (s. I/Ip.) sep. mon.;
- 17) Φιλημάτων II² 10680 (s. I/Ip.) sep. mon.;
- 18) Ἐλευθέριον AE 1961, *Chronika* p. 18, no. 65 (= SEG 21.887) sep. mon.;
- 19) Μιλήσις II² 9769 (s. I/Ip.) sep. mon.;

- 20) Λαβέρις Π² 5881 (s. I/Π p.) sep. mon.;
- 21) Ἐρώτιν Π² 9585 (s. I/Π p.) sep. mon.;
- 22) Ζωσάριον Π² 5900 (s. I/Π p.) sep. mon.;
- 23) ΚΥΡΤΙΣ (i.e. Κύρτιος) Π² 9141 a (in text).2 (s. I/Π p.) sep. mon.; Kirchner takes it as a vocative Κύρτιε, but for the nominative before χαίρε, cf. Π² 10004;
- 24) Ζωσάριον Π² 9629 (s. I/Π p.) sep. mon.;
- 25) Ἀθηναίς *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p.252, no.52, line 10 (init. s. II p.) pryt. cat.; Ἰανάρης *ib.* 26;
- 26) κνηστρέν Π² 4511.9 (ante 114–116 p.) ded. (priv.), ἀμ]φιδέξιν *ib.* 24–25 (L.);
- 27) Ἰανουάρης Π² 1764.53 (138/9 p.) pryt. cat. (L.);
- 28) Μουσώνης Π² 6687 (act. Hadriani) sep. mon.;
- 29) Πλώτις Π² 12476/7 (ca. 150 p.) sep. mon.;
- 30) Ἄφφειν (= Ἄφφριον) Π² 6837 (post 150 p.) sep. mon.;
- 31) Ἀφροδείσις Π² 2068.118 (155/6 p.) eph. cat., Παρθένις Παρθενίου *ib.* 153, Ἀθηναίς *ib.* 154, 239; Φαβιν *ib.* 182 is probably for Φάβινς, rather than Φαβι(α)ν(ός) as suggested by Kirchner in *IG* Π²; Ἀφροδείσιος *ib.* 164; Ἀφρο]δείσος *ib.* 41 (L.);
- 32) Ἀθηναίς Π² 2085.58 (161/2 p.) eph. cat.;
- 33) Διονύσις Π² 2086.89 (163/4 p.) eph. cat.;
- 34) Ἐρώτιν Π² 11349 (ca. 170 p.) sep. mon.;
- 35) Ἀθηναίς Π² 2097.84 (169/70 p.) eph. cat., Ἀντώνις *ib.* 140, Διονύσις *ib.* 289, 290, Ἥλεις *ib.* 308, λευτιάρις *ib.* 324 (L.);
- 36) Ἐλευσεῖνις Π² 2102.138 (paulo post 169/70 p.) eph. cat.;
- 37) Λήναις Π² 2103.218 (172/3 p. aut paulo post) eph. cat., Ἀθηναίς *ib.* 108 (L.);
- 38) καψάρης Π² 2276.3 (= part of Π² 2107, cf. *BCH* 73 [1949] p.355) (paulo ante 180 p.) eph. cat.;
- 39) Ἀθηναίς *Deltion* 25 (1970) p.55, no.2, line 19 (150–200 p.) eph. cat.;
- 40) πανκράτιν Π² 2120.15 (fin. s. II p.) eph. cat., στάδιν *ib.* 18; [Δ]ιονύσις *ib.* 52 (L.);
- 41) Βάχχις *Polemon* 4 (1949) p.28, no.9, fig.7 (= Π² 5871, corrected) (s. II p.) sep. mon.;
- 42) Ἥλεις Π² 2166.12 (s. II p.) eph. cat.;
- 43) Λουκρήτις Π² 9750 (s. II p.) sep. mon.;
- 44) Ζωσάριον Π² 9628 (s. II p.) sep. mon.;
- 45) Ἐρμαίς Ἐρμαίου Μειλήσιος Π² 9580 (s. II p.) sep. mon.;
- 46) Χρυσάριον *Hesperia* 29 (1960) p.63, no.107 (s. II/III p.) ded. (priv.);
- 47) Γαίς Π² 4815.1 (s. II/III p.) ded. (priv.);
- 48) Φυλημάτιν Π² 4805.1 (s. II/III p.) ded. (priv.);
- 49) ἡρώιν Π² 11133 (s. II/III p.) sep. mon. (= ἡρώϊον, ἡρώειον, cf. Schwyzler, *GG* 1, p.196);
- 50) Δίκαις Π² 2199.127 (ca. 200 p.) eph. cat. (L.);
- 51) Ἀθηναίς Π² 2212.8 (init. s. III p.) eph. cat.;
- 52) Δημήτρις Π² 2191.119 (ca. 200 p.) eph. cat.;
- 53) Λύκις Λουκίου Π² 1783.40 (post 216 p.) pryt. cat., Τέρις *ib.* 43 (L.);
- 54) Ἥλεις Π² 2208.120 (212/3 p. aut paulo post) eph. cat.;
- 55) Τέρις Π² 2218.8 (post 212/3 p.) eph. cat.;
- 56) Παρσάσις Π² 2221.75 (217/8 p. aut paulo post) eph. cat. (L.);
- 57) Γυψίνις Π² 2235.189 (226/7–234/5 p.) eph. cat.;
- 58) Διονύσις Π² 2237.87 (230–235 p.) eph. cat. (L.);
- 59) Συμπέλις Π² 2243.183 (post 243/4 p.) eph. cat. (= Latin subsellius, cf. 41.021 b, p.489 *infra*) (L.);

- 60) Ὀλύμπις Π² 2245.61 (262/3 aut 266/7 p.) eph. cat., Ἐλέγγις *ib.* 156, Κούρις *ib.* 452, Κουινίς (= Quini(u)s? cf. 37.02, p. 448 *infra ib.* 336 (L.);
- 61) *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p. 71, no. 37, line 60 (fin. s. III p.) eph. cat.: ΗΛΙΣ probably = "ΗΛΙς rather than Ἡλιξ, although Σ for Ξ occurs elsewhere in this text, cf. *AJP* 69 (1948) p. 417;
- 62) Γάις Π² 6503 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.;
- 63) Ἐλευθέριον Π² 7458 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon. (L.);
- 64) μνημόριον Π² 11782 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.;
- 65) Ἐρώτιν *Polemon* 4 (1949) p. 123, no. 5 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.;
- 66) Ἀπολλώνις Peek, *AG* 2, p. 31, no. 97 (probably aet. Rom.) sep. mon. (L.);
- 67) Δημήτρις Peek, *AG* 2, p. 33, no. 106 (aet. Rom.?) sep. mon.;
- 68) Εὐσόφις *AM* 67 (1942) p. 63, no. 110 (= new reading of Π² 4840) (s. III/IV p.) ded. (priv.) (L.);
- 69) Εὐσόφις *AM* 67 (1942) p. 64, no. 112 (= improved reading of Π² 13236) (s. III/IV p.) sep. mon.

28.02 Βερ(ε)νικίδης, σκόρδον, Τελ(ε)μήσιος

The deme Βερνικίδαι was created shortly after the beginning of the last quarter of the third century B.C. (cf. Kirchner's notes to *IG* Π² 832). In the Hellenistic Period the full spelling in Βερν- is virtually universal. The only exception is Βερνικίδ[ης] in a decree of the late second century B.C., cf. *Hesperia* 18 (1949) p. 98, fig. 1 (= Π² 1008, col. 1.125, where the text wrongly prints the spelling without syncopation) (118/7), although the expected Βερνικίδης occurs elsewhere in the same text, cf. Π² 1008, col. 2.97 (both readings L.).

Βερνικίδης is very well attested in the Hellenistic Period, cf. e.g.: *Agora* 15, p. 120, no. 129, lines 136–7 (= Π² 848.b24–5) (222/1); *Agora* 15, p. 132, no. 147, lines 47, 48, 81–83 (= Π² 915 + new fr.) (203/2); Π² 913.34–35 (= *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 [1937] p. 85, no. 37) (211/0–202/1); *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p. 59, no. 14, line 51 (= Π² 912 + new fr.) (ca. 210/9–201/200); *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p. 220, no. 17, left at bottom (ca. 200); *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p. 100, no. 48, line 115 (199/8–189/8), *ibidem* p. 120, no. 64, lines 38, 118 (178/7); Π² 1006, col. 2.121 (122/1); Π² 1009.56 (116/5) (L.); Π² 1011, col. 2.102, 103, 105 (106/5); Π² 1039.3 (79/8, cf. SEG 22.110) decrees; Π² 1034d (not part of Π² 1034abc).4 (s. Ia.?) cat. fr.; Π² 1711.2, 14 (ca. 150); Π² 1719.9 (ca. 30) both catalogs; Π² 5878 (s. III/IIa.), Π² 5873, Π² 5884 (post 200), Π² 5888 (init. s. IIa.), Π² 5879, Π² 5891 (ca. 150), Π² 5872, Π² 5882, Π² 5893 (s. IIa.), Π² 5874 (s. II/Ia.), Π² 5877, Π² 5889 (s. Ia.), Π² 5886 (ca. 50), all sep. monuments; etc.

In the Roman Period the syncopated spelling Βερν(ε)ικίδης becomes frequent. The first example after that in Π² 1008.125 cited *supra* is in an eph. cat. dated to the period 84/5–92/3 A.D., cf. Π² 1996.30 (L.). Examples are frequent in the second and third centuries A.D., e.g. Π² 2049.10 (142/3 p.) (L.), Π² 2052.57 (145/6 p.) (L.); Π² 2090.92, 98 (165/6 p.), Π² 2097.75 (169/70 p.), Π² 2126.11 (ca. 190–200 p.), Π² 2144.3 (s. II p.), Π² 2200.13 (ca. 200 p.), Π² 2194.10 (ca. 200 p.), Π² 2193.69 (198/9–205/6 p., cf. Graindor, *Album* p. 55), has Βερνευικίδης *ib.* 27; all eph. catalogs; Π² 3557.3 (init. s. II p.), Π² 3647 (fin. s. II p.) dedications; Π² 5880 (s. I p.), Π² 5881 (s. I/II p.), Π² 6485 (ante 150 p.), Π² 5894 (s. II p.), *Polemon* 4 (1949) p. 28, no. 9, fig. 7 (= Π² 5871, corrected) (s. II p.) sep. monuments; etc.

The original spelling Βερεν(ε)ικίδης is also frequent at this time, cf. e.g. II² 1963.54, 56 (13/2), II² 1990.22 (61/2 p.), II² 2028.7 (110–120 p.), II² 2057.3 (146/7 p.), II² 2059.5, 13 (ca. 147/8 p.) (L.), II² 2070.14, 15 (ca. 150 p.), II² 2094.40 (ca. 166/7 p.), Βερεν[*ib.* 49 (L.), II² 2127.15 (190–200 p.), II² 2193.27 (198/9–205/6 p., cf. Graindor, *Album* p. 55), has Βερεν- *ib.* 69; II² 2203.53 (paulo post 200 p.), II² 2224.2, 3 (223/4 p., cf. *Hesperia* 30 [1961] p. 256, no. 56) eph. catalogs; *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p. 70, no. 36, line 11 (init. s. III p.) cat.; II² 5885 (s. I p.), II² 5875 (s. II p.), II² 5868, II² 5869, II² 5870, II² 5892, II² 5877 a (in add.) (aet. Rom.) sep. monuments; etc.

There is also a man's personal name Βερεν(ε)ικίδης, cf. Βερενικίδης in II² 1828.47, 48 (post 218 p.) pryt. cat.; II² 1794.28 (180/1 p.) pryt. cat.: Βερενηκίδης (cf. 8.02, no. 39, p. 169 supra).

The same developments can be seen in the feminine personal names, cf. Βερενίκη II² 3449.3 (ca. 50 p.) ded.; II² 9464 (s. I p.) sep. mon.; II² 10950 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.; Βερενικῆς (= Βερενικίς cf. 8.02, no. 47, p. 170 supra) II² 8138 (date?) sep. mon.; Βερενίκη II² 9465 (s. II p.) sep. mon.

The syncopated spellings in Βερεν- are found in papyri from Egypt as early as 237 B.C. (cf. Mayser-Schmoll in Lit. infra).

Probably later than the limits set for this book is Βερενίκης, in a Christian sep. mon., IG III, no. 3446.

The spelling σκόροδον, guaranteed by the metre in occurrences in the writings of Aristophanes, is not attested in an Attic inscription. The word is rare, but the syncopated σκόρδον occurs in three texts. The first example is in a decree of unknown date which mentions the archon of 334/3, but as the lettering looks like a mid-fourth-century style, it is probably not much later than that, cf. σκόρδων II² 1184.15 (= Sokolowski, *Supplément* p. 208, no. 124; SEG 21.518) (post 334/3) decree (deme). The other two attestations are in copies of religious regulations for the cult of Menes Tyrannos set up, probably in the first century A.D., by Xanthus of Lycia, cf. σκόρδων II² 1365.10–11, II² 1366.3 (both L.). The earliest occurrences of the syncopated form in literary texts are of the early Hellenistic Period: codd. of Theophrastus vary between σκόρδ- and σκόροδ-, cf. LSJ s.v. σκόρδον.

The Attic tribute documents have only Τελε- in the ethnic Τελεμέσσιος (almost certainly of the town in Lycia, cf. ATL 1, p. 554): cf. I² 199.33 (= ATL 2, no. 9) (446/5), ATL 2, no. A9, col. 1.130 (= I² 64.20) (425/4). Coins of the Lycian town of ca. 300 B.C. have Τελεμησ-, those of 196–189 B.C. vary between Τελεμησ- and Τελμησ- (cf. HN² p. 698). For the syncopated Τελμησ-, cf. TAM 1, nos. 1, 2, 15, 16, 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, etc. Τελεμησ- also in [Τ]ελ[ε]μησ[ε]ύς, in a text from Anaphe of the mid- or late Hellenistic Period (?), IG XII.3, no. 251, line 23.

Kretschmer (cf. Lit. infra) pointed out the pattern of the development: CVRVC → CVRC when the vowels were identical and the deleted vowel unaccented. At Athens Βερεν(ε)ικίδης was probably only a variant for Βερεν(ε)ικίδης, since the original form occurs too often to be just due to orthographical conservatism. With σκόρδον so rare and Τελεμήσσιος not found after 400 B.C., it is not possible to say whether the syncopated forms were universal in Athens by post-classical times. Rare syncopes like θάλμος, Σόλνος show the same tendency to delete the

second of two identical or very similar vowels after a liquid, perhaps also after a nasal in Μενκράτου (cf. 28.00b, p.397 supra). If Γλέων, Γλέοντες, etc. are syncopated spellings they show a related phenomenon (cf. 28.00b, p.398 supra).

Lit.: MS³ p.69, note 591; Lademann p.118; Mayser-Schmoll p.123; Kretschmer, *Glotta* 1 (1909) p.36; O. Szemerényi, *Syncopé in Greek and Indo-European and the Nature of the Indo-European Accent* pp.260ff., especially pp.261–2 (but the treatment of Π² 1184 in note 1 on p.262 is wholly unsatisfactory).

28.03 Δέκμος, Λέντλος, etc.

The Latin grammatical literature talks of a vowel between i and u. It is normally written U in the earlier period, as in volumus, Lentulus, decumus, maxumus; although I is found in a few words, e.g. ferimus. Usually I replaces U as the grapheme in such cases after ca. 100 B.C., e.g. decimus, maximus, etc., although U tends to be retained before -l- and after o- and u-vowels, e.g. volumus, postumus. It is uncertain whether this sound was a schwa-like vowel or these spellings are due to a variation between two distinct phonemes (cf. Sturtevant, *Lit. infra* p.120). In Greek transliterations the equivalent usually selected is omicron if the vowel is written at all, e.g. Δέκομος, Πόστομος, Ἀπολήμος, etc. (cf. 11.043 supra for the examples). Spellings like Δέκιμος, Λέντυλος, Λέντελος, etc. are rare variants not attested in Attic inscriptions. A more frequent way of rendering this vowel than writing omicron, however, was to omit it altogether in the Greek transliteration, e.g. Δέκμος, Λέντλος, etc. It is possible that the popularity of such spellings was in part due to choice of Πρόκλος as transliteration of Proculus, under the influence of the Greek Προκλῆς.

In certain cases omission of the vowel produced an undesirable consonant cluster and here Attic texts follow the contemporary Latin preference. Thus Μάξιμος has always ι following the Roman practice of the Imperial Period; cf. also Κ]ορνιφίκιος (= Cornificius) in the sep. mon., Π² 6828 (s. Ip.) (text wrongly given as Κορνοφίκιος in IG III, no.1850). But Ο (= Latin u) in Ἀπολήμος, Κανολήμος, Πόστομος, etc. (cf. 11.043 supra).

Typical examples are:

Δέκμος. Attested as early as ca. 175 B.C. in the ded., Π² 4099; also in a decree of 122/1, cf. Π² 1031.12 (part of Π² 1006, cf. *Hesperia* 41 [1972] pp.185 ff.; SEG 21.474); cf. Π² 1716.18 (63/2–53/2) cat. Very frequent in Roman times thereafter (cf. e.g. Indices to IG III, p.383). Δέκομος occurs twice in a decree of 101/100, Π² 1028.156 (cf. 11.043 supra); Decumus was still frequent in Latin at this time (for Decimus).

Λέντλος. Cf. e.g. Π² 4102 (init. aet. Rom.), Π² 4137 (fin. s. Ia.) dedications; Λαιτλου (= Λέντλου?) Peek, AG 2, p.21, no.47 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon. (for omission of ν, cf. 41.011, no.22, p.486 infra; αι = ε, cf. 15.013, no.96, p.299 supra).

Ῥήγλος. Cf. Π² 4174.1 (41p.), Π² 4178.1, 2 (ca. 50p.), Π² 4179 (ca. 50p.) dedications; Ῥ]ηγλιανός Π² 2128.46 (190–200p.) eph. cat.

Ἡρκλιανός (= Herculani). Cf. Φλ Ἡρκλιανός Π² 2239.241 (238/9–243/4p.) eph. cat. (L.).

Πρόκλος. Frequent, cf. Indices to IG III, p.385; Προκλιανός Π² 4210.11 (post 128/9p.) ded.; Προκλιανός Π² 2237.56, 134 (230–235p.) eph. cat. (L.).

Πρόκλα Π² 12518 (s. II/III p.) sep. mon.

Σκάππας. Cf. Π² 4212.2 (ca. 160 p.) ded.

Πατερχιός. E. g. Π² 2067.61 (154/5 p.), Π² 2239.103 (238/9–243/4 p.) (L.) eph. catalogs.

Ίσκλημος (= Instuleius). Cf. Π² 2086.78 (163/4 p.) eph. cat.; Π² 1798.25 (190/1 p.) pryt. cat.; Π² 2128.41 (190–200 p.), Π² 2203.84 (paulo post 200 p.) eph. catalogs.

Βετληγή (derivative of Vetula), cf. Π² 10977 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.

This type of syncope seems to have spread to a few names not strictly speaking Latin, cf. Ἄτλος Π² 11881 a (in add.) (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.

The exceptional Μαξιμανός is reported from a late Roman milestone (now lost), cf. Π² 5202 (285–305 p.). It perhaps belongs with examples of syncope in 28.00, pp. 397–398 supra. The unmanageable cluster -ξιμ- normally prevented syncope in the Greek form for Maximus; for Μάξιμος, well attested in Athens, cf. Indices to IG III, p. 385. So also only Κορνιφίκιος (for an Attic example cf. Π² 6828 cited supra) because of the difficult cluster -ρνφ-; Πόστοςμος and Πουστόσύμος because of -στυμ- (cf. 11.043 supra).

The sort of syncope seen here affects only those Latin suffixes in which an unaccented u (or u ~ i) occurs before a single consonant, i. e. the suffixes -umus/-imus, -ulus (and derivatives of these such as -ulanus, -uleius, -uleianus, etc.). Latin u in Catullus, Lucullus, Tertulla, etc. had a different sound and is transcribed differently in Greek (cf. 11.043 supra). Latin i as in Tiberius, Domitianus, etc. is transliterated E or I (cf. 7.0112, pp. 139 ff.).

Prevocalic Latin u is sometimes dropped after n, cf. Ἰανάρης (= Ianuarius) *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p. 252, no. 52, line 26 (init. s. II p.) pryt. cat.; Ἰαναρ(ου) Π² 2097.67 (169/70 p.) eph. cat. Cf. the MG Ἰανάρης. Although sometimes treated as a consonant in metrical texts (cf. Eckinger p. 91) OY = u/_V in Ἰανουάριος, etc. does not eventually appear as B as it does in Σάλβιος, Φούλβιος, etc. (contrast MG Ἰανάρης and Italian Gennaio with French Janvier). For retention of OY = u/n_V cf. Ἰανουάριος Π² 1973.30 (40/1–53/4 p.) eph. cat.; Ἰανουάριος Π² 1764.53 (138/9 p.) pryt. cat. (L.); Ἰγενουα (how accented?) Π² 1950.13 (post 250 p.?), cat.; cf. also Σουμπτουάριος Π² 13018 (ca. 50 p.) sep. mon.; Ἰνγένουος, cf. 11.043, p. 222 supra.

The syncope seen in Δόμνα is already normal in Latin Domna, cf. Δόμναν, Δόμνη in Π² 3415.1 (195–8 p.), Π² 3416.5 (ante 208 aut 209 p.) dedications referring to Julia Domna.

Lit.: Eckinger pp. 47–8, 60–1, 74–5; Sturtevant pp. 119–122; W.S. Allen, *Vox Latina* pp. 56 ff.

29.00 Vowel anaptyxis, prothesis

a) True vowel anaptyxis, the insertion of a vowel, usually identical with that of an adjacent syllable, to break up a consonant cluster, is characteristic of only the crudest Attic writing; it is often difficult to tell if the presence of the extra vowel is purely a graphic mistake or not. On stone texts occur: μκ|αρά IG IV, no. 39, lines 10–11 (410) inv. of temple of Athena on Aegina, but probably only graphic, μικρός *ib.* 8, σμ|κρά *ib.* 8–9; ὀρογυῶν (= ὀργυῶν) Π² 1693.5, 7 (s. IV a.?) inv. (cf. 18.01, no. 20, p. 339 supra); Λεονίτος (= Λέοντος) Π² 6114 (s. Ip.) sep. mon., has Ὀρχιέως for Ἐρχιέως (cf. 11.012, p. 216 supra) and M for ΛΑ (crude copying error) (L.); Ἀνι-

τιόχισσα II² 8109 (s. I/IIp.) sep. mon. Less certain are: Σμικι|ρίου II² 4013.13–14 (aet. Rom.?) ded., and Ξύστος (= Ξύστος, man's name) II² 2282.8 (s. II/IIIp.?) eph. cat., both seen only by Fourmont; Μανασσόγραν II² 3983 (post 150p.) ded., known only from a copy of Pittakes containing other anomalies. The strange ΑΓΙΚΥ-ΠΑΝΟΣ on a sep. mon., II² 7917 (aet. Rom.), can only be graphic; probably the Ι is a false start for kappa. Note also the anaptyxis in τερποννος (= τερπνός) in I² 923, an erotic text carved, probably in the late Archaic Period, on the living rock on the Mouseion Hill; this text has also πορσειπεν (= προσειπείν? cf. 40.011, p.476 *infra*).

Similar spellings occur among the dipinti, cf. ARV² p.91, Euergides painter no.52 (= Richter-Hall plate 3) καρατα, κ|α|ρατα alongside κάρατα; cf. Ἐπιδρομος twice on a rf. vase, ARV² p.117, Apollodoros no.2, alongside Ἐπιδρομος once; the correct Ἐπιδρομος is frequent on vases of this painter, cf. ARV² pp.117–8, nos.1, 4–8, 11–14; Τερπον (= Τέρπων) cf. ARV² p.456, Louvre G34 (= HRF 1, p.451, no.3). For the potter known as Pamphaios the signature Παμαφιος occurs three times on two rf. vases of Epiktetos, cf. ARV² pp.71–2, nos.14–15 = p.128, nos.4, 5 (= HRF 1, p.304, no.4; p.326, no.19); perhaps one more example: ἐπ[οί]σεν Πα[μαφ]ιος on another of these vases, *Paralipomena* p.329, no.14 bis. Παμαφιος looks more like a shuffling of the letters by the eye than a sort of vowel metathesis to break up the cluster -μφ-. Other signatures without a vowel between μ and φ, cf. ABV pp.235–6, p.324; ARV² pp.124–130; *Paralipomena* p.109, p.333. ηερεμες recorded on a vase of the Lysippides painter, ABV p.260, no.30 (cf. Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* p.125) must be corrected to ηερεμ[ε]ς, i.e. the third and fourth letters were painted on in the wrong order; ηερεμ[ε]ς is a less likely reading (cf. CVA, Italy 42, plates 28.1–2; the text of the inscription is given incorrectly as ηερεμ[ε]ς on p.12 of the text). An alleged signature ηισαχυλος (cf. HRF 2, p.112, no.2; Kretschmer, *op.cit.* p.126) is given by Beazley as ηΙΣΧΥΛΟς, cf. ARV² p.162, Hischylos painter no.2. For Ἐαχσεκίας cf. c) *infra*.

So also Μιλιτιάδο on an ostrakon, *Kerameikos* 3, p.58, no.45 (461) (cf. 40.011). The Λαισι[--] ἐΚοίλες[--] σιπουδι[--] on an ostrakon of the 480s, cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 8 (1949) p.400, no.13, might be interpreted Λαισι[πουδίας] ἐΚοίλες [Λαι]σιπουδί[ας] or Λαισι[πο(υ)δίας] ἐΚοίλες Σ[ι]πουδί[δου]. A Λαισποδίας is known from literary sources. Cf. Ἐρμῆς on a defixio which has Ἐρμῆν elsewhere and is characterized by crude orthography, cf. *IG* III.3, no.90.a3 (s. IIIa.?).

In II² 1541.4 (= *IG* II, add. no.682c) read ἀρχοντος, not ἀρχοντος.

The occurrence of a liquid next to the inserted vowel in so many cases is noteworthy; it seems reasonable to suppose some phonetic basis for these examples. Perhaps also in the less frequent cases involving nasals. Some of the other examples may be purely graphic mistakes: i.e. having carved ΕΥΣΟ and realizing he had omitted the tau, the mason completed the word either forgetting to go back and erase the unwanted O or not caring about it, leaving ΕΥΣΟΤΟΣ.

As Γελέων, Γελεῦντες are attested in Ionia, it is likely that the Attic Γλέοντ-, etc. (attested ca. 400 B.C.) are a development from an original Γελέοντ-, etc. by syncope rather than that Γλέοντ-, etc. are original, later developing to Γελέοντ-, etc. (attested in the first century A.D. at Athens), cf. 28.00b, p.398 *supra*.

Beginning in the last part of the first century A.D., Μεταγ(ε)ιτωνιών is frequent for Μεταγειτωνιών. The extended form is more likely due to the influence of γείτων (as suggested by Lademann, p.118) than vowel anaptyxis. The original spelling also continues into the late Roman Period.

Μεταγ(ε)ιτονιών: cf. e.g. Π² 1996.91 (84/5–92/3 p.) (L.), Π² 2042.7 (ca. 135 p.), Π² 2044.34 (139/40 p.), Π² 2065.48 (150/1 p.) (L.), Π² 2097.38 (169/70 p.), Π² 2103.27 (172/3 p. aut paulo post), Π² 2208.106 (212/3 p. aut paulo post), Π² 2239.104 (238/9–243/4 p.) eph. catalogs.

Μεταγ(ε)ιτνών: cf. e.g. Π² 1367.1 (fin. s. Ip.?) sacred calendar; Π² 2037.21 (125/6 p.), Π² 2046.12 (paulo ante 140 p.), Π² 2067.221 (154/5 p.), Π² 2243.57 (post 243/4 p.) (L.); cf. Μεταγε[ιτν]ι[ών]α Π² 2112.44 (182/3–190/1 p.) eph. catalogs.

In pre-Roman texts always Μεταγειτνών, cf. e.g. I² 6.60 (ante 460) decree; I² 377.14 (434–432) inv.; Π² 2497.12 (post 350) loc. of a deme; Π² 338.3 (333/2), Π² 641.5 (299/8), Π² 687.4 (265/4), Π² 778.4 (250/49), *Agora* 15, p. 132, no. 147, line 32 (= Π² 915.9) (203/2) decrees; Π² 1227.2 (131/0) decree (Salamian cleruchs); etc.

b) Occasionally an iota appears between a consonant and a following vowel: Δημαρχιον AE 1961 Chronika p. 23, no. 2, line 6 (= SEG 22.117; *Hesperia* 17 [1948] p. 142, no. 3) decree (deme); Στησιππιο Π² 6022 (s. IV a.) sep. mon.; Ἀρχε-νιεύς (= Ἀρχένειω?) Π² 5593 (aet. Rom.?) sep. mon. seen only by Fourmont. These examples may be purely graphic mistakes; the deme decree has others. The spelling Θησιήους in the decree, Π² 1043.22 (38/7), is probably due to confusion with Ἀντωνιήους in the same line (both L.) (cf. p. 417 infra).

The better copy of those on which the text of the eph. cat., Π² 2030 (= IG III, no. 1105), depends reads Μυρωνίδης, not Μυριωνίδης, in lines 36–37.

Cf. ηεφιαιστο(ς) on a vase of the Tyrrhenian group, ABV p. 96, no. 14 (= *Imagines*² plate 3.6; *Jahrbuch des Römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 8 [1961] plate 20). The reading is Furtwängler's, cf. *Beschreibung* p. 242.

Note also [Διο]νυσίδοτ[ον] in a defixio, cf. Ziebarth, *SB Berlin* 1934, p. 1033, no. 7, line 5 (s. III a.?).

Crude misspellings due to confusion of different types of demotics are: Λαμπτρεῖος *Hesperia* 17 (1948) p. 49, no. 50, line 5 (= Π² 9531, corrected) (s. II a.) sep. mon.; Λαμπτρεῖος *Deltion* 18 (1963) p. 132 (s. IV a.) sep. mon.; Βησσαῖ[ων] Π² 5900 (s. I/II p.) sep. mon. The first two cases might also be graphic mistakes (dittography); in the third is seen hesitation between demotic types in -αιεύς and -εῖς (after αἰ = εἰ, cf. 15.013, pp. 294 ff. supra). Perhaps comparable to these three cases are instances of -εῖς for -αιεύς, as in Πρᾶσεῖς, etc. (cf. 27.02, nos. 2, 11–13, 17–20, pp. 394–5 supra); and one case of Ἐρικιεύς for Ἐρικεῖς, if not assimilation (cf. 7.012 b, no. 14, p. 143 supra). Cf. also Πειριεύς in addenda.

c) For the Μυδονεῖς of the tribute lists (not attested later in Attica), the later Greek form was Ἀμυζονεῖς (cf. *ATL* 1, p. 521), with a prothesis of ἀ normal in such non-Greek names, cf. Kretschmer, *Glotta* 21 (1933) pp. 86–90. For the examples of Μυδονεῖς, cf. 44.031, p. 549 infra.

Vowel prothesis might be the explanation for the spelling ἐξυπεταιών, a variant for Ξυπεταιών attested twice in the second century A.D., cf. Π² 2059.45 (ca. 147/8 p.) eph. cat. (L.); Π² 6937 (s. II p.) sep. mon. But some sort of confusion involving the preposition ἐκ is a better explanation, for by this time the distinction in accent between -ῶν and -ὼν had doubtless disappeared and Ξυπεταιῶνων may have been unfamiliar to many.

The spelling Εὐεξείνου in a metrical sep. mon. of a non-Athenian, Π² 10051.2 (post 350), probably has nothing to do with the cases of ἐξυπεταιών (note the wide dis-

parity of dates). Probably the eye of the copyist has merely slipped, especially as the metre demands Ἐϋξείνου. Since, however, epigraphical texts are sometimes written *contra metrum* it might be argued that the spelling has a phonological basis. It is too early for *ev* to be = [ev] or [ef], but it is possible that [e^uks] developed to [e^ueks] by a process similar to that seen in Ἐριμῆς, Τέροπων (cf. a) *supra*) or Καλιπόρνιος, etc. (cf. Eckinger p. 48, no Attic examples). In view of the isolation of the example, however, it is preferable to explain it as a copying error.

The Ἐαχσεκίας recorded on a bf. fr. in Athens (inv. no. 1104 = CC 692, cf. *HBG* p. 91, no. 1) reads Ἐχσεκίας cf. *ABV* p. 147, no. 5. A small spot of paint right next to the initial E was earlier misread as a letter (A) (L.).

Lit.: *MS*³ p. 69, note 595, p. 93, note 834; Lademann pp. 118, 130.

30.00 Apocope

The typical type of Greek apocope familiar in some dialects and in poetical diction is foreign to Attic. Such examples as occur are in metrical texts written in an artificial poetical diction: e.g. κάθθανε *IP*² 11960.5 (= *GVI* 1, p. 435, no. 1466) (ca. 250) sep. mon.; πάροστατις *Hesperia* 23 (1954) p. 63 and plate 14c (ca. 100p.), verses on a statue-base dedicated to a personification of the *Iliad*; Ἀντολῆς *IP*² 3632.6 (post 150p.), *IP*² 3709.6 (ca. 250p.) dedications couched in highly artificial language reminiscent of epic; ἀνοχετο *IP*² 11589.3 (s. *III*p.) sep. mon.; etc.

In three places the second syllable of κατά is dropped before τά(δε) or τοῦς:

- 1) κατά ελω[θήτα] Sokolowski, *Lois*² p. 63, no. 33, line B 15 (= *IP*² 334.15) (335–329) decree;
- 2) κατάδε *IP*² 2492.1 (346/5) loc. of a deme; carelessly inscribed, note dittography of Σ in *ib.* 22, μηδεμί *ib.* 28, ταλαντιαίους for παλαστιαίους *ib.* 44. These are clearly copying errors of the stone-cutter and κατάδε is probably the same thing. For κατά τάδε usual in this type of text, cf. *IP*² 2493.3 (ca. 340), *IP*² 2496.2 (post 350), *IP*² 2497.1 (post 350), *IP*² 2498.2 (321/0) locations;
- 3) κατοῦς νόμους *IP*² 1227.15 (= *IG* II, no. 594) (131/0) decree (Salamian cleruchs). The stone has ΚΑΤΟΥΣ; the κατ[άτ]οῦς printed in *IG* *IP*² represents either κατ-ά τοῦς or κατ(ά τ)οῦς (L.).

But reject ἐκ τῶν κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλισκομένων in *IP*² 111.26 (= *IG* II.5, no. 54b), since this is clearly the normal form of the formula (i.e. no article), cf. e.g. *IP*² 124.14 (357/6), *IP*² 120.21 (353/2, cf. *Hesperia* 7 [1938] p. 286) decrees; etc.

True apocope is not involved here, for which καττά, καττούς would be expected in Greek. The κατοῦς spellings occur in the Ptolemaic papyri also, where they are called haplogical and classified as a kind of dissimilation of syllables by Schmoll (cf. *Lit. infra*). The Attic examples are too isolated to be anything more than copying errors: no. 2 may be so dismissed at once because the text contains so many such mistakes. Even if it be granted that the phrase in no. 1 simply cannot stand without the article,

it is easily explained as an error of the copyist, who mistook the -τα of κατά as the article. In no.3 the copyist probably mistook the -τ- of his unfinished κατά for the τ- of τούς. Very similar errors are: τοσοῦτον (τὸν) ἀριθμόν II² 1670.27 (ca. 330) inv.; [ἀκροσπ]όλει (εἰ)ς δέ II² 847.54–55 (215/4) decree; ὅτι (τι)μηθήσονται II² 1271.20 (299/8?) decree (thiasotai); and a good many other similar omissions caused by the inaccuracy of the copyist's eye.

The etymological connection of κασσῶ, Attic κατῶ, with Latin suo, etc. is subject to difficulties (cf. DEG 2, p.504; Frisk, GEW 1, pp.798–9; Schwyzler, GG 1, p.300, note 1; p.321, p.686), making the view that κατ- = κατά in this word uncertain. Even if an apocope is assumed in the word it will have to have occurred before the development of the Greek dialects familiar in historical times in order to account for the σσ~ττ. For κατῶ, cf. κατῶσαντι II² 1673.49 (333/2? cf. AE 1971 p.112) inv.; a noun κάττωσις occurs in the inv., II² 1672.190, 230 (329/8). So KATYMATA (i.e. κατ-τύματα 'shoes') in an early fourth-century private letter incised on lead, cf. SIG³ no.1259, line 9 (= IG III.3, p.ii [Praefatio], which needs correction).

Spellings like ἀνθηκεν are due to accidental omission, cf. p.400 supra.

Lit.: MS³ p.218, note 1740; Lademann pp.129–130; Mayser-Schmoll pp.125–126, 218.

31.00 Synizesis; diaeresis (dialysis) and synaeresis

Examples of synizesis occur in metrical texts of all periods, e.g. θεῶν = θεῶν I² 1014.4 (= IGAA p.138, no.46) (ca. 540?) sep. mon.; Νεολλᾶριῶν II² 12974.3 (post 350) sep. mon.; Ἑρεχθέως Platon 9 (1957) pp.155 ff. (= BCH 82 [1958] pp.364–366, fig.3; SEG 16.193) (ca. 370) sep. mon.; Ἀλγεῖδεω II² 3606.21 (ca. 175 p.) ded. (cf. infra); Ὀγδοῦκοντα II² 13150.3 (s. II/III p.) sep. mon. (but has metrical irregularities, cf. 25.00, p.386 supra); perhaps Παλλήνεω in AM 67 (1942) p.51, no.79 (400–350) ded. (priv.) (if really two pentameters, as seems likely; but has Ἀρχεστράτη, cf. II² 10864; Εὐριπίδο; ἀνέθηκε for ἀνέθηκ'); Κεφαλεός has a slight chance of being the end of a single pentameter in the ded., I² 571 (= DAA p.47, no.46) (460–450?) (cf. 10.04 a, p.212 supra; CSCA 10 [1977] p.194, note 9; for rare single pentameters, cf. AJP 22 [1901] pp.173 ff.) (L.).

In the ded., I² 503 (init. s. Va.), μᾶντεῖον is probably genitive plural of μαντεῖα rather than μάντις (cf. DAA p.272, no.236; p.151 supra); the ignoring of the intervocalic iota in this synizesis is unusual, cf. 10.04 a, p.212 supra. There is also an example from Roman times, cf. εἰαρινᾶς II² 4514.11 (ca. 150 p.) ded. (priv.) (has also πᾶι, etc., cf. infra) (L.).

In metrical texts with pseudo-epic diction diphthongs are frequently subject to diaeresis (or dialysis), a separation into two vowels. Usually there are parallels for the treatment in the preserved epic material. In rare cases the use of a diaeresis accompanies the separation, cf. e.g. δαῖδᾶς II² 4841.8 (fin. s. IV p.) ded. (priv.), alongside δαδοῦχος *ib.* 9, and βασιλῆδος (without diaeresis mark) *ib.* 7; Ἀλκαῖδην, ἡϊθέους II² 3606.2, 18 (ca. 175 p.) ded., but no ὄν βασιλῆ συνέσπετο *ib.* 5 (cf. 4.031, no.3, p.96 supra); πάτρῳτε II² 3158.1 (s. Ip.) ded., ἀγλαῖα II² 3118.10 (s. II p.) dedications (cf. 4.031, no.2, p.95). Other typical examples (without ὄ): πᾶι II² 4514.3 (ca.

150p.) ded. (priv.), very likely $\Lambda\eta\tau\acute{o}\iota\delta\omicron\upsilon$ *ib.* 3, $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\epsilon$ *ib.* 18 (has also $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\varsigma$, cf. supra) (L.); so in the artificial - $\eta\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ for Attic - $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ (cf. p.203 supra), e.g. $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\eta\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$ II² 7447.11 (fin. s. IIp.) sep. mon.; Ἀρῆιον (also has $\Lambda\epsilon\omega\acute{\nu}\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\omega$ with no synizesis) II² 13172.1 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.; cf. Ζωίλου (scanned ---) in II² 5021 (ca. 400p.) ded., a poetic artificiality. But $\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\iota$, $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\omicron\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\iota\varsigma$ (in neither case is the diphthong to be split to scan) are false readings in GVI 1, p.380, no. 1282 (= IG III, no. 1383) (L.); $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\iota$ (there is no trace of a diaeresis on the stone), $\varphi\acute{o}\rho\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ are dubious suggestions in II² 13161a (in add.) (L.) (cf. 4.031, no. 7, p.97 supra).

The terms diaeresis and dialysis are in fact misnomers, for what is usually involved in these poetical spellings is not separation of diphthongs, but use of original forms found in earlier poetry, now become entirely artificial in Attic.

Isolated for Attica, but showing a known technique for extending a long vowel to more than one syllable in musical texts, is the spelling: $\Delta\eta\mu\omicron\varphi\omega\omega\acute{\nu}$ in a sep. mon. commemorating two men from Parion (cf. 2.0121, no.20, p.35 supra), GVI 1, p.57, no.218 (410–400, cf. LSAG p.372, no.49), in Ionic script. The spelling $\Delta\eta\mu\omicron\varphi\omega\acute{\nu}$ occurs in the non-metrical part of the text.

The development of $\bar{V} + \iota$ to a diphthong $\bar{V}\iota$ known as synaeresis was particularly characteristic of Attic. Hence Attic $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\omega\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ (not $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\omega}\iota\omicron\varsigma$); $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\eta\iota$ ($\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\iota$ already attested in the first half of the fourth century); $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ (already [kle's] by the first half of the fourth century, as the spelling $\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ shows), from $\kappa\lambda\acute{\eta}\iota\varsigma$ (still found until 350 B.C.), but $\kappa\lambda\eta\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ in Ionic, etc.; Attic - $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ in the face of - $\eta\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ in other dialects; etc. The argument for the accentuation indicating the diphthong, e.g. $\kappa\lambda\acute{\eta}\iota\varsigma$, $\text{Οἰνῆ}\iota\varsigma$, $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\omega\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$, etc. rather than retention of the original one (as seen for example in Kirchner's accentuations in IG II², e.g. $\text{Οἰνῆ}\iota\varsigma$, $\kappa\lambda\eta\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, etc.), is the rapid development of $\eta\iota$ to $\epsilon\iota$ in many cases in Attic, including even the dative singular of η -stems by the end of the fourth century (cf. 23.00, pp.368 ff. supra). Synaeresis may also be behind spellings like Ζοῖλος (Ζοῖλος?), Ζοεῖλος , variants for Ζωῖλος (cf. p.200 supra; 12.012, no.2, p.229 supra), but here the absence of Ζῶλος shows the ω was first shortened to o (i.e. Ζοῖλος). Cf. Lejeune, *Phonétique* p.249 (= *Traité*² p.218).

In a few cases in Roman times there is a failure to indicate the proper resolution of a long vowel necessary for the scansion, cf. $\mu\acute{\nu}\eta\sigma\kappa\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$, where $\mu\eta\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ was probably intended, in the sep. mon., II² 12794.2–3 (fin. s. IIp.) (has also $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\chi\epsilon\acute{\nu}$ γάρ, cf. p.643 infra; $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\acute{\nu}$, cf. 25.00, p.386 supra); for - $\mu\eta\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\alpha$ -, cf. $\mu\mu\eta\eta\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota\tau\omicron$ in II² 13173.30 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.; $\mu\eta\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ for $\mu\mu\eta\eta\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ occurs in Anacreon. So also $\mu\omega\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma$, where only $\mu\omega\omega\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma$ will scan, in II² 12403 (s. II/IIIp.) sep. mon.; the same text clumsily employs the poetical $\beta\acute{\iota}\omicron\tau\omicron\iota\omega$ where the scansion requires $\beta\acute{\iota}\omicron\tau\omicron\upsilon$.

The term synizesis should probably also be applied to the metrical licence which allowed $\Pi\upsilon\theta\acute{\iota}\omega\acute{\nu}$, $\text{Χαιρῖ}\omega\acute{\nu}$ to be scanned as two syllables. What probably happened in such cases is that iota tended to become [j] in pre-vocalic position, and that rising diphthongs of the type [i'a], [i'o-], etc. developed.¹ The device is found in Attica as early as the Archaic Period, cf.:

¹ Some scholars call the process seen here synaeresis, but it is preferable to follow Lejeune in restricting that term to the development of falling diphthongs only. The accentuation of $\Pi\upsilon\theta\acute{\iota}\omega\acute{\nu}$, etc. is uncertain: presumably the accent moved to the following vowel. The normal treatment of the vowel in the preceding syllable as long also supports the development of [i'a], [i'o], etc.

Γῆαθι τὸ σφῦχ[ε] I² 920 (= GVI 1, p. 660, no. 2042) (ca. 500) sep. mon. (L.);

Πῦθιων I² 1085.2 (446, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 137, no. 51) sep. mon. (set up for Pythion of Megara by three Athenian tribes); in *ib.* 7 occurs δυσχίλοις, a spelling whose interpretation cannot be separated from the δεκάχιλοι and ἐννεάχιλοι of *Iliad* 5.860 (= 14.148). The preferable explanation is to accept the -χίλος forms of Homer as derived from the variant stem in -λο- attested in other languages instead of the stem in -λιο- usual in Greek (cf. Schwyzler, GG 1, p. 593; that -χίλος is a back formation from χίλιος as βύβλος from βιβλίον as suggested by GEW 2, p. 1099 seems much less likely); this funerary epigram shows the same form, perhaps imitated from Homer. A different line of approach would reject the Homeric forms as false spellings for δεκάχιλοι with the iota treated as a consonant, although the -χ(ε)ίλος spellings are at least as old as Aristarchus, and explain δυσχίλοις in this text as due to casual omission for δυσχιλίους (cf. ἔωισεν for ἔσωισεν in line 5, μν for μέν in line 3, οὐδέ(δε)να in line 7). That the iota of δυσχίλοις was omitted intentionally for the scansion without knowledge of a poetical variant in -χίλος contradicts the treatment seen in Πῦθιων, where the iota is not omitted, and the usual treatment of this problem in epigraphical texts. This same inscription has ἐπιχθονίων, with a metrical lengthening;

Διονυσίου I² 6971 (init. s. IV a.) sep. mon.;

Ἀπολλωνίος ἄοιδμος I² 3811.11 (ante 250 p.) ded.; unless -ωνίος as below;

Αἰλιόν Ἀπολλωνίων I² 3764.5 (ca. 217/8 p.) ded. (priv.);

Διόσκορδης AM 67 (1942) p. 59, no. 99 (= I² 4828, corrected) (s. II/III p.) ded. (priv.);

Perhaps also across a word boundary in: Μῦρτις Ἰερὸκλειᾶς, I² 12210a (in text).1 (ante 350) sep. mon.; the line makes a dactylic heptameter with this scansion, but it is perhaps possible that the opening part of the epigram, containing the proper name, was only quasi-metrical (cf. 27.01, p. 393 supra). The short length of the syllable before the ι is both unique and suspicious.

But in other cases the iota is lengthened to facilitate the metre:

Ἀντίο (or [M]αντίο?) τόδε σέμ[α] I² 973 (= IGAA p. 132, no. 30) (ca. 500?) sep. mon.; but with so little of the text remaining, the interpretation is scarcely certain;

Γλαυκίᾶς I² 566 (= DAA p. 217, no. 181) (ca. 500) ded.;

Διογένης I² 3734 (126/7 p.) ded.; so also in I² 571 (= DAA p. 47, no. 46) (460–450?) ded., if that text is in verse (cf. 10.04 a, p. 212 supra; CSCA 10 [1977] note 9); Διάλογος, Διαλόγοιο I² 11140 (s. II p.) sep. mon.;

Ἀσκληπιόδοτος GVI 1, p. 380, no. 1282 (= IG III, no. 1383) (s. III/IV p.) sep. mon.

There is some doubt as to whether Χαῖριωνός or Χαῖριωνός was intended in DAA p. 10, no. 6 (= I² 548 + I² 663) (527–514) ded.; the latter is the scansion if a single stichos of eight dactyls was intended; but Χαῖριωνός is possible if two cola of pentameter + da⁴ (with first colon ending before hūs, i.e. πατρός||hūs); perhaps the lengthening of the last syllable of πατρός supports the second interpretation.

Very rarely there exist poetical variants without iota such as ἄλειτηρός, Πότνα; but there is very little evidence in prose texts for -CιVC developing to -CVC (cf. 27.02, pp. 393 ff. supra).

Lit.: MS³ p. 73, note 641; Allen p. 104; CSCA 10 (1977) pp. 188 ff.

32.00 Contraction

The majority of the cases of vowel contraction are best discussed in conjunction with inflections and derivation and will be considered in volume two. Cf. especially the sections on -ῶς, -ᾶ, etc. for -έως, -έα, etc. in demotics and ethnics in -εύς/ι—; -ής and -ῆς in names like Περικλέης/Περικλῆς; ἑαυτοῦ and αὐτοῦ; ἦν (← ἑάν); Δι(ι)-; ἄέκων; προυν- (← πρоче-).

The loss of intervocalic iota frequently leaves two identical vowels in hiatus which may tend to contract. Thus Ἀθηνάα (← Ἀθηνάια) is rapidly replaced by the contracted Ἀθηνᾶ, cf. 15.0121, pp.271ff. supra; but -αα remained uncontracted in ἑλάα from ἐλαία, cf. 15.0124, p.278 supra. Cf. also Πλωθεύς (frequent), Δεκελεύς, Τρινεμεύς (both infrequent), and perhaps Διομεύς, all from demotics originally in -ειεύς, cf. 16.021a, pp.304ff. supra.

As the result of sound changes new contractions become possible in Roman times. Thus -εύς appears for -εεύς resulting from -αιεύς after change of αι to ε (cf. 15.013, pp.294ff. supra), cf. Πειρεύς, etc. (see Morphology for the examples). So also ὕγια, Σουνεῖς, etc. (cf. 32.011 infra).

In verb forms all the contractions normal in Attic have been completed before the time of the earliest texts. Exceptions are found only in the artificial diction of metrical texts, cf. e.g. ποθέοντες *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p.282, no.152, line 3 (s. Ia.) sep. mon., has ναυτιλῆν *ib.* 2 (with Ionic -τη).

An unusual uncontracted καταδέω occurs in defixiones. Cf. one text of the end of the fifth century B.C., cf. *Kerameikos* 3, p.90, no.2, where the use of the Attic script probably precludes a non-Athenian writer. Probably the spelling is due to the influence of the simplex δέω. For the expected καταδῶ in this type of text, cf. *Kerameikos* 3, p.91, no.3 (450? cf. Introduction p.8 supra); *IG* III.3, Index p.48; cf. *ibidem* for other defixiones with καταδέω (in Ionic script). καταδήω is also occasionally found, cf. *IG* III.3, no.70.1, 4, 5, 6 (400–350? cf. p.161 supra), the καταδέω *ib.* 2 should also be taken as καταδήω, cf. the original edition, *CR* 4 (1890) p.187.

In a sacred calendar of ca. 445 B.C., *AM* 66 (1941) pp.171ff., no.1, lines B8, B18 (= *SEG* 10.38), occur the spellings Πρεροσίους, πρεροσίον (or gen. plural Πρεροσίον?) τέλεον θέλν, as well as the previously unattested πρεροσιάδον κριθὸν *ib.* A4, B21–22; another such calendar known only from two independent copies of a lost stone has Πρηρόσια, and either τὴν προρηρῶ[or τὴν προρηρῶ] (the two copies disagree), cf. *ZPE* 25 (1977) p.243, lines 13, 5 (post 403/2). These contracted forms are later normally spelled Προρηρόσια or Προρηρέσια, cf. 40.021b, p.479 infra.

The fifth-century sacred calendar with Πρεροσι- has also the contracted Δαίραι, cf. *AM* 66 (1941) pp.171ff., no.1, line B16 (= *SEG* 10.38) (ca. 445). Another such calendar, of the first half of the fourth century B.C., also has Δαίραι, cf. *IP* 1358, col.2.12 (375–350). But τῇ Δαείρ[αι] is the spelling in an inv. of 334/3–331/0 B.C., cf. *IP* 1496.103. Cf. Δαείρας in Pausanias 1.38.7.

Most proper names which are derivatives of Θεο- + -γένης, -δωρος, -δοτος, etc. may have either initial Θεο- or initial Θου- (in the early period Θεο-, with the same ο as in βολή, etc.) in the Archaic and Classical Periods; the spellings in Θου- are rare after 300 B.C. (for the examples, cf. Morphology). The two spellings may occur in the same text, cf. Θεοτιμίδες and Θουτιμίδες in *P* 951.13, 55 (ca. 412/1) cas. list (different men); Θεόδωρος and Θούδοτος in *Hesperia* 33

(1964) p. 201, no. 53, lines 17, 29 (ca. 321) cat.; Θουφάνης in *Hesperia* 30 (1961) pp. 30 ff., line 179 (336/5) cat., but Θεόπομπος, Θεόδωρος, elsewhere; etc.; and even in the same family, cf. Θουγείτων Θεοδώρο in a cat. of the beginning of the fourth century B.C., *Deltion* 21 (1966) pp. 134 ff., line 35 (= SEG 24.197). Θεο- is not attested in the name Θουκνυδίδης, but Θεοκύδης occurs; cf. Θουκνυδίδης Θεοκύδης in *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p. 231, no. 43, line 54 (367/6) pryt. cat.

The contraction of εο to ευ occurs rarely in names in Θεο-. Where such names are borne by foreigners the non-Attic contraction is not surprising, e.g. Θεύβιος Π² 8683 (post 350), Θεντίμα Π² 10475 (s. IIa.), Θεύδαρος Π² 10283 (fin. s. Ia.), Θεύδιον Θευδᾶ Π² 9675 (s. Ip.), Θεῦδα (feminine name) Π² 11512 (s. I/IIp.), Θεύδιον Π² 11674a (in add.) (aet. Rom.) all sep. monuments of non-Athenians. But in the inv., Π² 374 (408–406), occur Θευγένης Πειραιεύς in lines 12–13, Θευγ[ένες] Πειραιεύς ib. 214–5, Θευγ[ίτον] Πειραιεύς ib. 219–20, Θ[ε]υγέτον Πειραιεύς ib. 315–6; here there is no external evidence to support the suggestion of MS³ (cf. p. 61, note 518) that these men are immigrants who have become Athenians beyond the possibility that such persons may well have lived in the Piraeus (all readings L.). The name of the archon of the year 313/2 is spelled Θευφράστου in Π² 1259.2 (has Θεόδοτος in the preceding line), a decree of orgeones dating to that year. The same archon is referred to as Θεόφραστος in other texts, cf. Π² 1202.1, 12 decree (deme); Π² 2762.1 horos (mortgage) (both 313/2). Other Athenians with names in Θευ- are in texts later than 300 B.C.: Θεύδοτος Π² 1958.37 (post 250) cat.; Θευδοσία Π² 5748 (ca. s. IIa.) sep. mon.; Θευδόσιος Π² 957.40 (157/6) decree; Θευξένου Π² 5472 (s. Ia.) sep. mon. Θευ- can thus be seen to be a very rare variant for Θεο- in Attic, especially of the Hellenistic Period. Note also the name recorded by Chandler as Θευνίων, an Athenian in a now lost cat., Π² 1927.115 (post 350); perhaps a variant in Θευ- for Θεωνίων (so Bechtel, cf. *Personennamen* p. 207) or Θεωνίων, unless due to Chandler's misreading.

Other evidence for ευ for εο in Attic of the Hellenistic Period occurs in the spelling Ἀρευναγῖται which occurs in the decree, Π² 839.51 (221/0), and the inv., Π² 1539.7 (215/4), which is roughly contemporary with it and mentions two of the same individuals (cf. A.S. Henry, *CQ* n.s. 17 [1967] p. 269). As the word is exceedingly rare in texts before the second century A.D., when only Ἀρευναγῖται is found, it is difficult to assert that these two cases of Ἀρευναγῖται reflect the normal orthography. The other pre-Roman attestations have εο, cf. Ἀρευναγῖται, Π² 1492.135 (post 311/0) inv.; cf. line 4 of the defixio, *Kerameikos* 3, p. 97, no. 9 (ca. 350).

The spelling Κλευβούλου in a decree of 266/5, Π² 668.19, is probably for Κλεόβουλος, with contraction of εο to ευ. It is less likely that it is a case of ευ for ει [e:], with influence of the following [u:], as in Ἀριστοτεύλου(?) (cf. 20.00e, no. 18, p. 348 supra), in the very rare name Κλείβουλος (like Κλείδικος, Κλείμαχος, etc.), cf. Π² 986 (= *IGAA* p. 120, no. 9) (ca. 530?) sep. mon.

The use of εο for ευ occurs in one text where it is due to foreign influence. In the copy of the regulations for the cult of Menes Tyrannos set up by Xanthus of Lycia which contains other non-Attic forms (e.g. καθιδρουσαμένου, σζ for ζ) occurs ἀνεο for ἀνευ, cf. Π² 1365.12 (s. Ip.) (L.); unfortunately the other copy, in purer Attic, reads ἀνε[.] at the corresponding point, cf. Π² 1366.7.

A non-Attic contraction of αο to αυ can be seen in Λαυδικεύς, on a sep. mon. of a foreigner dated to the Roman Period, cf. Π² 9165 (aet. Rom.). Other texts of the same type have normally Λαοδικ- (well attested in Roman times), cf. Π² 9158–Π² 9197. So also in names like Λαοδόμεια cf. e.g. Π² 3546.8, 20 (ca. 100p.), Π² 3559.5 (ca. 100p.), Π² 3560 (ca. 100p.), Π² 3592.18 (165/6–168/9p.) all dedications; Π² 4754 (fin. s. Ip.) ded. (priv.); Π² 4753 (ca. 100p.) ded.

(priv.); etc. Contraction of Λαο- to Λα- occurs rarely in Roman times, cf. Λαδάμεια II² 3519.3 (aet. Augusti) ded.; the same woman as Λαδαμήας on the theatre-seat, II² 5123 (aet. Augusti?); perhaps Λαδ[α]μή[ας] on another of these seats, II² 5092 (aet. Rom.), is the same as the Λαοδάμεια of the group of dedications cited above, II² 3546, II² 3559, II² 3560; cf. also Λαδ[ικεύ]ς, II² 9192 (s. II/IIIp.) sep. mon.; and the name Λάδικος, e.g. II² 3004.5 (post 50p.), II² 2915.2 (ca. 119/20p.), II² 3798.4 (119/20p.), dedications; II² 2120.3 (fin. s. IIp.) eph. cat.; *Hesperia*, suppl. 13 (1970) pp. 3ff., line E51 (ca. 175p.) imp. letter; etc. In the name Λακρατείδης only Λα- is found at all periods. For Λαο- and Λεω-; names in -έλας, -λάς, etc., cf. Morphology.

-ς, -ιν for -ιος, -ιον (as in Δημήτριος, etc.) and -αις for -αιος (as in Ἀθηναίς, Λήναις, etc.) are probably a type of vowel syncope caused by development of a stress accent, cf. 28.01, pp. 400ff. supra.

For Σῶνδρος (an Athenian) and the normal Σῶνδρος, Σωνδρίδης, cf. 12.02b, p. 234 supra. The uncontracted Σαω- occurs in names of foreigners, cf. Σαώ *Delion* 18 (1963) *Chronika* p. 46, no. 2 (date?) sep. mon.; Σαώνδου II² 1008, col. 4.121 (118/7) decree; Σάωσις II² 8886 (init. s. IVa.), Σαώτῳ II² 9281 (ante 350) sep. monuments.

For Ιερωσύνη and Ιερε(υ)ωσύνη, cf. 7.03, no. 3d, p. 154 supra.

Lit.: MS³ pp. 73–74, notes 642–646; p. 61, notes 514, 518–521; CQ n.s. 17 (1967) pp. 268–269.

32.011 -iei (V)→-ei (V). The early contraction of -ieiα to -eiα in the noun Ὑγεία can be seen in the spelling Ὑγεῖα, not rare in early Roman times and first attested in a priv. ded. of the late second or of the early first century B.C., cf. Ὑγεῖα II² 4457.6 (post 150). That the -eiα of Ὑγεῖα represented [i'a] rather than the expected [e'a] can probably be inferred from the absence of a spelling Ὑγηῖα (although Ἀρηῖον, etc. are frequent in early Roman times, cf. 9.031, p. 202 supra) and from the early appearance of I for EI in Ὑγῖα (cf. 9.032, nos. 4–5, p. 206 supra, cf. p. 205). The unusually early change of -eiV to -iV in this word may be due to the preceding ι of the original form Ὑγεία, or to the influence of the name Ὑγείωνος, where ei was not before a vowel, although as this name is not common until Roman times, the assumed original form Ὑγείωνος actually does not occur in an Attic text (cf. infra). For the uncontracted spelling Ὑγεία in texts of the early Roman Period, cf. II² 4464.1 (63/2) ded. (priv.); II² 3176.1 (post 9/8) ded.; II² 4473.17, 20 (metrical) (s. Ia.), II² 4466.3 (s. Ia.), II² 4467.1 (fin. s. Ia.), II² 4480.4 (ca. 50p.), II² 4487.1–2 (s. Ip.), II² 4490.3 (s. Ip.) dedications (priv.). The contracted Ὑγεῖα is about as frequent, cf. Ὑγεῖ[ι]α II² 3174.2 (12/1?), Ὑγεῖα II² 3120.6 (aet. Augusti), Ὑγεῖαι II² 3240 (ca. 22p.), II² 3181 (14–37p.) dedications; Ὑγεῖας II² 4465.6 (ca. 26/5), Ὑγεῖα II² 4486.1 (fin. s. Ip.), II² 4488, II² 4491 (Ὑγεῖ[αι], L.) (both s. Ip.) dedications (priv.). For examples of Ὑγῖα in this period cf. nos. 4–5, p. 206 supra. After ca. 100 A.D. Ὑγεῖα is the most frequent spelling, cf. II² 3187.1 (ca. 100p.) (L.), II² 3188.1 (ca. 100p.) dedications; II² 4500 (s. I/IIp.), II² 4501 (s. I/IIp.), II² 4502 (s. I/IIp.), II² 4503 (s. I/IIp.), II² 4511.20 (ante 114–116p.), II² 4481.11 (ca. 150p.), has Ὑγῖα *ib.* 2 (85/6–94/5p., cf. p. 206 supra, no. 5), II² 4517 (s. IIp.), II² 4519 (s. IIp.), II² 4529.7 (s. II/IIIp.), II² 4533.7, 9, 16 (s. IIIp.) metrical, II² 4539 (aet. Rom.) dedications (priv.); etc. Ὑγεία is also found in these texts, cf. II² 4497.4 (s. I/IIp.), II² 4509.18 (s. I/IIp.) metrical, II² 4532.1

(init. s. IIIp.) dedications (priv.); Ὑγεία has been 'corrected' to Ὑγία in II² 4499.6 (s. I/IIp.) ded. (priv.). For cases of Ὑγία in the later Roman Period, cf. 9.032, no. 8, p. 206 *supra*.

The name Ὑγείνος is well attested in Roman times: cf. *IG III*, Indices p. 376; *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p. 40, no. 11, line 25 (135/6p.), cf. *Hesperia* 18 [1959] p. 13) pryt. cat.; *ibid.*, p. 71, no. 37, line 73 (fin. s. IIIp.) eph. cat. Somewhat less frequent is Ὑγίνος, cf. e.g. II² 1996.271 (84/5–92/3p.), but Ὑγείνος *ib.* 216 (L.); II² 2037.24 (125/6p.), II² 2068.164 (155/6p.), alongside Ὑγεί- *ib.* 136, 137, 151, 156, etc. (L.), II² 2167.11 (s. IIp.), II² 2191.66 (ca. 200p.) eph. catalogs; II² 6676.1 (s. Ia.), II² 6864 (aet. Rom.), II² 11898 (aet. Rom.) sep. monuments.

In the case of names of festivals in -εία there is not as much certainty because of the possibility of variant formations. Thus the Θησεΐα frequent in Roman times (cf. *IG III*, Indices p. 315; it is rarely spelled Θησΐα, cf. 9.032, no. 9, p. 206 *supra*) is presumably the same as the Θησε(ι)α normal in the Classical Period, e.g. II² 1496 (334/3–331/0) inv.; Indices to *IG II*, p. 81; etc. The unexpected spelling Θησιήεις, in a decree of 38/7 B.C., cf. II² 1043.22 (L.), might be a variant in -εία, but is more likely due to the influence of the Ἀντωνιήεις in the same line (cf. p. 409 *supra*); the latter has to be carefully distinguished from the Ἀντωνεία (← Ἀντων(ε)ίνος; the Ἀντωνίεια ← Ἀντώνιος) frequent in late Roman times (cf. e.g. Indices to *IG III*, p. 315). On the other hand the Attic festival was the Ὀλυμπεία, cf. II² 1496 (334/3–331/0) inv., *Hesperia* 43 (1974) p. 312, no. 1, line 2 (350–300/init. s. IIIa.) ded., II² 3079.6 (282/1) ded., in contrast to the Ὀλύμπια at Elis and elsewhere, cf. II² 226.46 (ca. 343/2) decree, *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p. 81, no. 38, crowns 3, 23 (= II² 3147 + II² 3150 + new fr.) (paulo ante 130) ded., etc. It is thus likely that a few cases of Ὀλυμπεΐα for the Attic festival in Roman times do in fact indicate contraction of Ὀλυμπεΐα to Ὀλυμπεΐα (for the examples cf. p. 207 *supra*). The Ὀλυμπεΐα ἐν Ἀθή[ν]αις are distinguished from the Ὀλύμπια of Ephesos and Smyrna in II² 3162, a ded. dated to the period after Hadrian's reign. So also the Ἀσκληπεία of II² 2245.176 (262/3 aut 266/7p.) eph. cat. is probably the same as the Ἀσκληπεία of II² 1496 (334/3–331/0) inv., II² 3779.19 (ca. 250) ded.

A similar contraction of -ει- to -(ε)ι- can be seen in the demotic Ἐπεικίδης, frequently spelled Ἐπ(ε)ικίδης in Roman times: cf. Ἐπεικίδης II² 2019.9 (ca. 110p.), II² 2044.55 (139/40p.), II² 2055.14 (= *IG III*, no. 1116; for the corrected reading, cf. 9.024, Notes and Corrections b), p. 202 *supra*) (145/6p.), II² 2130.177 (192/3p.) eph. catalogs; II² 1774.76 (167/8p.) pryt. cat. (L.); a variant with I for EI is also attested: cf. Ἐπικ(ίδης) II² 2097.195 (169/70p.) eph. cat.; but in II² 2245.315 (262/3 aut 266/7p.) eph. cat., read Ἐπ[.]κ, i.e. Ἐπ[ε]κ(ίδης) (L.). The original spelling Ἐπεικίδης is also found in this period, cf. II² 1790.21 (ca. 197p.) pryt. cat.; II² 2193.93 (198/9–205/6p., cf. Graindor, *Album* p. 55) eph. cat.; II² 2486.34 (ca. 250p.) cat. fr.

The contraction of -ει- in Ὑγείνος, whence Ὑγεία; Ἐπ(ε)ικίδης; and later examples like Ὀλυμπεΐα for Ὀλυμπεία was due to the change of ει to [i], which left

two very similar vowels in hiatus which naturally tended to contract. The same sort of thing may be seen in rare spellings like Σουνεῖς for Σουνιεύς, *Hesperia* 41 (1972) p. 431, no. 62, line 4 (170–185 p.) pryt. cat. (cf. p. 395 supra).

Lit.: Lademann pp. 33–35; cf. 32.00, p. 416 supra.

33.00 Elision and Prodelision

33.01 Elision

Elision is frequently indicated in the writing in dedications and sepulchral monuments of the Archaic Period, especially in metrical texts. Some of the earlier examples: e.g. ἔστεσ' ἐγγύς I² 974 (= IGAA p. 130, no. 23) (ca. 550?); τόδ' ἐπόε I² 1021 (= IGAA p. 143, no. 56) (ca. 550–540?); ποτ' ἐνί IGAA p. 143, no. 57 (ca. 540?); καθ' ὁδόν I² 971 (= IGAA p. 132, no. 33) (550–540, cf. AM 78 [1963] p. 119); λαχθ' ὄνομα I² 1014 (= IGAA p. 138, no. 46) (ca. 540?); τόδ' Ἀρχιόστι, τοῦτ' ἐποίησεν, δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ IGAA p. 139, no. 48 (= SEG 10.452 a) (ca. 540?); μ' ἐποίησεν, σῆμ' ἀγαθὸν I² 988 (= IGAA p. 140, no. 49) (ca. 540–525?); τόδ' ἀντ' ἀρετῆς I² 986 (= IGAA p. 120, no. 9) (ca. 530?); δ' αὐτόν I² 975 (= IGAA p. 147, no. 64) (ca. 525?); τόδ' ἐγγύς I² 1026 a (= IGAA p. 140, no. 50) (ca. 550); τόδ' Αἰνέο I² 1019 (= IGAA p. 147, no. 66) (ca. 510–500); μνῆμ' ἔσορδὸν οἴκτιρ', ὅς (= ὥς, cf. GVI 1, p. 360, no. 1223) καλὸς δν ἔθανε I² 982 (= IGAA p. 147, no. 67) (ca. 500?); τόδ' ἐγγύς I² 995 (= IGAA p. 147, no. 68) (ca. 500 aut paulo post) all metrical sepulchral monuments; probably also metrical are: μ' ἐποίησεν IGAA p. 130, no. 26 (ca. 500); τόδ' εἰμί *Hesperia* 5 (1936) p. 230 (= IGAA p. 134, no. 36; SEG 10.463) (ca. 500) sep. monuments. Elision is also indicated in the formulae τόδ' ἄγαλμα (metrical texts), μ' ἀνέθεκεν (both metrical and non-metrical), very frequent in sixth-century dedications; the exceptional μὲ ἀνέ[θ]εκεν occurs in a prose text, cf. I² 583 (= DAA p. 75, no. 71) (ca. 500?) ded.

But failure to indicate elision in the writing is also common in texts in both prose and verse. In metrical texts the elision is usually demanded by the metre (so-called *scriptio plena*), and texts are often inconsistent, e.g. νῆσθε ἔπι πρῶγμ- alongside ἄνδρ' ἀγαθόν, ταῦτ' ἀποδουράμενοι, πρῶγμ' ἀγαθόν in I² 976 (= IGAA p. 133, no. 34) (ca. 560–550?) sep. mon. The use of *scriptio plena* and this sort of inconsistency in the writing of elision is common in Attic metrical inscriptions at all periods (cf. 33.012, p. 424 infra; the lists in Allen pp. 127–155 have been brought up to date for Attica in CSCA 10 [1977] pp. 171 ff.).

From the time of the first public documents in prose failure to elide and inconsistency within a text are frequent. E.g. [τ]ὰ δὲ [h]όπλα I² 1.8–9 (fin. s. VIa., cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 25, no. 14); δ' ἐ- in I² 6.30 (ante 460), but δὲ ἐν in *ib.* 128; οὐδ'

ἐπιφροσιῶ I² 39.10 (446/5), but οὐδὲ ἰδιόθεν *ib.* 6; ἡττ' ἄν I² 76.42 (435–414, cf. αὐτί[κα μά]λα ἐναντίον, δὲ V-, etc. *ib.* *al.*; δ' αὐτ- I² 360.17, 18, 62, 75 (325/4), but τε ἐ- *ib.* 8, ὑπ' αὐτῶν *ib.* 36, but ὑπὸ Ἡρακλεωτῶν *ib.* 35, ψηφίσματ' ἀνα- *ib.* 26, 44, μηδέν' ἀδικεῖν *ib.* 39, but ἕνα ἄνδρα ἐξ *ib.* 37, etc.; εἶναι δ' αὐτοῖς I² 500.31–2 (302/1), but τὸν δ' ἐ ἀρχιτέκτονα *ib.* 33–4; στῆσαι δ' αὐτοῦ I² 653.40 (285/4), but ψηφισμα ἁ[ποδώσου]σιν *ib.* 45–6, ὑπόμνημα ἦ *ib.* 50; δὲ αὐτοῖς, δ' αὐτοῖς *Hesperia* 45 (1976) pp. 296ff. (204/3), next to each other in lines 37, 38; δ' αὐτῶι I² 844.27 (181/0, cf. *TAPA* 95 [1964] p. 239), but δὲ αὐτ- *ib.* 26, 67; etc., all decrees; οὐδ' ἐν I² 1329.10 (175/4) decree (*orgeones*), but δὲ αὐτῶι *ib.* 27; δ' ἐπὶ I² 1668.21 (347/6), but δὲ ἐ- *ib.* 44–5, 78, ὁπόσ' ἄν *ib.* 91, but ταῦτα ἅπαντα *ib.* 94; δ' ἀργυρ- I² 1534A.100, 102 (291/0, cf. *SEG* 16.118), but τάδε ἐ- *ib.* 93; τὸ δ' ὑπάρχον I² 1534B.345 (247/6, cf. *SEG* 16.118), but τάδε ἐφ' ἱερῆως *pass. al.*, etc.; τρι' ἡμέδιμνα I² 1672.265 (329/8), τέτταρ' ἡμι- *ib.* 270, τρι' ἡμιεκτεῖα *ib.* 268, πένθ' ἡμιεκτεῖα *ib.* 266, 272, πένθ' ἡμιχοινίκια *ib.* 271, 281, etc., but τρία ἡμέδιμνα *ib.* 274, ἐννέα, (ἐν)δέκα ἡμι- *ib.* 266, 268, 271, 273, 275, etc.; all inventories; etc. So also in some texts of the Roman Period, cf. ἐνεμ' ἄν δύναιμι in line E45 of the imperial letter published in *Hesperia*, suppl. 13 (1970) pp. 3ff. (ca. 175 p.), but δὲ V-, etc. elsewhere.

In certain cases it is possible to show that elision was either normal or intentionally avoided; these are treated in 33.011 *infra*. For avoidance of H = [h] after elision, cf. p. 499 *infra*.

Elision of -αι occurs in a decree of the third century B.C., I² 834.18 (paulo post 229/8): τὰ δίκαι' ὅπως γένητ' ἐφρόντισεν. Such elisions of diphthongs are otherwise confined to verse texts. Elision results in ambiguity in μηδέν' ἀδικεῖν, I² 360.39 (325/4), a decree with δ', ὑπ' and ὑπό, ψηφίσματ' ἀναλίσκομένων, etc. But elision of μηθέναι is avoided before following α- in I² 1365.8–9 (L.), I² 1366.13 (s. Ip.), two copies of regulations for the cult of Menes Tyrannos set up by Xanthus of Lycia.

Not elisions, but abbreviatory shortenings are: παραρρήματα τρέχιν | ἄγκυραν: I² 1622.717–718 (ca. 342/1) *inv.*, note position at end of line and similar shortening elsewhere (e.g. lines 701, 703, 705, 709, etc.); ἀπέφυγ' Ἀνάχ[α]ρσι]ν I² 1576.23 (ca. 330–320) *inv.*, note many such shortenings in this text (*ib.* 62, 66, etc.).

Lit.: MS³ pp. 69–70, notes 596–600; Lademann pp. 44–51.

33.011 Practices in prose texts

In a number of classes of words elision can be shown to be either preferred or usually avoided.

Disyllabic prepositions. Elision of the final vowel of most disyllabic prepositions is normally indicated in the writing by the fourth century B.C. Best attested are ἀντί, ἀπό, διά, κατά, μετά, παρά, and ὑπό. ἐπί is also normally elided except in formulae of the ἐπὶ [τοῦ δεῖνα] ἀρχοντος, ἐπὶ ἱερῆως types (for which see *infra*). περὶ is, of course, not elided.

In fifth-century texts failure to elide still not unusual: e.g. ἀντί ὄν I² 110.8 (410/9), ἐπὶ ἴσει I² 40.4 (ca. 446/5, cf. *SEG* 21.26), κατὰ ἀπροσλήτο, κατὰ ἰδιότο I² 39.10, 11 (446/5), κατὰ

hōn ATL 2, no. D8.50 (= P² 65.49; cf. AJP 88 [1967] pp. 29 ff.) (426/5), κατὰ ἡ I² 76.32 (435–414, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 222), μετὰ Ἀθηναίω- I² 108.7, 41 (410/9), decrees; παρὰ ἡάβδερα I² 213.54 (= ATL 2, no. 23, col. 2.61) (432/1), παρὰ|ἡάβδερα I² 210.19–20 (= ATL 2, no. 20) (435/4) trib. lists (cf. p. 499 infra); etc. By the later fourth century and thereafter failure to elide prepositions of this group before the relative pronoun and before ἡμῶν, ὑμῶν, etc. is not found, and other cases of no elision fall into the category of fairly infrequent exceptions: cf. e.g. ἀπὸ ἀσπίδος I² 1466.11 (ca. 330), I² 1469.36 (post 320/19) both inventories of the same type; ἀπὸ Ἀλαβάρων I² 2315.36 (post 180) cat.; ἀπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου I² 3679.6–7 (s. II/III p.) ded., but ἀφ' ἐστίας *ib.* 9; ἀπὸ ἀγωνοθετῶν I² 5206 (s. IV p.) ded.; διὰ ἐπτά, διὰ ἡμερῶν I² 1366.5, 6 (s. I p.) regulations for the cult of Menes Tyrannos; intentional avoidance of δὲ occurs in a few dedications of Hadrianic date in the phrase διὰ ἐπιμελητ-, cf. I² 3291.8, I² 3299.7 (L.), I² 3301.6 (132 p.), cf. διὰ ἐργεπιστατῶν I² 3310.4 (post 138 p.); ἐπὶ ὀκτώ I² 1457.13 (post 339/8) inv.; ἐπὶ ὑγείαι I² 456.b2 (307/6) decree; ἐπὶ ὑγείαι I² 674.9 (273/2) decree; ἐπὶ ὄπλα I² 1013.46 (fin. s. II a.) decree; ἐπὶ ξη I² 1338.11 (78/7) decree (synodos of technitai); cases like ἐπὶ ἀναγραφέως, I² 390.2 (319/8) decree, and ἐπὶ ἀγωνοθέτου, I² 3968.2 (148–150 p.) ded. (ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος *ib.* 5), I² 2243.5 (post 243/4 p.) eph. cat. (L.), have probably been influenced by avoidance of elision in ἐπὶ [τοῦ δεῖναι] ἄρχοντος (cf. infra); ἐπὶ εὐσεβείᾳ I² 3999.3 (s. II/III p.) ded.; κατὰ Εἰκαδέων I² 1258.4 (324/3) decree (orgeones); κατὰ|ἐπίταγμα I² 4724.3–4 (s. I p.) ded. (priv.), κατὰ ἐπίταγῆν I² 4497.2 (s. I/II p.) ded. (priv.), but κατ' ἐπίταγ- I² 4772.3 (ca. 120 p.), I² 4773.4 (aet. Hadriani), I² 4519.4 (s. II p.) dedications (all priv.); κατὰ δ|νειρον I² 4486.3–4 (fin. s. I p.) ded. (priv.), κατὰ θναρ I² 4825.6 (s. III p.) ded. (priv.), but κατ' ὄναρ, κατ' ὄνειρον: I² 4731.4 (s. I p.), I² 4778.6 (post 150 p.), I² 4740.3–4 (s. I/II p.), I² 4880 (aet. Rom.) dedications (all priv.); etc.; μετὰ ἀπάντων Robert, *Études* (1938) pp. 296 ff., line 11 (= Siewert pp. 5–7) (paulo post 350? cf. *Charisterion Orlandou* A, pp. 79–87) oath (ephebes); μετὰ Ἀθηναίων I² 287.7 (ca. 350, cf. SEG 24.90), I² 360.21 (325/4) decrees (the latter has ὑπὸ V- *ib.* 35, cf. infra), for μετ' Ἀθηναίων, cf. I² 505.54 (302/1) decree; μετὰ Ἀριστοφάντος I² 2699.6–7 (350–300) horos (mortgage); τὸν δῆμαρχον τὸν μετὰ Ἰσ|αρχον I² 1193.14–15 (fin. s. IV a.) decree (deme); μετὰ [Ἐρ]|μογένην ἄρχοντα I² 1328.8–9 (183/2) decree (orgeones); μετὰ Ἀργείων I² 1029.4 (96/5) decree; μετὰ ὄρκου I² 1100.15 (ca. 124 p.) imp. edict (L.); μετὰ Εἰσιδῶρου I² 2042.9 (ca. 135 p.) eph. cat.; in the phrase μετ' εἰκάδας failure to elide the final α of μετὰ is not found; παρὰ Ὀρόντου I² 207.3 (349/8) decree; παρὰ ἱεροποιῶν I² 1496.86, 117, 129, cf. 98, 121, 134 (334/3–331/0) inv., but παρ' ἱεροποιῶν *ib.* 130; there is a mixture of παρὰ and παρ' (usually occurring before a personal name) in inventories of the later fourth century B.C., e.g.: παρὰ V- I² 1673.30, 34 (333/2? cf. AE 1971 p. 112), but παρ' V- in I² 1673.47, 48, 67, 71, 74, 77 and in line 45 on the new fr., cf. AE 1971 p. 84; παρὰ V- I² 1672.9, 93, 94, 103, 104, 109, 189, 194, 202 (329/8), but more frequently παρ' V-, cf. *ib.* 3, 36, 39, 40, 58, 63, 64 (bis), 65 (bis), 68, 70, 74, 105, 113, 115, 116, 132, 134, 212; παρὰ|V- I² 1628.409–410 (326/5); παρὰ V- I² 1629.524, 530, 532, 533, 569 (325/4), but παρ' V- *ib.* 543, 630; παρὰ Ἀριάρθου I² 1330.49 (post 163) decree (synodos of technitai); παρὰ Ἀρεοπαγείτων I² 3737.1 (136/7–169/70 p.) ded.; ὑπὸ Ἡρακλειωτῶν I² 360.35 (325/4) decree (L.), ὑφ' ἁ- *ib.* 36 (has μετὰ V- *ib.* 21, cf. supra); ὑπὸ Ἀπ[ο]|λλωνιατῶν I² 350.15–16 (318/7, cf. SEG 21.320; perhaps earlier, cf. SEG 22.98) decree; ὑπὸ ἀπάντων I² 1299.49 (post 236/5) decree (troops and Eleusinians); ὑπὸ Αὐγ(ηλίου) I² 1368.5 (ca. 162/3 p.) Iobacchi regulations, ὑφ' οὗ *ib.* 9; ὑπὸ Ἡλείων I² 3169/70.35 (253–257 p.) ded.; etc. Note elision of μέχρ in μέχρ' ἀνεφ[σι]ότετος in the fifth-century decree, I² 115.15, restored *ib.* 21 (cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 264, no. 86) (409/8).

ἐπί in formulae. ἐπί [τοῦ δεῖναι] ἄρχοντος. Probably not well enough attested in the Classical Period to allow viable statistics, but there are certainly cases of elision, even in the headings of state decrees. Cf. (throughout this section all examples are ἐπί [τοῦ δεῖναι] ἄρχοντος unless otherwise indicated): Π² 18.1 (394/3) heading¹ of decree; Π² 99.2 (375/4) second line of decree; Π² 52.8 (433/2) in text of decree; Π² 2790.1 (357/6) first line of ded.; Π² 363.3 (437/6), Π² 1382.17 (405/4, cf. SEG 10.201), Π² 1407.27, 28 (ἄρχοντος omitted in both lines) (384/3), Π² 1424.27 (374/3, cf. SEG 21.549), Π² 1425.287 (368/7), but ἐπί + V *ib.* 196, 321, Π² 1516.13 (post 344/3), but ἐπί + V *ib.* 4, Π² 1614.37 (353/2); Π² 1622.574 (ca. 342/1), but ἐπί + V in *ib.* 381–382, 389–390, 404, 419, 422, 481, 491, 515, 534, 547, Π² 1627.51, 216 (330/29), but ἐπί + V in *ib.* 236, Π² 1628.11, 630 (326/5), but ἐπί + V in *ib.* 233–234, 458, Π² 1629.275, 360, 468, 593, 609, 679, 794, 816, 1109, 1132 (325/4), ἐπί + V *ib.* 350–351, 559–560, Π² 1631.143, 295, 310, 318, 342, 355, 370, 386, 411, 441 (323/2), Π² 1672.245, 249, cf. 272–273 (329/8), but ἐπί + V *ib.* 205, 256, in text of inventories; Π² 362.1, Π² 360.2 (325/4) first line of decree text; Π² 360.31, 67, 70 in body of decree text; Π² 1657.1, Π² 1658.2 (part of Π² 1656–Π² 1664, building inscriptions dated ca. 394–391, cf. SEG 19.136–144) first lines of sections of an inv.; Π² 1443.3 (344/3) heading of inv.; Π² 1924.1 (330/29) heading of cat.; etc. There is a notable increase in the instances of elision in the body of inventory texts about 330 B.C.

But in this formula there are more instances of failure to elide ἐπί, especially in headings: cf. e.g. Π² 84.3 (421/0), Π² 349.3 (331/0) headings of decrees; ATL 2, no. 1, line 3 (= Π² 191 + new fr., cf. *Hesperia* 41 [1972] p. 415) (454/3) heading of the first trib. list; Π² 313.2 (408/7), Π² 1421.5 (374/3, cf. SEG 21.549), Π² 1436.1 (349/8) headings of inventories; Π² 1926.1 (325/4) heading of cat.; Π² 96.2 (375/4), Π² 123.1 (357/6), Π² 129.2 (356/5), Π² 215.1, Π² 218.3 (346/5) beginnings of decrees; Π² 204.12 (352/1) text of decree; *Agora* 15, p. 59, no. 49, line 2 (= AE 1917, p. 40, no. 92) (328/7) heading of two lines preceding a list of dedicating bouleutai before a decree; *Hesperia* 43 (1974) p. 157, line 1 (375/4) heading of decree of nomothetai; Π² 353.7 (433/2), Π² 324.5, 25 (426/5–423/2) text of inventories; Π² 1370.3 (403/2), Π² 1378.2 (399/8), Π² 1392.3 (398/7) beginnings of inventories; Π² 1635.30 (post 374/3), Π² 1445.5 (375/4), Π² 1429.53 (ca. 367/6), Π² 1541.7 (post 356/5), Π² 1440.26 (350/49), Π² 1514.24, 34 (post 344/3), Π² 1524.51, 71, 81 (post 334/3), Π² 1461.11 (post 330/29), Π² 1527.42 (post 327/6) in text of inventories (cf. also supra for Π² 1425, Π² 1516, Π² 1622, Π² 1627, Π² 1628 and Π² 1672); etc.

After 323/2 B.C. cases of elision in this phrase are very rare in headings or beginnings of texts: Π² 458.1 (307/6) first line of decree; Π² 1261.44 (300/299) first line of third decree (thiasotai) on stele; Π² 1282.2 (261/0) first line of decree (thiasotai?), *Agora* 15, p. 120, no. 129, lines 1, 35 (= Π² 848) (222/1) first line of each of two decrees on stele; the instance in the inv., Π² 1487.53 (post 307/6), seems in at least the fourth line into the body of the text. Although ἐπί is frequently elided in this phrase in inventories of the 320s, such elisions are rare in any type of text after ca. 300 B.C.: e.g. Π² 1534 A.8 (291/0, cf. SEG 16.118) inv.; SEG 2.9, line 18 (244/3) decree (thiasotai), but ἐπί Τέτρωνος adjacent; Π² 1303.6 (ca. 218/7) decree (troops); Π² 1011.57 (106/5) decree, has ἐπί + V *passim al.* In Π² 842.8 occurs [ἐ]π’ Ἀντιφίλου ἄ[ρχοντος] in what

¹ In this section the term ‘heading’ is used only when the letters in question are somehow set apart from the body of the text, either through larger size or in some other fashion, e.g. initial lines of inventories running across the top without consideration for the columns beneath. Other beginnings of texts are referred to as ‘first lines’; the term ‘in text’ is used for any part of the text after the formulaic opening.

appears to be the first line of a decree, not the first one, on a stele usually assigned to the second c. B. C., although Antiphilos is generally assigned to the year 224/3 B. C.

Elision of *ἐπί* seems also to be avoided in a number of similar expressions: *ἐπί Ἀρχε[νείδο?] γ[ο]αμματεῦ[οντος]* I² 358.1–2 (442/1, cf. SEG 24.48–53) inv.; *ἐπί ἀναγρα[φένως] Ἐπικούρου* I² 390.2 (319/8) first line of a decree; *ἐπί ἐπιμελητῶν* I² 1327.30 (178/7) in four lines set off at bottom of text of decree (orgeones); *ἐπί ἀγωνοθέτου* I² 3968.2 (148–150 p.) heading of a ded.; *ἐπ[ι] αὐτοκράτορος Καίσα[ρος]* I² 1996.1 (84/5–92/3 p.) heading of eph. cat. (L.); etc. So also in the phrase *ἐπί ἀρχόντος* [τοῦ δεῖνα], frequent in Roman texts; cf. *ἐπί ἀρχόντων* in the fourth-century B. C. inv., I² 1635.27, 122 (post 374/3). In the phrases *ἐπί λερέως*, *ἐπί λερείας*, *ἐπ[ι] [τοῦ δεῖνα] λερέως*, *λερείας* avoidance of elision is already normal in fourth- and third-century dedications (priv.), e. g. I² 4352 (ante 350), I² 4369.1 (ca. 350), I² 4370.4 (ca. 350), I² 4395 (350–300), I² 4397.3 (350–300), I² 4400 (350–300), I² 4410.3 (fin. s. IV a.), I² 4371 a (in add.) (s. IV a.), I² 4428 (s. IV/III a.), I² 4438.2, 3 (init. s. III a.), I² 4440.2 (ca. 250), I² 4443.1 (s. III a.), etc. The spelling *ἐπ' Ἀρχιβίας λερείας* in the ded. (priv.), I² 4682.6–7 (s. III a.), is exceptional. However, *ἐφ' λερέως* [τοῦ δεῖνα] occurs some 20 times in the inv., I² 1534 A (291/0, cf. SEG 16.118), and 10 times in I² 1534 B (247/6, cf. SEG 16.118), the other inv. on the same stone. Avoidance of elision is the rule in these phrases in Roman times.

δ' ἄν. Very frequent in phrases such as *ὅς δ' ἄν*, *ὅπως δ' ἄν*, etc., elision of *δέ* before *ἄν* is universal in prose texts by the fifth century; cf. e. g. I² 6.40 (ante 460), I² 39.19, 33 (446/5), I² 57.41 (423), I² 105.7 (407/6), etc.

The foregoing decrees are fairly typical of texts of all periods which have both *δ' ἄν* and *δέ* + V elsewhere, thus showing a clear avoidance of *δὲ ἄν*. A rare exception occurs in I² 1673.32 (333/2? cf. AE 1971 p. 112) inv.: *δοσὺς δὲ ἄν*. *δ' ἄν* also in texts of Roman date, cf. *δ' ἄν* in the Iobacchi regulations, I² 1368.127 (ca. 162/3 p.), where *δέ* is not elided before other initial vowels 17 times (*δὲ ἄν ib.* 139). Elision of *δέ* elsewhere occurs sporadically at all periods in prose texts and cannot be called rare; but even in decrees of the late fourth century and early Hellenistic times *δ'* is still much less frequent than failure to elide. Elision of *δέ* is rather rare after 200 B. C. except in *δ' ἄν*.

Compounds of *δέ* (*οὐδέ*, *μηδέ*, *οἶδε*, *τάδε*, etc.) are not infrequently elided in prose texts up until about 200 B. C., but here too failure to elide is more common. The phrase *οὐδ' (μηδ')* *ὑφ' ἐνός* always has elision, cf. I² 287.12 (ca. 350, cf. SEG 24.90), I² 435.7 (post 336/5), I² 416.13 (ca. 330), I² 660.18 (fin. s. IV a., cf. SEG 24.115), I² 505.58 (302/1) all decrees; I² 1165.24 (300–250) decree (tribe); I² 1304.7 (post 211/0) decree (troops).

Failure to elide *οὐδέ* (*μηδέ*) before *εἷς* is to distinguish the emphatic *οὐδὲ εἷς*, etc. from *οὐδεῖς*, *μηδεῖς*, etc.: *οὐδ' ἐ ἐνός* I² 39.11–12 (446/5) decree; *μηδὲ εἷς* I² 487.9 (304/3) decree (cf. Syntax).

The elision of *τε*, *οὐτε*, etc. is very rare and unusual: cf. *τὰ τ' ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ* I² 380.35 (320/19) decree; *οἱ[ό]-[ι]ν τ' ἑ* I² 654.56–7 (285/4) decree; *οἱ[όν] τ' ἐ* I² 725.4 (init. s. III a.) decree (the two foregoing examples indicate tendency to elide in the phrase *οἷός τ' ἐ* *εἰ*); *μ[ή]τ' ἐν* I² 1304.17 (post 211/0) decree (troops); *τὰ τ' αὐτοῦ (?)* I² 1062.4 (ca. 50) decree (L.); *μ[ή]τ' ἐν* *ἐντύπειν* *μ[ή]τ' ἐν* *απο[θνήσκειν]* I² 1035.10 (10/9–3/2, cf. p. 124 supra, no. 59) decree (this an old formula?); cf. *πάντα τ' ἄγωνα* I² 3758.4 (s. II/III p.) ded. *ὥστ'* less often than *ὥστε* + V, but cf. *Deltion* 18 (1963) p. 103, no. 1, line 19 (= SEG 21.525) (282/1) decree (hippeis); I² 2502.5 (ca. 335–325? cf. SEG 23.94; 21.643) loc.; I² 1113.14 (193–211 p.) imp. letter.

Cardinal numerals. Elision of final *-α* and *-ε* is not rare at all periods, but is never the rule. There is a spate of examples in the inv., I² 1672.265–285 (329/8), where, however, failure to elide

also occurs (cf. p. 419 *supra* for the examples). Elision also frequent in ἐννέ'ἄρχοντες, etc.: e.g. Π² 47.37 (init. s. IV a.); *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p. 225, no. 85, line 5 (= new fr. of Π² 46) (ca. 375), but πέιντε ἡμερῶν in Π² 46.i26, τρι]άκοντα ἡμερ- *ib.* c57; *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p. 229, no. 86, lines 3, 9 (ca. 350) all decrees; but ἐννέα ἄρχοντες at least twice in new fr. of *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p. 52, no. 9, a sacred law soon to be published by K. Clinton in *Hesperia* (367–348); ἐννέα ἀρχόντων *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p. 252, no. 51, line 5 (144/3?) ded.; τοῖς ἐννέα ἀρχ[ι]χοῦσιν Sokolowski, *Lois*² p. 63, no. 33, lines B11–12 (= Π² 334 + new fr.) (335–329) decree. For other elisions of numerals cf. e.g. ἡεπ[τ]ὶ ὀβολ[ό]ς *AM* 59 (1934) p. 35, no. 1, line b7 (= *SEG* 10.10) (ca. 455/4) decree; δ]έκ'ἀνδράσι *I*² 187.22 (ca. 450) decree (deme); πέντ'ὀβολῶν *I*² 374.98, 262 (408–406) inv., but ἡεπτά ἡμερῶν *ib.* 90–91 (L.); πένθ'ἡμιποδίων *I*² 1678. aA44, aB21/22, aB22/23, aB24/25 (ca. 350, cf. *SEG* 13.49) inv.; but probably πενθημιποδίων is all one word in Π² 1668.20 (347/6) inv., cf. τριημιποδίοις *ib.* 28, but πέντε ἡμιποδίων *ib.* 27, 46, τρία ἡμιπόδια *ib.* 34, τριῶν ἡμιποδίων *ib.* 41; δύ'ἄμα (twice) Π² 1673.72, *AE* 1971, p. 83, no. 4, line 74 (= new fr. of Π² 1673) (333/2? cf. *AE* 1971 p. 112) inv., but δύο εἰς Π² 1673.41, πένθ'ἡμοβελίωμ *ib.* 52, but πέντε ἀνδρας *ib.* 24; ἐννέ'ὀβολοί Π² 1496.61 (334/3–311/0) inv.; τρι'ἡμιπόδια Π² 463.60 (307/6) decree; τρι'Ἀφροδίσια Π² 1534B.200 (247/6, cf. *SEG* 16.118) inv. (unless dropped to save space, frequent in this text); etc. For cases of failure to elide cf. e.g. πέντε ἡμερῶν *I*² 76.18 (435–414? cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 222) decree; πέντε ἀνδρας *I*² 22.4 (450/49, cf. *SEG* 23.7) (L.), *I*² 39.46 (446/5), *I*² 90.32 (422, cf. *SEG* 21.46) decrees; δέκα ἀνδρας *I*² 84.24 (421/0) decree, ἡένα ἐκ *ib.* 20; ἕνα ἀνδρα Π² 360.37 (325/4) decree; δέκα ἀνδρας Π² 1629.253 (325/4) inv.; πέντε ἐτών Π² 2504.11 (211/0) loc.; πέντε ἀνδρα[ς] Π² 1223.20 (post 167) decree (cleruchs); etc. πέντε ἀνδρας also in line 9 of the decree inscribed on a small bronze plaque, *AE* 1971 pp. 137 ff. (400–375) (cf. p. 2 *supra*).

ἵνα. Elision occurs, but is exceptional: cf. Π² 845.8 (208/7, cf. *SEG* 16.71) decree, but ἵνα οὖν *ib.* 9; Π² 1318.9 (fin. s. III a.?) decree (thiasotai); Π² 1325.24 (185/4) decree (dionysiai); *Hesperia*, suppl. 13 (1970) pp. 3 ff., line E60 (ca. 175 p.) imp. letter; Π² 2291 a.11 (190–200 p.) oration of ephebes; Π² 1121.37 (305/6 p.) imp. edict. For ἵνα + V, cf. e.g. Π² 845.9 (alongside ἵν', cf. *supra*); Π² 1299.17 (post 236/5) decree (troops and Eleusians); Π² 1316.18 (272/1) decree (orgeones); Π² 891.8 (188/7) decree; Π² 1329.19 (175/4) decree (orgeones); Π² 1326.23, 47 (176/5) decree (dionysiai); Π² 968.61 (143/2) decree; Π² 966.12 (inter 159–133), Π² 1006.88 (122/1), Π² 1008.63 (118/7) decrees; Π² 1334.11 (fin. s. II a.) decree (orgeones); Π² 1011.43–44 (ἵνα|οὖν) (106/5), Π² 1039.58 (79/8, cf. *SEG* 22.110), *Hesperia* 34 (1965) pp. 255 ff., line 31 (= Π² 1025, Π² 1040 + new fr.) (46/5) decrees; Π² 1344.15 (post 28/9 p.) agreement of two synodoi (?); etc.

ἐκ τῶν κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλισκομένων. The phrase is frequent in decrees of the later fourth century B.C. and the third century; it is normally spelled without elision of the final -α of ψηφίσματα, but exceptions occur: cf. Π² 418.10 (post 330), Π² 360.26, 44 (325/4), Π² 479.29 (ca. 305/4), Π² 534.4 (fin. s. IV a.) decrees. For the more usual unelided spelling cf. e.g. Π² 304.13 (ante 336/5), Π² 346.2 (332/1), Π² 351.39 (330/29), Π² 373.14 (322/1), Π² 410.41 (ca. 330), Π² 393.14 (321–318), Π² 448.30, 86 (323/2, 318/7), Π² 505.64 (302/1), Π² 508.14 (fin. s. IV a.), Π² 512.13 (fin. s. IV a.), Π² 515.8 (fin. s. IV a.), Π² 522.6 (fin. s. IV a.), Π² 696.11 (post 303/2), Π² 707.10 (init. s. III a.), Π² 657.73 (283/2), Π² 675.c6 (init. s. III a.) decrees; etc.

(ὀπ)ός'αν. Elision of ὄσα and ὀπόσα is normal before ἄν: cf. e.g. Π² 43.28 (378/7) decree; Π² 1668.91 (347/6) inv.; Π² 463.4, 27, 85 (307/6) decree; etc. But note ἡ|ὀπόσα ἄν *I*² 22.17 (450/49, cf. *SEG* 23.7) decree (L.).

33.012 Elision in metrical texts; *scriptio plena*

As has been seen above (cf. p. 418) the failure to indicate elision where demanded by the metre, *scriptio plena*, is frequent at all periods. There are ten instances in nine sep. monuments and dedications earlier than 500 B.C., and the phenomenon is especially common in the fourth century B.C. and second century A.D., a fact to be attributed to the larger number of metrical texts (usually sep. monuments, less often dedications) placed within these centuries. It is by no means rare to find elision indicated in one place and *scriptio plena* in another; this sort of inconsistency is common at all periods.

The catalog of instances of *scriptio plena* in Greek inscriptions in Allen pp. 127–155 has been brought up to date for Attica in CSCA 10 (1977) pp. 171 ff.

But there are also certain cases in which the failure to elide is in accordance with the metre. So regularly after ἄχοι, the preposition περί, e.g. ἄχοι ἄν II² 7873.8 (post 350) sep. mon. (also has σοῖ ὅτι); περί αὐχένι II² 3765 (226/7–234/5 p.) ded.; in the dat. singular of consonant stems, e.g. γυναικί ἐσθλήν II² 11016 (ca. 360) sep. mon.; παῖδι ἀπ' αὐχένι I² 689 (+ I² 737.328, cf. DAA p. 51, no. 50) (ca. 500) ded. Even where an elision is required the iota is usually written *contra metrum*: Πάλλαδι Ἀθῶναίαι I² 499 (= DAA p. 308, no. 290) (ca. 510–500?) ded. Cf. σώματι ἐκείνων probably for σώματι ῥαίων (cf. 33.02, p. 426 *infra*).

The [Πάλλαδ' Ἀθηναίαι -] restored by DAA p. 239, no. 210 (= I² 581a + I² 652 + I² 668) (init. s. V a.) ded. is rather dubious. Elision of iota of ἔτι, ἐστὶ was allowed (cf. *infra*).

But there are other cases in which the hiatus is in accordance with the metre, although these are far less numerous than the *contra metrum* instances. Many of these reflect the influence of hiatus permitted in epic, e.g. τε ἰδέσθαι, hiatus before οἱ, ἐ, etc. In Attica spellings of this type become more frequent in the Roman Period. The Attic examples are:

ἐνθάδε οἱ GVI 1, p. 57, no. 218 (410–400, cf. LSAG p. 372, no. 49) sep. mon.;
 τῆ·λε Ὀνησοῦς II² 12378 (450–350) sep. mon.;
 τὸν ἄνδρα Ὀνήσιμον II² 12067 (365–340) sep. mon., but σε ἦσθα, φίλτατ' ἀνδρῶν;
 χαίρει[τ]έ οἱ II² 10435 (init. s. IV a.) sep. mon.; first two stichoi only quasi-metrical;
 οἶδα δὲ σοῖ ὅτι II² 7873.8 (post 350) sep. mon.; no elision expected for ἄχοι ἄν in line 8; for elision, cf. χάριτας μοι ἀπέδωκα[ν] II² 12141 (ca. 250?);
 ἐπτά ἔτη γεγονώ[ς] II² 12599 (300–250), sep. mon., but πνὸν δὲ αἰθῆρ ib. 2;
 μοῖρά σε ἦγε II² 3964.4 (paulo post 128/9 p.) ded.;
 δῶκε δὲ οἱ II² 3632 (post 150 p.) ded.;
 οὐνεκά οἱ II² 12568 (ca. 150 p.) sep. mon.;
 τε ἰδέσθαι II² 13012 (ca. 150 p.) sep. mon.;
 δέκα δρφانون II² 9898 (fin. s. II p.) sep. mon.;
 ἐνδεκ' ἔχοντα ἔτη II² 11477.10 (s. II/III p.) sep. mon.; elsewhere elision written, some of the stichoi are metrically faulty;

οὐδέ τί οἱ Π² 10457 a (in add.) (ca. 100 p.) sep. mon.;
 ἐνταῦθα ὑπό, πάτερη δέ μοι ἐστί, τίς δέ σε ὠκυρόοιο, ἐνθάδε ἐρχομένωι, τίς δέ σοι
 ἐν ζωοῖσι Π² 10073.2, 3, 6, 13, 14 (s. II/III p.) sep. mon. (note σοῖ, μοῖ);
 εἰ δέ ἐ μοῖρα GVI 1, p. 380, no. 1282 (= IG III, no. 1383) (s. III/IV p.) sep. mon.;
 κατὰ ἄστν Π² 4223 (379–395 p.) ded.

Not quite certain:

ῥμοσε[ν κα]τὰ ἡόρκα Π² 920 (= GVI 1, p. 660, no. 2042) sep. mon., unless ῥμοσ(σ)ε τὰ ἡόρκα
 is correct (ῥμοσ(σ)ε [κα]τὰ ἡόρκα, i. e. καθ' ὅρκα, of FH no. 59 is possible?) (L.);
 δίκη κέ ἀγακλεῖς, ὅφρα κέ ἐν φθιμένοις Π² 11120.3, 16 (cf. GVI 1, p. 631, no. 1998) (s. III p.)
 sep. mon.

There also occur in metrical texts elisions not found in prose, e.g. ἔτ(ι)ῖχεις Π²
 10672 (ante 350) sep. mon.; γρᾶμ(α)ῖ ἐτύπωσῖ πέτρῳι, ἀλλ(ᾶ)ῖ τε τέρμ(α)ῖ ἀγαθῆς
 Π² 8494.9, 11 (init. s. III a.) sep. mon.; τ' ἀντίθεμ(αι)ῖ εὐεπίῃς Π² 3158.2 (s. I p.) ded.;
 μῆκετ(ι)ῖ ὄφειλδομένῳς Π² 12514 (s. II p.) sep. mon.; μοι ἀπέδωκαν Π² 12141 (ca.
 250?) sep. mon. (cf. supra); etc. (Vowels in parentheses do not appear on the stones.)

By far the greatest number of these poetical elisions are those involving a verb form
 which would normally take movable ny instead of eliding. The Attic examples are:

ἔσπεσ' ἐνγός Π² 974 (= IGAA p. 130, no. 23) (ca. 550?) sep. mon.;
 ἡὸς μ' ἀνέθεκ' ἀνδρῶν Π² 410 (fin. s. VI a. aut init. s. V a.) ded. (bronze) (cf. FH no. 131);
 [Κλε]όδορός μ' ἀνέθεκ' Ἀφροδίτῃ Π² 700 (= DAA p. 318, no. 296) (ca. 480–470?) ded.;
 ἐξεποίησ' οὐκ ἀδαῆς Π² 826 (= LSAG p. 370, no. 29) (475–450?) ded. (cf. 10.04 a, p. 211
 supra);
 ἔστ' ὄνομ' αὐτῶι AE 1958, p. 119, no. 122 (= SEG 19.303) (fin. s. V a.) sep. mon.;
 παρέδωχ' ὑβρίσαι, ἦλθ' ἐπὶ Π² 10998 (init. s. IV a.) sep. mon.;
 δ' ἔλιπ' εὐδαίμων Π² 6288.8 (post 350) sep. mon.;
 οὐκ εἶασ', ἔσπησε Π² 13097.5 (ca. 350) sep. mon.;
 Διογένης δ' ἐχάραξ' ἐτάρου Π² 3734 (126/7 p.) ded. (unless first person singular);
 αἰδ' εἶσ' Ἀθηναί, αἰδ' εἶσ' Ἀδριανοῦ Π² 5185 (128/9 p.) ded. (L.);
 Probable: ἀνέ|θηκ' HIEPON AM 67 (1942) p. 68, no. 116 b (= AE 1906, p. 107) (ca. 400) on
 a vase (incised).

Not infrequently such poetical elisions are not actually indicated in the text (*contra metrum* spellings), e.g.:

πατέρα εὐκλείζων, εὐκλείσε Ἀνδοκίδαν Π² 1085 (446, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 137, no. 51) sep.
 mon., set up for Pythion of Megara by three Athenian tribes; also has σώματι ἐκείνων for
 σώματι κείνων (cf. p. 424 supra);
 ἀνέθεκε (whether hexameter or pentameter) *Praktika* 1972 p. 6 (s. V a.) ded.;
 ἀ|νέ|θηκε Ἡρῃ AM 67 (1942) p. 51, no. 79 (400–350) ded. (priv.);
 ἔργωι ἔδρασε ἀγαθὰ Π² 1141 (376/5) decree (tribe), in poem before decree begins;
 μητέρα ἔθηκα ὁσίως Π² 8593 (ante 350) sep. mon.;
 ἰέρωσε Ἀσκληπιῶι Π² 4355 (ante 350) ded. (priv.);

Πεισικράτεια ἥδ' ἔστι Εὐφρονίου (has τε ἔλιπεν) AE 1937, part 2, p.555, no.4 and fig.6 (= I² 6693 a [in add.], which needs correction) (ca. 350) sep. mon.;

πατρὶς δ' ἔστι Ἑφεσος I² 8523 (init. s. IV a.) sep. mon.

But the opposite may be seen on the bf. plaque, BSA 50 (1955) p.60, no.11 (= SEG 16.35 B), where, although originally εστινΑρειο was incised, the movable ny necessary to prevent an undesirable hiatus in verse has been erased to produce a final ἐστὶ Ἀρειο. For the writing of movable ny when it is *contra metrum*, cf. 49.00, p.642 infra.

Lit.: MS³ p.70, note 601; Lademann pp.50–51; Allen pp.127–160; CSCA 10 (1977) pp.171–174.

33.02 Prodelision (Aphaeresis)

True prodelision, or the dropping of an initial vowel before a consonant where the preceding word ends in a vowel, is not a frequent phenomenon in Attic inscriptions. Spellings like the following look more like careless omissions than true cases of prodelision: φιαλὴ ῥγυρῇ I² 1425.322 (368/7) inv.; ἐξ ῥετρίας I² 1628.511 (326/5) inv.; ΟΥΝΕΣΤΙΝΑΕΣΤΙΝ = οὗ ἔστιν ἄ ἔστιν I² 1672.129 (329/8) inv., cf. AM 66 (1941) p.240; ἐπὶ ἡναξικράτους *Hesperia* 17 (1948) p.1, no.1, line 1 (279/8) decree. Such spellings are isolated. There are also certain spellings which could be referred either to prodelision or to crasis, e.g. μὴ ἔ or μῆε, ἡ τέρα or ἡτέρα, μὴ ἕλκτον or μῆλκτον, ἡ μῆ or ἡμή (cf. 34.021g, p.431 infra), φθιμένη ἥω or φθιμένηῃω (cf. 34.022, p.433 infra); ὁκτώ βολῶν or ὁκτώβολῶν (cf. 34.021n, p.432 infra). It seems doubtful that there is any real difference between the foregoing cases and spellings like ἀρχοντες, τάλλα, etc. which must be assigned to crasis. For the references for the foregoing list, cf. the sections of 34.021–2 cited.

For the ambiguous δερετῆς, which could be δ' ἐρετῆς (with vowel assimilation) or δὲ ρετῆς (but more likely a careless omission than a true prodelision), cf. 6.01a, no.1, p.120 supra.

The scansion demands that σώματι ἐκείνων be read as σώματι κείνων in I² 1085 (446, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.137, no.51) sep. mon. (set up for Pythion of Megara by three Athenian tribes) (cf. p.424 supra). Cf. ἐγὼ κείνην in the defixio, IG III.3, no.108.a3–4 (εἰ for ηἰ suggests a date within the period ca. 375–150). Cf. addenda.

Dropping of an initial vowel under other circumstances is scarcely found. For the usual spelling ἐθέλω there is a very rare variant θέλω, first attested perhaps in the fifth century B.C.; in prose texts the shorter spelling occurs after ἄν: ὅστις ἄν θῆλει (stoich., number of lost letters fairly certain) I² 49.12 (post 442/1) decree; ἦς ἄν θέλει I² 851.15 (ante 224/3) decree. But ἐθέλω is also found after ἄν, cf. ἡσσοὶ ἄν ἐθέλοσι I² 71.25 (ca. 436, cf. SEG 21.30) decree. Both θέλω and ἐθέλω are used in a verse text to serve the needs of the metre, cf. τὰ μὲν θέλων, οὓς ἔθελον I² 8388.5, 7 (init. s. III a.) sep. mon. Spellings like εἰδεθέλεις in the ded., I² 4211.9 (aet. Hadriani), could be εἰ δὲ θ- or εἰ δ' ἐθέλ-. Cf. the man's personal name Θελοχάρης, in a ded. of ca. 480 B.C., cf. DAA p.57, no.57 (= I² 597, corrected), where even if the precise form of the name is in doubt it is certain that it began with Θελο-. Other names begin with Ἑθέλ-: cf. Ἑθελόσιος I² 928.19 (465/4) cas. list; Ἑθέλανδρος I² 956.86 (161/0) decree, the same man in I² 3869.1 (ca. 150) ded.; another Ἑθέλανδρος in

the same tribe, II² 919.6 (paulo post 178/7) decree; Ἐθελοκράτης II² 1623.10 (333/2) inv.; etc.

If the peculiar name Κεστογίδης in line 229 of a bouleutic catalog of 336/5 B.C., cf. *Hesperia* 30 (1961) pp.30 ff., is to be taken as for Ἀκεστογίδης, the loss of the initial Ἀ- was probably a careless omission, cf. Ἰππαρχίδης in *ib.* 271.

Lit.: MS³ p. 178, note 1481.

34.00 Crisis

Crisis is widespread in all types of texts, chiefly private rather than public and frequently metrical, of the Archaic Period. In the period after 480 B.C. crisis is normally avoided, especially in public texts, except in a few expressions like τᾶλλα, etc. In metrical texts, however, crisis is usually, although not always, indicated in the writing; these texts are usually private.

Lit.: MS³ pp. 70–73, notes 602–640; Lademann pp. 52–55.

34.01 Indication of crisis in the Archaic Period

Public texts are rare in this period. Crisis occurs twice in a small fr., probably of a deme law, of the late sixth century: ἡρόκτοῦρος, τάσουε, cf. *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p.332, lines 10, 12.

On archaic dedications on stone τάθENAIAI is found far more often than τEἰ ἈθE-NAIAI. Many of the texts are metrical, and τάθENAIAI is frequent at the end of the hexameter where neither τEἰ ἈθENAIAI nor ἈθENAIAI would scan. Cf. e.g. I² 756 (= DAA p.383, no.348) (init. s. Va.); DAA p.239, no.210 (= I² 581a + I² 652 + I² 668) (init. s. Va.); I² 695 (= DAA p.241, no.211) (ca. 500); *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p.150, no.2 (= DAA p.46, no.44) (500–480); I² 741 (cf. DAA p.396, no.366) (ca. 500). So also perhaps on a bronze dedication, cf. I² 415 (post ca. 550, cf. LSAG p.68, note 1), if τᾶθENAIAI could be scanned as four long syllables. For [τ]Eἰ Ἀθ[ε]NAIAI, probably written for τάθENAIAI, in DAA p.29, no.25 (= I² 578, corrected) (ca. 490) ded., cf. 34.022, p.434 infra.

But there are many texts in which τάθENAIAI occurs which are certainly not in verse, cf. e.g. I² 485 (= DAA p.232, no.197) (ca. 530? aut ca. 525–510, cf. LSAG p.75 and note 1); DAA p.68, no.65 (= I² 490, corrected) (ca. 525–500); I² 489 (= DAA p.9, no.5) (525–500); I² 572 (= DAA p.194, no.169) (fin. s. VIa.); *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p.148, no.1 (= DAA p.281, no.246) (fin. s. VIa.); I² 579 (= DAA p.43, no.41) (ca. 510–500); I² 696 (= DAA p.334, no.313) (init. s. Va.); I² 518 (= DAA p.287, no.257) (init. s. Va.); DAA p.100, no.93 (= I² 659) (ca. 490); I² 754 (= DAA p.392, no.358) (paulo ante 480); DAA p.384, no.350 (= I² 752, in part + I² 758, in part) (paulo ante 480); DAA p.385, no.351 (= I² 752, in part + I² 758, in part) (paulo ante 480); DAA p.116, no.112 (s. Va.) dedications. Prob-

ably not metrical is the very much earlier fr. of a ded. on Naxian marble, cf. I² 672 (= *LSAG* p.76, no.7) (625–600?), reading ---δ]εκά[τ]ι|εν[?] τὰθ[εναίαι?-- (cf. *LSAG* p.401). τὰθ[εναίαι is also frequent on bronze dedications (post 550, cf. *LSAG* p.68 and note 1): I² 408, I² 411, I² 422, I² 426, I² 430, I² 432, I² 436, I² 443, I² 444, I² 447.5 (EM 7312 + 7281); I² 450, I² 455, I² 456. τῇ 'Αθ[ε]ναίαι is also found on prose dedications on stone, but less often: I² 583 (= *DAA* p.75, no.71) (ca. 500?); I² 746 (= *DAA* p.381, no.347) (490–480); *DAA* p.101, no.94 (= I² 526 + I² 552 + new fr.) (490–480); and similar texts later than 480 B.C.: I² 604 (= *DAA* p.122, no.119) (ca. 475–465); I² 618 (= *DAA* p.156, no.140) (paulo post 450?); I² 395 (post 432) ded. of the Athenians to Hygia. Cf. also I² 644, graffito on a fr. of a clay vase of the Archaic Period; I² 412, perhaps I² 437 (post 550, cf. *LSAG* p.68 and note 1) bronze dedications.

For other examples of crasis on stone texts of the Archaic Period, cf.: *ἡπί, κά-ποδρα* I² 662 (= *DAA* p.367, no.332) (525–500?); *κάλκμεο[νί]δες* *LSAG* p.77, no.25 (= I² 472) (ca. 550–540?) almost certainly not metrical (but cf. *DAA* p.339); *θέκ[α]ται* (cf. p.498 *infra*) I² 836 (fin. s. VIa.?) dedications; *τοῦτελιωνίδου* (= τοῦ Εὐτελιωνίδου) *IGAA* p.134, no.37 (= *AE* 1960, p.139, no.1; *Hesperia* 17 [1948] p.141, no.1, corrected) (fin. s. VIa.); *ἡλίθιον* (= ἡ ἡλίθιον) I² 975 (= *IGAA* p.147, no.64) (ca. 525?) sep. monuments; *ἡρόθμονε[ί]δο* I² 536 (= *DAA* p.85, no.80) (ca. 500); *Κάλον ἐποίησεν καί[γινέτες]* *DAA* p.91, no.85 (= I² 501a) (ca. 500?) probably not metrical; *ἡόνπορίονος* I² 508 (= *DAA* p.408, no.381) (init. s. Va.), *ἡόν[πο-ρίο]νος* I² 509 (= *DAA* p.38, no.37) (init. s. Va.); *χοί* (not *κοί*) *παῖδες* I² 581 (= *DAA* p.310, no.291) (init. s. Va.); *καίπ[ό]λος* I² 778.5 (fin. s. VIa./init. s. Va.?) dedications. Cf. *τάρτέμει* alongside *ὁ Ὀνέτορος* on a bronze mirror dedicated at Brauron and unearthed in pre-480 B.C. fill, *BCH* 86 (1962) p.679, p.676, fig. 11.

For the examples of crasis in metrical texts of this period, cf. 34.022, p.432 *infra*.

Crasis is well attested in the short prose texts typical of the dipinti. Cf. e.g. *ἡόγοτιμο* *hūhūs* on two bf. vases of Eucheiros, *ABV* p.162, nos.2, 3 (= *HBF* pp.85–6, nos.1–2); *καγό* (bis), *κάνέπειν* on a bf. pinax from the Acropolis, *AM* 13 (1888) p.441; *ἡεδύς ἡοῖνος* on a rf. vase in Munich, cf. *ARV*² p.146, Epeleios painter no.2 (= *FR* plate 155) (L.); etc. Note *τάναχτι Δί*, graffito from Mt. Hymettus, *Hesperia*, suppl. 16 (1976) p.13, no.1 (ca. 600) (but the contraction *Δί* does not look Attic). For metrical examples of this type cf. 34.022, p.433 *infra*.

34.02 Indication of crasis after ca. 480 B.C.

34.021 Public texts

The language of public documents, especially state decrees, is not particularly fond of crasis. The only common type in state decrees is *τά* from *τά* + *ἀ*-; attested are *τάλλα*, *ταῦτ*-, *τάναλόματα*, *τάπολόλοτα* (once), and *τάρχαῖα* (once); of these only *τάλλα* and *ταῦτά* occur more frequently than the spelling without crasis. *κά*- from *καί* + *ἐ*- is not found in state decrees until after 200 B.C.; but *τά*- from *τά* + *ἐ*- occurs in *τάναντία*, found in the fourth and third centuries. A single case of MEK for

μή ἐκ in a late fifth-century decree could be for MEEK with careless omission of one of the E's or actual crisis, μήκ. The decrees of other types add several additional types of crisis, cf. τάγαθόν, κάγαθά, μήλαπτον, τοῦνομα, τὰδελφοῦ, τάνδρός. The inventories and catalogs increase the list still further, cf. τοῦπισθεν, θοιματίο, θάτερα, ἡτέρα, τοῦβολοῦ, οὐκῶβολῶν, τάπιτήδεια.

Crisis may be indicated and ignored within the same text, e.g. τὰναλισκόμενα, τὰ ἀναλισκόμενα in Π² 1672.12, 44, 119, etc.; τὰ ἄλλα, τοῦβολοῦ in Π² 1673.27, 36; ἡτέρα, ἡ ἐτέρα Π² 1615.87, 93; κάγαθός, καὶ ἄν in Π² 1275.11, 16; τάναντία, τὰ ἄλλα in Π² 1183.13, 26; τᾶλλα, τὰ ἄλλα Π² 1172.28, 36; etc.

a) τᾶλλα This is the best attested case of crisis, frequent in all types of public document: cf. Π² 91.6 (434/3, cf. SEG 22.7; 24.3): τᾶλλα ἃ ἐστὶ; Sokolowski, *Supplément* p.20, no. 6, line 7 (= *Hesperia*, suppl. 8 [1949] pp.130ff.; SEG 10.64a; 17.5; 21.52) (413/2?); Π² 110.17 (410/9); Π² 1.16 (403/2); Π² 97.14 (375/4); Π² 244.107 (337/6); Π² 401.13 (321–319); Π² 333.b 15 (335/4), has τὰ ἀνα-; Π² 416.14 (ca. 330): τᾶλλα; Π² 500.15 (302/1); Dinsmoor, *Archons* (1931) p.7, line 15 (= Π² 649 + new fr.) (294/3); Π² 748.5 (init. s. IIIa.); Π² 715.8 (init. s. IIIa.); *Hesperia* 7 (1938) p.100, no.18, lines 13–14 (282/1); Π² 1006.84 (122/1); Π² 1013.31 (fin. s. IIa.); Π² 1023.3 (fin. s. IIa.) all state decrees; other decrees: Π² 1172.28 (ca. 400) deme; *Hesperia* 7 (1938) pp.1ff., no.1, lines 88, 89, 90, 92, 93 (363/2) genos (has ταῦτ- *ib.* 96); Π² 1166.5 (300–250) tribe; Π² 1194.9 (ca. 300) deme; Π² 1241.24 (300/299) phratry; Π² 1264.8 (300/299) hippeis; Π² 1273.25 (289/8?) thiasotai; Π² 1281.9 (ca. 266) troops at Sunium; Π² 1225.21 (ca. 250) Salaminian cleruchs; *Deltion* 23 (1968) pp.1ff., line 12 (= SEG 24.156) (238/7 aut paulo post) thiasotai; Π² 1330.54 (post 163) synodos of technitai; Π² 1338.7 (78/7) synodos of technitai; cf. also a fragment from Kephissia, perhaps a deme decree: BCH 94 (1970) p.918, line 8 (= *Deltion* 21 [1966] *Chronika* p.106, no.12) (s. IVa.); inventories, etc.: Π² 1636.a 11 (ca. 350); Π² 1668.75 (347/6); Π² 1678.1, 20 (ca. 350, cf. SEG 13.49); Π² 1682.28 (285/4); locations: Π² 2498.3, 16 (321/0); Π² 2499.32 (306/5); Π² 2501.13 (fin. s. IVa.); τᾶλλα occurs also in the Greek copy of the letter of Plotina to the Epicureans of Athens, cf. Π² 1099.37 (121 p.).

The spelling τὰ ἄλλα is also found, although less frequently: Π² 108.42 (410/9); Π² 360.12 (325/4); Π² 554.19–20 (307–304, cf. SEG 24.111); Π² 588.4 (fin. s. IVa.) decrees; Π² 1172.36 (ca. 400); Π² 1183.26 (post 340), Π² 1209.11 (post 319) decrees (deme); Π² 1673.27 (333/2? cf. AE 1971, p.112) inv.; Π² 1283.24 (263/2, cf. SEG 24.155) decree (Thracian aliens).

b) Other cases of τὰ- from τὰ + ἀ- Examples are fairly rare: τὰναλόματα *Hesperia* 14 (1945) p.61, no.1, line C 19 (= Π² 6.102, corrected) (ante 460) decree, has ταῦτ- Π² 6.28, 111; τὰπολο- λότα Π² 74.17 (ante 430) decree, has ταῦτ- *ib.* 13; τὰναλισκόμενα Π² 1672.44, 119, 143 (329/8) inv., but τὰ ἀναλισκόμενα *ib.* 12; τὰκόλουθα Π² 1302.9 (220/19) decree; τὰρχαῖα Π² 1079.3 (ca. 220 p.) decree, but τὰ ἀρχαῖα in the other copy, cf. Π² 1078.10. Probably also τ[ἀ]πό from τὰ ἀπό in Π² 1672.192–3 (cf. *supra*).

Far better attested is failure to join τὰ to following ἀ-, cf. τὰ ἀνα- Π² 244.23 (337/6), Π² 333.a–b 8 (335/4), has τᾶλλα *ib.* 15, decrees; Π² 1672.12 (329/8) inv., has τάνα- (cf. *supra*); Π² 1534.A.104, 105 (291/0, cf. SEG 16.118) inv.; Π² 1316.11 (272/1) decree (orgeones); τὰ ἄνοθεν Π² 372.65 (409/8) inv.; τὰ ἄριστα Π² 498.13 (303/2) decree; Π² 1270.8 (298/7) decree (troops at Sunium), has τάγαθόν? cf. p.431 *infra*; Π² 1327.15 (178/7) decree (orgeones); τὰ ἀργυ[ρᾶ] Π² 347.41 (439/8) inv.; τὰ ἀρετήματα Π² 1673.14 (333/2? cf. AE 1971, p.112) inv., has τὰ ἄλλα *ib.* 27, but τοῦβολοῦ *ib.* 36; τὰ ἀφαιρ- Π² 1544.34 (333/2) inv.; τὰ ἀρχαῖα Π² 1078.10 (ca. 220 p.) decree, but τὰρχαῖα in the other copy Π² 1079.3 (cf. *supra*); etc.

c) ταὐτά Crasis is normal in the phrase κατὰ ταὐτά, cf. I² 6.28, 111 (ante 460); ATL 2, no. D7.43 (= I² 66; Meiggs-Lewis p. 117, no. 46) (447?); I² 76.14, 21, 35–36 (435–414, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 222); I² 77.11 (ca. 435, cf. SEG 21.31); I² 74.13 (ante 430); I² 114.45 (410/9, cf. SEG 24.15) decrees; *Hesperia* 4 (1935) pp. 13ff., no. 1, line 12 (410–404) fr. of a law; I² 140.10 (ca. 420); II² 1.21, 40 (403/2); II² 144.i5 (ca. 368, cf. SEG 17.18); II² 687.57, 58 (265/4) decrees; ZPE 25 (1977) p. 243, line 62 (post 403/2) sacred calendar; *Hesperia* 43 (1974) p. 157, line 44 (375/4) decree (nomothetai); II² 1361.6 (post 350) sacred law (orgeones); II² 1283.22 (263/2, cf. SEG 24.155) decree (Thracian aliens); has τὰ ἄλλα *ib.* 24; II² 1328.9 (183/2) decree (orgeones); II² 1678.2 (ca. 350, cf. SEG 13.49); II² 1671.34 (ca. 330); II² 1682.18–19 (285/4) inventories; etc. τὰ αὐτά is rare, especially in the phrase κατὰ τὰ αὐτά; for κατὰ τὰ αὐτά cf. II² 1165.22 (300–250) decree (tribe); *Hesperia*, suppl. 13 (1970) pp. 3ff., lines E 54, E 99 (ca. 175 p.) imp. letter, but κἄν, ταὐτῶι (cf. f), i) infra); II² 1078.18 (ca. 220 p.) decree, alongside τὰ ἀρχαῖα in *ib.* 10; κατὰ τὰ αὐτά has been restored in the decree, I² 86.22 (420/19) (stoich.); other cases of τὰ αὐτά, II² 1214.25 (300–250) decree (deme); II² 1368.91, 94 (ca. 162/3 p.) Iobacchi regulations.

d) Crasis of ᾱ + ᾰ- This was certainly a very rare crasis if it occurred at all. Thus in the decree, II² 839.79 (221/0), ἀνέθηκε is probably not ἀνέθηκε but ἀνέθηκε with careless omission of ᾱ, cf. ἀνέθηκεν for ὃν ἀνέθηκεν in *ib.* 78 (ὃν ἀνέθηκεν in *ib.* 77). Perhaps ἀπαγγέλλει in another decree, II² 1011.77 (106/5), is also due to careless omission rather than for ἀπαγγέλλει; the correct ᾱ ἀπαγγέλλει occurs *ib.* 67. It is more likely that the relative pronoun ᾱ was not used before ἀνέθηκεν in the inv., II² 1534.A.21 and 26 (291/0, cf. SEG 16.118), rather than that ᾰ- was intended; cf. *ib.* 33, perhaps 84. ᾱ ᾰ- is well attested in decrees, cf. II² 1.17 (403/2); II² 244.53 (337/6); II² 354.42 (328/7); II² 689.17 (272/1); II² 992.13 (post 196); II² 1011.67 (106/5), for ἀπαγγέλλει in *ib.* 77, cf. supra; all state decrees; II² 1183.14, 15 (post 340) decree (deme); II² 1299.15 (post 236/5) decree (troops and Eleusinians); II² 1122.14 (150–200 p.) fr. (from an imp. letter?); etc.

e) τᾱ- from τᾱ + ἐ- Crasis occurs in τᾱναντία in four decrees: II² 97.26 (375/4), II² 687.56 (265/4) has ταὐτά, state decrees; II² 1237.113 (396/5) decree (phratry); II² 1183.13 (post 340) decree (deme), has τὰ ἄλλα *ib.* 26. τᾱ ἐν|αντία has been plausibly restored in II² 1196.B.22 (ca. 335–330) decree (deme), has τὰ ἐννόμα *ib.* B 10–11; τᾱ ἐνέχ|υρα *ib.* A 14–15. The crasis was characteristic of the particular expression τᾱναντία; τᾱ- from τᾱ + ἐ- is not otherwise found in decrees. The inventories also avoid it. The only examples are: ἐκ τῶ ἐπὶ θάτερον τὸ Αἰ[άκειον] *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p. 268, no. 6, line 14 (ca. 414); εἰς [τ]ᾱπ[ι]τῆδαι[α] II² 1635.74 (post 374/3). But τᾱ ἐ- was certainly normal in all types of text, cf. e.g. τᾱ ἐν I² 76.54 (435–414, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 222); τᾱ ἐψηφισμένα I² 39.49 (446/5); I² 56.20 (ca. 430?); II² 17.10 (394/3); τᾱ ἐκ I² 39.64 (446/5); II² 111.7 (363/2); τᾱ ἐγκτήματα II² 43.27–28 (378/7) decrees; τᾱ ἐφ' II² 1363.9 (fin. s. IV a. aut init. s. III a.) sacred calendar; τᾱ ἐργ- I² 347.41 (439/8), I² 348.75 (438/7), I² 349.11, 25 (437/6), I² 350.48 (436/5); II² 1666.A.43 (356/5–353/2); τᾱ ἐπίκρᾱνα II² 1678.4 (ca. 350, cf. SEG 13.49); II² 1680.1 (fin. s. IV a.?). τᾱ ἐκ II² 1466.9 (ca. 330); τᾱ ἐμπόλια II² 1675.24 (ca. 337/6), τᾱ ἐργα *ib.* 29–30; τᾱ ἐπὶ II² 1536.10 (ca. 250); τᾱ ἐναίετια I² 349.21, 23 (437/6) inventories; etc.

The unusual crasis τῆριτῖμα occurs in a very fragmentary amphiktyonic law, II² 1127.c7 (ca. 350); but there are certainly non-Attic forms on the fr., which may be assumed to have been in Phocian.

f) κᾱ- from καί + ᾰ- or ἐ- On consideration of the enormous number of places in which καί precedes ᾰ- or ἐ- without crasis, the rarity of κᾱ- is striking. In public texts it is post-classical:

κακείθεν Π² 903.8 (176/5); Π² 1006.12 (122/1), κακεί *ib.* 30, but καί ἔθυσαν, καί ἐν etc. *passim al.* These texts are both state decrees. Perhaps κακεί- was a phrase which tended to fuse like τάναντία, κατὰ ταῦτά etc. This is certainly true of κάγαθός, attested only in the expressions πολλὰ κάγαθα and καλὸς κάγαθός, e.g. πολλὰ κάγαθα Π² 1275.11 (s. III/II a., cf. Sokolowski, *Supplément* p. 210, no. 126; SEG 21.534) decree (thiasotai), has καί ἄν *ib.* 7–8, 16; καί αὐτοὺς *ib.* 7, 8; καί εἰς *ib.* 10; καί ἐγγόν- *ib.* 11–12; καλὸς κάγαθός Π² 1072.9 (116/7p.) decree. But even in these and similar phrases failure to indicate crisis is found: πολ[λ]ὰ κα[ὶ] ἀγα[θ]ά Π² 1183.12 (post 340) decree (deme), has τάναντία *ib.* 13, but τὰ ἄλλα *ib.* 26; πολλὰ καί[ι] ἀγα[θ]ά Π² 1196.B20–21 (ca. 335–330) decree (deme), probably has τὰ ἐναντία (cf. e) *supra*); εὐσεβής καί ἀγ[α]θός Π² 1369.33 (ca. 200p.) law (eranistai). Cf. *Attische Urkunden* 3 (= *SB Vienna* 1925) p. 61, no. 18, line 3 (= SEG 3.226) decree: κἄν (= καί + ἐν) (s. IIp.); also edicts, etc., cf.: κάμοι, κἄν (< καί + ἄν) Π² 1100.46, 25 (ca. 124p.) imp. edict; κάμοι *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p. 78, no. 34, line 13 (s. IIp.), κἄν (= καί + ἄν) *Hesperia*, suppl. 13 (1970) pp. 3 ff., line E 65 (ca. 175p.) imp. letters. ὁ κἄρ- is not due to crisis in *Hesperia*, suppl. 12 (1967) pp. 163 ff., lines 66, 149 (= Π² 1999.10, 36) (init. s. IIIp., cf. SEG 24.200) cat., but represents ὁ κα(ι) Ἀρ-, cf. ὁ κ Καρποφόρος = ὁ καί Καρποφόρος *ib.* 147.

g) ἥ- from ἡ or μή + ἐ-. The only convincing examples of fusion of -η and ἐ- are rare cases in which ἡ or μή occur in phrases joined closely to the following word: cf. μῆλαττον Π² 1237.63 (396/5) decree (phratry), has τάναντία *ib.* 113; μῆλάττονος ZPE 25 (1977) p. 243, line 55 (post 403/2) sacred calendar, has ταῦτά *ib.* 62; perhaps also ἐάμ μεκ [π]ρονο[α]ς (in Attic script) in the decree, Π² 115.11 (409/8) (L.), unless due to casual omission; ἡτέρα Π² 1615.14, 87 (post 358/7) inv., has ἡ ἑτέρα *ib.* 93; Π² 1498.76 (340–333) inv.; ἡμή (= ἡ ἐμή, cf. D. W. Prakken, *AJP* 61 [1940] pp. 62–65) Robert, *Etudes* (1938) pp. 296 ff., line 40 (= Siewert, pp. 5–7) (paulo post 350? cf. *Charisterion Orlandou* A, pp. 79–87) oath (ephebes). The suggestion that ἡς κριτεκχούσα should be interpreted as ἡς κριτέ ἐν|κχούσα is plausible enough in the sacred calendar from Paiania, Sokolowski, *Supplément* p. 45, no. 18, lines 29–30 (= SEG 21.27) (ca. 445), but it is perhaps better to assume an accidental omission rather than any fusion κριτήκχουσα; earlier editors had interpreted the letters as ἡς κριτέ(ν)|κχούσα, cf. *AM* 66 (1941) p. 171, no. 1 (= SEG 10.28). For the normal -η ἐ-, cf. με ἔλαττον I² 76.6, 6–7 (435–414, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 222), has ταῦτά *ib.* 14, 21, 35–6; ἡ ἐπί Π² 1429.53 (ca. 367/6) inv.; ἡ ἑτέρα Π² 1616.86 (post 358/7); Π² 1615.93 (cf. *supra*); Π² 1542.24 (ca. 350); Π² 1461.22 (post 330/29) inventories; etc.

Some scholars would write μῆκ, ἡτέρα, μῆλαττον, etc. and call these examples aphaeresis or prodelision (cf. 33.02, p. 426 *supra*).

The spelling φιάλη ἔργυρη in the inv., Π² 1425.322 (368/7), is probably a careless omission; for examples of this type, cf. p. 426 *supra*.

h) τά- from τό + ἀ-. It is doubtful if this rare crisis is attested at all in public texts from Athens. The reading κοινεῖ καὶ ἰδ(α)ι τᾶγαθόν in a decree of troops passed at Sunium, Π² 1270.8 (298/7), should probably be corrected to κοινεῖ καὶ ἰδ(α)ι ἀγαθόν, although the stone is too worn for absolute certainty (L.) (cf. 22.012, p. 359 *supra*).

i) ταυτό This crisis is apparently post-classical in public texts: cf. --ΑΙ πανταχοῦ ταυτό-- in Π² 1105B.b14 (aet. Hadriani) imp. letter, where the interpretation is not entirely certain. But ταῦτῳ (= τῷ αὐτῷ) is certain in another imp. letter, cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 13 (1970) pp. 3 ff., line E 39 (ca. 175p.), although τὰ αὐτά occurs *ib.* E 54, E 99 (has κἄν, cf. f) *supra*). For ταυτό in priv. texts, cf. 34.022 *infra*.

j) τᾱ- from τοῦ + ᾱ- This fusion, very rare, is found twice in one decree of dionysiasts of the second century B.C., cf. τάνδρος I² 1326.19 (176/5), τάδελοῦ *ib.* 32. For the normal τοῦ ᾱ- cf. e.g. I² 1376.20–1 (ca. 400) inv.; I² 1631.357–8 (323/2) inv.; I² 563.14 (307–300) decree; I² 834.11 (paulo post 229/8) decree; I² 2332.14, 51 (183/2) cat.; I² 1341.9 (ca. 50) decree (synodos); etc.

The reading τῳγάματος in the inv., I² 372.75 (409/8), has been interpreted by Hiller as τῳγάματος (cf. IG I², p. 340), which is quite dubious; one would expect τᾱγάματος if any fusion were involved; probably τῶ ἀγάματος with casual omission of an A is the best interpretation; in the Attic script γ has the form Λ, easily confused with A.

k) τοῦ- from τοῦ + ὀ- This crasis is only attested in the phrase τοῦβολοῦ, which occurs in two fourth-century inventories: I² 1673.36 (333/2? cf. AE 1971, p. 112), has τὰ ἄλλα *ib.* 27, τὰ ἀρτήματα *ib.* 14; I² 1672.125 (329/8), has ὀκτώβολων *ib.* 206.

m) τοῦ- from τό + ὀ- Rare in prose texts, cf.: τῶπισθεν θοίματιο *Hesperia* 9 (1940) p. 309, no. 27, line 6 (ca. 430–425) inv.; τούνομα I² 1362.11, 16 (fin. s. IV a.) edict of a priest, Meiggs-Lewis p. 48, no. 23, line 33 (= *Hesperia* 31 [1962] p. 311) (inscribed s. III a.) Themistocles decree. But usually τὸ ὀ-, e.g.: τὸ ὄνομα I² 90.26 (422, cf. SEG 21.46) decree; I² 1237.19 (396/5) decree (phratry), has τάναντία *ib.* 113; τὸ ὀρθόν I² 1522.29 (post 336/5) inv.; τὸ ὀπτάνιον I² 1672.189 (329/8) inv.; etc.

For προῦνόησεν, προσῆθεν, etc., cf. Morphology.

n) ὦ from ω + ὀ- Occurs only in ὀκτώβ[ο]λων in an inv., I² 1672.206 (329/8), has τούβολοῦ *ib.* 125. Some would call this prodelision, writing ὀκτῶ' βολων (cf. p. 426 supra).

o) τοι from τοῦ + ι- Occurs only in the phrase τῶπισθεν θοίματιο in an inv., *Hesperia* 9 (1940) p. 309, no. 27, line 6 (ca. 430–425), presumably for τὸ δπισθεν τοῦ ιματίο (cf. p. 498 infra). For οὔ' νεστιν in I² 1672.129 (329/8) inv., cf. p. 426 supra.

The τινδευν for τιν δὲ οὔν in line 15 of a decree of Thracian aliens, I² 1283 (263/2, cf. SEG 24.155), is just careless omission, cf. σφγγους *ib.* 18 (cf. p. 399 supra).

34.022 Private texts

Crasis is found in private texts of all periods. The following types of crasis are found only in private texts: τᾱ- from τῶ + ᾱ-; οὔ- from ὀ + ἑ-; κῆ- from καί + ἥ-; κελ- from καί (= [ke]) + εἰ (= [i]); χῶ from καί + ὀ; τόμόν from τό + ἑμόν; τᾱ- from τό + ᾱ- (but cf. 34.021 h, p. 431 supra); ταυτό before the Roman Period.

Crasis is especially common in metrical texts. The Attic examples are:

τάθεναίαι on several archaic dedications, cf. p. 427 supra for the examples;

[τ]ῶπικλέος I² 1022 (= IGAA p. 144, no. 58) (ca. 540–530?) sep. mon.;

χῶδι (for καὶ ἠῶδι) IGAA p. 127, no. 19 (= GVI 1, p. 25, no. 72; I² 983, corrected) (ca. 525?) sep. mon.;

κάδελεφεῖς, Ἀρχιῶσι IGAA p. 139, no. 48 (= SEG 10.452 a) (ca. 540?) sep. mon.;

κάνέθεκε I² 540 (= DAA p. 33, no. 31) (ca. 500?) ded.;

κάγαθῶ I² 995 (= IGAA p. 147, no. 68) (ca. 500 aut paulo post) sep. mon.;

κάκνοι IGAA p. 130, no. 26 (ca. 500) sep. mon.;

Φίλο[δ]έμο κἀν[θ]εμ[ί]ονος I² 1026 a (= IGAA p. 140, no. 50) (ca. 550) sep. mon.; highly probable restoration;

τάθηναι DAA p. 239, no. 210 (= I² 581 a + I² 652 + I² 668) (init. s. V a.) ded.;
 háρεσιό I² 658 (= DAA p. 344, no. 322) (paulo ante 480) ded.;
 τάντρον I² 788 (ca. 450–400, cf. LSAG p. 323, no. 17) ded., carved on rock in cave at Vari, in Doric dialect;
 φθιμενήχω I² 10650.3 (ca. 410) sep. mon.; some would call this prodelision, cf. 33.02, p. 426 supra;
 τῶνομα I² 11912 (ca. 400) sep. mon.; O = ου;
 τόμόν I² 7965 (ante 350) sep. mon.; O = ου;
 ταῦτ' ἐνόμιζον I² 5673 (ca. 350) sep. mon.;
 προὔπεμψε I² 6626 (post 350) sep. mon.;
 προὔθηκεν, ταῦτό (in prose texts only in Roman times, cf. 34.021i, p. 431 supra) I² 6320 (post 350) sep. mon.;
 τάμά I² 8388.5 (init. s. III a.) sep. mon.;
 χῶ (καὶ ὁ) I² 3474.6 (ca. 150) ded.;
 τοῦνομα I² 10113.3–4 (s. IV a.) sep. mon.;
 τοῦνομα I² 9204 (s. II a.) sep. mon.;
 οὐκ (ὁ + ἐκ) I² 10162 (s. I p.) sep. mon. (L.);
 προὔχοντα I² 3963 (post 128/9 p.) ded.;
 προὔχοντα I² 3743 (post 158/9 p.) ded.;
 τοῦνεκα *Annuario* n. s. 21/22 (1959/60) p. 421 (= SEG 22.156) (ca. 176 p.) ded. (L.);
 κἀρχοντος I² 3618.9–10 (ca. 150 p.) ded.;
 κἀγῶ I² 13169/71 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.;
 προὔνόησε I² 13172 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.;
 τοῦνεκα I² 11674.15 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.;
 τοῦνομ' I² 13148.4 (s. II/III p.) sep. mon.;
 τάνδρι I² 11267.9–10 (s. II/III p.) sep. mon.;
 τοῦνομα I² 10116.12 (s. II/III p.) sep. mon.;
 κείκοσῶ, κἄν (= καὶ + ἄν, particle with optative) I² 10073.9, 16 (s. II/III p.) sep. mon.;
 κούχι I² 13150.7 (s. II/III p.) sep. mon.;
 τοῦνομ' ἔχων I² 3015.5 (210–220 p.) ded.;
 κἀγῶ (not καιγῶ as in IG I²) I² 3014.3–4 (s. III p.) ded. (L.);
 κάμοι I² 12701.12–13 (s. III p.) sep. mon.;
 τοῦνεκα I² 3669.18 (ca. 269/70 p.) ded.;
 τοῦνεκα I² 4223 (327–395 p.) ded.

Cf. also in texts with metrical faults, κάμοι I² 7863.6 (paulo ante 317/6) sep. mon.; κῆνθησα (καί + ἦνθησα) I² 10699 a (in add.) 8 (s. II/III p.) sep. mon.

Note also κάποιεσέ με, κάπόεσε, dipinti in metrical signatures on two vases of Exekias, cf. ABV p. 145, no. 13; p. 143, no. 1; τῶστρακον (= τὸ δῶστρακον), in verse incised on an ostrakon of the 480s, cf. AJA 51 (1947) pp. 257 ff. (cf. AJA 53 [1949] pp. 266–268).

The failure to indicate crasis in writing when demanded by the metre is very rare: ἀνθ' ὧν εὐλογίας καὶ ἐπαίνων ἀξιός εἰμι Π² 8593.6–7 (ante 350) sep. mon.;

Ἀδριανοῦ καὶ οὐχὶ Θησεῶς πόλις Π² 5185.2 (128/9 p.) ded.;

γένους τε ἔκατι καὶ ἀρετῆς δση νέφ Π² 4006.3 (ca. 230 p.) ded.

Probably also in the ded., DAA p.29, no.25 (= I² 578, corrected) (ca. 490), [τ]εῖ Ἀθ[ε]ναῖαι has been written for τάθENAῖαι, as the line makes a good hexameter with crasis (cf. p.427 supra).

After the Archaic Period (for these examples see 34.01, pp.427–428 supra) crasis is less frequent in private texts which are not in verse: cf. e.g. τᾶγαλμα Π² 3096.5 (ante 350) ded.; κάκεῖνοι Π² 3977.6 (ca. 150 p.) ded.; κᾶν (= καί + ἐν) Π² 3592.26 (165/6–168/9 p.) ded. (L.).

For τᾶλλα, κάμοι, κᾶν in imperial letters, cf. 34.021 a, f, pp.429, 431 supra. Cf. also θυλῶι for τῶι υἱῶι in the text of an epistle incised on a lead tablet dating probably to the early part of the fourth century B.C., cf. SIG³ no.1259.b4 (= IG III.3, p.ii [Praefatio]).

Lit.: cf. 34.00 supra; Allen pp.124–126; CSPA 10 (1977) pp.174–175.

b) CONSONANTS

35.00–42.00 Simple Consonants

35.00 Confusion of voiced and voiceless stops

35.01 Confusion of π and β

a) The group μπ passed from [mp] to [mb] eventually in all Greek dialects, cf. Schwyzler, GG 1, p.210. But in Attic inscriptions testimony for this change is confined to spellings of two foreign names.

The change from -μπ- to -μβ- in Ἀμβρακία was probably an Illyrian development, cf. Schwyzler, *Gram. pergamenischen Inschriften* p.127, note 1, and -μβ- in this word would thus prove nothing about Attic -μπ-. Only the spelling with beta occurs in Attic texts later than 300 B.C.

Ἀμπρακι-: Π² 1607.64 (373/2) inv. (L.); Π² 403.9 (350–320) decree (L.).

Ἀμβρακι-: Π² 236.b6 (338/7) decree (L.); Π² 3083.9 (271/0) ded.; Π² 4931.2 (init. s. II a.) ded.; Π² 951.2–3 (post 168/7) decree:]βρακιῶται (L.); Π² 8048 (date?) sep. mon.

There is mention in Stephanus of Byzantium and Eustathius of Ἀμπρακι-, cf. C. Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland* 1 (Leipzig, 1862) p.35, note 2. One finds considerable variation between Ἀμβρ- and Ἀμπρ- in codd. of literary authors, even of writers of the Roman Period:

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MSS of Plutarch, etc. have both spellings, cf. Pape-Benseler 'Αμβρακία, 'Αμπρακία s.vv.; the papyrus (late s. Ip., cf. Turner, *GMAW* p. 102) of Aristotle's *Athenaion Politeia* has 'Αμπρ- (17.4.4 of Kenyon's OCT edition), but confusion of voiced and voiceless stops is common in papyri, cf. Mayser-Schmoll p. 143 and note 1; Gignac pp. 83–86. 'Αμβρ- is the reading of codd. for *Politics* 5.1303 a.23, 1304 a.31, 1311 a.40.

The spelling 'Ανβλεᾶτος for the Roman Ampliātus in a sep. mon., I² 6937 (s. II p.) (L.), may not indicate anything about the normal Attic pronunciation of -μπ-, since -μβ- occurs in a non-Greek word here. 'Αμπλιᾶτος is also found, e.g. I² 2132.33 (ca. 192/3 p.) eph. cat.

Σηλυμβριανός is normal in Attic texts: e.g. *passim* in I² 116 (409/8 aut ca. 407, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 267, no. 87) decree; Σελυμβριανοί *passim* in tribute documents, cf. e.g. *Hesperia* 41 (1972) p. 410 (= new fr. of *ATL* 2, no. 1 = I² 191) (454/3), I² 198.58 (= *ATL* 2, no. 8, col. 1.57) (447/6), I² 200.21 (= *ATL* 2, no. 10, col. 1.26) (445/4), I² 202.9 (= *ATL* 2, no. 12, col. 2.9) (443/2), I² 210.12 (= *ATL* 2, no. 20, col. 5.12) (435/4); etc.; I² 43.B29 (378/7) decree; *Hesperia* 23 (1954) p. 274, no. 125 (s. II/a.), I² 10261 (= *LSAG* p. 371, no. 39) (fin. s. V a.?) where μ is not omitted (L.), sep. monuments; etc.; in I² 1034, Σαλυβρίαν preserves the vowel normal in the town itself, cf. 6.0421 a. A single sep. mon. has Σαλυπριανός, cf. I² 10261 a (in text) (ca. 350–300). Σαλυμβριανός is the only spelling found on texts from the district itself, although both the examples are late, cf. *SGDI* 3.1, p. 37, no. 3069; *RA* 18 (1911) p. 444.

Only -β-, never -π-, is attested in the ethnic of Mesembria: Μεσημβριανός, I² 9338 (ca. 350) sep. mon.; Μεσημβριανός, I² 9339 (s. III/II a.) sep. mon.

Isolated is the reading Εὐπουλίδ(ης) (= Εὐβουλ-), in a decree of sarapiastai dated 215/4, cf. I² 1292.31 (cf. Vidman p. 4, no. 2 for the date).

The Νύση read earlier on the hydria of the Meidias painter, *ARV*² p. 1313, no. 5 (cf. Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* p. 145), must be corrected to 'Αρνιόση, cf. *HRF* 2, p. 180; *CVA*, England 8, plate 91.1 a–d.

b) The Attic tribute documents waver between Μηκυβεργαῖοι and Μηκυπεργαῖοι. Here the spelling with beta was normal; -βεργ- probably = -φεργ- with β for φ characteristic of Macedonian, Thracian, Illyrian, etc. The variation between voiced and voiceless stops is similar to that seen in other words apparently non-Greek, cf. τ/δ in 35.03 c and Κόρτυς/Γόρτυς in 35.02 b, although in this case the paucity of documents from Mekyberna makes it impossible to know whether the variation between -π- and -β- was current in that town or is due to a difficulty, found elsewhere in the tribute lists, in transcribing a sound slightly different from any in Attic. Μεκυπεργαῖοι: I² 191.10 (= *ATL* 2, no. 1, col. 5.10) (454/3); I² 195.27 (= *ATL* 2, no. 5, col. 3.15) (450/49); I² 200.3 (= *ATL* 2, no. 10, col. 3.3) (445/4); I² 201.44 (= *ATL* 2, no. 11, col. 3.33) (444/3); I² 203.13 (= *ATL* 2, no. 13) (442/1). Μεκυβεργαῖοι: I² 197.9 (= *ATL* 2, no. 2, col. 9.5) (453/2); I² 199.23 (= *ATL* 2, no. 9, col. 2.23) (446/5); I² 64.113 (= *ATL* 2, no. A 10, col. 5.23) (422/1).

c) The Attic decree, I² 212 (= Tod, *GHI* 2, p. 193, no. 167) (347/6), agrees with five inscriptions from Panticapaeum (Kertch) and near Phanagoria (cf. Tod, *GHI*,

p.206) and coins in the spelling Παιρισιάδης for the ruler in the Bosphorus (ruled ca. 347–309 B.C.), although Dinarchus 1.43 calls this man Βηρισιάδης (Βιρισιάδης codd., ι for η is an itacistic error), a simple confusion with the Thracian prince Βηρισιάδης, king of the Odrysians; cf. Βηρισιάδης in II² 126.5, 8, 14 (357/6, cf. Tod, *GHI* 2, p. 151, no. 151).

For the Bosporan prince the codd. of [Demosthenes] 34.8 and 34.36 vary between Παρεισιάδης and Παρυσιάδης; the latter spelling occurs also in Diodorus 20.24; Παρισιάδης in Strabo 7.310.

d) In two cases an unusual passing of π to β occurs in the Roman Period. There are possibly as many as four Attic instances of β for π in the names Ἐπαφρᾶς, Ἐπαφροδίτος, etc.: Ἐβ[α]φρᾶδος *Hesperia* 32 (1963) p.56, no.110 (s. IIp.) sep. mon.; Ἐβαφρᾶς (Ἐπαγάθου, Ἐπαγαθῷ in this same text) II² 9552 (= Peek, *AG* 1, p.23, no.78) (s. IIp.) sep. mon.; Ἐβαφρᾶντος II² 12983 (s. IIp.) sep. mon.; Peek, *AG* 2, p.39, no.147 (aet. Rom.?) sep. mon.: Ἐβαφρ[ο]δ[ι]του (based on Ἐβαφραιτου, known only from a copy of Pittakes). The spellings with -π- are normal and far more frequent, e.g. Ἐπαφρᾶς: II² 2024.103 (112/3p.) eph. cat.; II² 11271, II² 11273 (both s. I/IIp.), II² 9551 (s. IIp.), II² 11273a (in text) (aet. Rom.) sep. monuments; II² 2199.156 (ca. 200p.), II² 2245.83 (262/3 aut 266/7p.) eph. catalogs; etc.; Ἐπαφροδίτος: II² 2024.49 (112/3p.) eph. cat.; II² 11277 (s. I/IIp.) sep. mon.; II² 2067.75 (154/5p.), II² 2097.274 (169/70p.) eph. catalogs; II² 11275, II² 11276 (both s. IIp.) sep. monuments; II² 2199.16, 76, 110, 158 (ca. 200p.), II² 2245.24 (262/3 aut 266/7p.) eph. catalogs; II² 4818 (s. II/IIIp.) ded.; II² 9554, II² 12040/1 (both aet. Rom.) sep. monuments; etc.

For the demotic Συβαλήντιος the spelling Συβαλήντιος begins to occur in the latter part of the first century A.D.: II² 1990.13 (61/2p.) (L.), II² 1996.64 (84/5–92/3p.) (L.) eph. catalogs; II² 10408 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.: Συβαλητίου (L.); II² 7494 (s. I/IIp.) sep. mon.; II² 2019.27 (ca. 110p.), II² 2020.35 (ca. 110p. aut paulo post) (L.) eph. catalogs; II² 7498 (ante 150p.) sep. mon.: ἐξυβαλητίων (L.); II² 2067.139 (154/5p.) eph. cat.; II² 7487 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon. The original spelling Συπαλήντιος also occurs in Roman times, but considerably less frequently; probably no example is later than 100 A.D.: II² 7490, II² 7491, II² 7495, all sep. monuments dated s. Ip.; II² 7488 (= *IG* III, no.2024) and II² 3465 (= *IG* III, no.934) are of the Hellenistic Period.

Before the first century A.D. only Συπαλήντιος occurs. The Συπταλίαν of II² 1590a (in add.)³ (= *AM* 48 [1923] p. 1, no. 1) is for Ψνταλίαν.

The interpretation [Ἐ]πιγόνῃ ἐξυβε[ταιόνων] (based on Pococke's copy: ΠΙΤΟΝΗΕΕΥΒΕ) for the sep. mon., II² 7588 (aet. Rom.), was wisely discounted by G. A. Stamires, cf. *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p. 270; the demotic immediately after the name of a woman would be peculiar, and the explanation [Ἐ]πιγόνῃ ἐτ(ῶν)·νβ (based on Fourmont's ΠΙΓΟΝΗΕΤΥΒΒ) is in all respects superior.

In these cases, the tense stop [p] was relaxed to a lax one [p], probably then further relaxed to [b], perhaps under the influence of the following consonants, either the aspirate φ, or λ. The names Ἐβαφρᾶς, Ἐβαφροδίτος are also attested outside Attica,

as well as the spellings Ἐβαφρίων, Ἐβίκτητος, ἐβεσκεύασεν, ἐβίσκοπος, and Ἐβη-καρπία. Note also Plutarch's mention (*Quaestiones graecae* 2.292) of βικρός and βατεῖν as variants for πικρός and πατεῖν at Delphi. These examples and others are discussed by Wilhelm (cf. Lit. infra).

Lit.: MS³ p.77, notes 659–662; p.84, note 718; Wilhelm, *Beiträge* pp.27–28; Mayser-Schmoll p.145; Gignac pp.83–86.

35.02 Confusion of κ and γ.

For κν versus γν, cf. 46.031; for ἀργόπολις, cf. 46.011; for Πίκρες ~ (Π)ίγρες, cf. 46.0111.

a) Assimilation of γ to κ in two sep. monuments: Μεκακλῆιος II² 8491 (fin. s. V a./init. s. IV a.) (L.); Μεκαρικῆ II² 9318 (s. III a.).

For the Μεκακλῆς on a rf. vase cited by Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* p.144, cf. Beazley's note, ARV² p.863, Pistoxenos painter no.31: "The inscription Μεκακλῆς ἐποίησεν is modern, whether over an ancient inscription or not: Mrs. Callipolitis-Feytmans was not allowed to clean the vase." Beazley also had doubts about Κλαύκων on another rf. vase cited by Kretschmer (*loc. cit.* p.234), cf. ARV² p.1582, no.28.

κ for γ is perhaps due to assimilation to a following voiceless stop in θυκάτηρ on a sep. mon., II² 6331 (s. III a.) (L.).

b) In the dedication, I² 488 (post 550), read: Θρῳαῖχς Κορτυνίω (L.), with the ethnic used as a man's name. Here the Arcadian Gortys has usually been thought of because κ is attested as the initial consonant in ancient times: thus K appears on coins of Arcadian Gortys, cf. HN² p.418 (coin of 194 B.C.); K- occurs in IG V.2, no.441, lines B6–7 (s. II a.); cf. also Hesychius, s.v. Κορτύνιος (2, p.514, ed. Latte): Κορτύνιοι: οἱ Ἀρκάδες: ἡ γὰρ Κόρτυς τῆς Ἀρκαδίας.

There is also interchange of K and Γ in Cretan inscriptions, but usually involving κλ and γλ (cf. *Kadmos* 9 [1970] p.136), and there is apparently no ancient authority for Κόρτυν = Cretan Gortyn; the reference in RE s.v. Gortyn, col.1665 is to the Hesychius gloss just cited, which refers to Arcadian Gortys.

Raubitschek's attempt to read Θε]αρίς in place of Θρῳαῖχς goes willfully against what appears on the stone (cf. DAA p.82, no.77).

The spelling Γορτύνιος (which town is meant is uncertain) occurs on later sep. monuments, e.g. II² 8464 (fin. s. V a.), II² 8465 (s. I p.), II² 8463 (aet. Rom.).

Another instance of K for γ involving a foreign word is the signature Βρῦκος on a handle of a rf. vase belonging to the circle of the Brygos painter, ARV² p.398, no.12 (Acrop. 294fr., Brygos, potter). Although the normal Greek form was Βρῦγος, also normal on vases of the Brygos painter (cf. 39.00, p.471 infra), Βρῦκος is an occasional variant in codd. of literary authors, and probably existed from the beginning. Vases of the Brygos painter himself occasionally show a use of Π for φ suggesting non-Greek affinities (cf. 38.012b, p.453 infra; Cambitoglu, *The Brygos Painter* pp.10–11).

The tribute texts always have κ in the ethnic of the Rhodian town Βρικινδάριος, but two inscriptions from Rhodes of considerably later date have γ in this ethnic, cf. IG XII.1, no. 730 (106–78); IG XII.1, no. 166 (precise date unknown, but certainly post 300). It is reasonable to suppose that the Attic documents are accurate for their time, and that the change $\kappa \rightarrow \gamma$ had not yet occurred in the fifth century B.C. Athenaeus 14.652d, quoting Lynkeus of Samos, gives Βρυγινδαρίδας, but the papyrus (s. I/II p., cf. Turner, GMAW p. 72, no. 39) of the third-century B.C. writer Herondas has Βρικίνδηρα (cf. 2.57).

c) K may occasionally be used as an abbreviation for Γάιος, like the Latin C (cf. Avi-Yonah, *Abbreviations* p. 73), but the K interpreted by B.D. Meritt as K(άιος) in *Hesperia* 33 (1964) p. 223, no. 69, line 2 (ca. 200 p.) pryt. cat., stands for K(ύντος), cf. K = K(ύντος) in *Hesperia* 33, p. 224, no. 70 (fin. s. II p.) cat.

d) For HEATOP, certain on a vase of Exekias, ABV p. 145, no. 19 (L.), cf. καδέθεκεν in 35.03 b *infra*.

Lit.: MS³ pp. 74–75, notes 647–649; Mayser-Schmoll pp. 143–144; Gignac pp. 77–80.

35.03 Confusion of τ and δ

For Ἀτραμύττειον/Ἀδραμύττειον, cf. 46.0112; for Πύτνα, cf. 46.032.

a) Confusion of τ and δ in Attic words is extremely rare. Perhaps due to assimilation are: Τυτάρεος for Τυνδάρεως on a rf. cup signed by Hieron, ARV² p. 459, Makron no. 4 (= CVA, Germany 21, Text pp. 33–34, no. F2291); on the same vase occurs Ἀφοσιδέ (graphic error or metathesis of τ and δ ?); Μιλτιάτο on an ostrakon of 461 B.C., *Kerameikos* 3, p. 60, no. 55; τότω for δότω in a decree (mesogeioi) of ca. 250 B.C., cf. II² 1247.28 (L.), unless a graphic error (cf. ΣΙΣΕ for ΕΙΣΕ in line 9; ΤΟΝ for ΤΟΣ in line 29).

b) In the καδέθεκεν of an archaic dedication from Eleusis, I² 817 (ca. 550?), may perhaps be seen the same relaxing of [t] to [t̪] (lax t), then to [d] as in β for π in Ἐβαφῶς, Συβαλήττιος (cf. 35.01d). More contemporary with the latter is καδαχθονίους for καταχθονίους on a defixio, Agora inv. no. IL 493, lines 7–8 (= *Hesperia* 6 [1937] p. 389, no. 3, which needs correction; the new reading is that of D. Jordan) (found in a deposit of s. I p. material, but orthography and writing look like s. III p.).

The development of the spelling κραδευτής probably belongs with cases of a stop being softened from tense to lax to voiced; κρατευτής is attested earlier, as would be expected in view of the probable etymological connection with κράτος, cf. Chantraine, *DEG* 2, p. 578. κρατευτής occurs in I² 371.13 (421/0–416/5) (L.); II² 1424 a (in add.) 384 (369/8) (L.); κραδευτής occurs in II² 1541.20 (356/5) (L.); both forms in II² 1425 (368/7), κρατευταί in line 388, κραδευταί *ib.* 415 (L., from a squeeze only for 388).

c) Attic inscriptions always have τ in Σπάρτοκος, in agreement with coins from the Bosphorus, cf. HN² p. 503. Cf. II² 212.1, etc. (347/6) decree; II² 653.10, etc. (285/4)

decree (L.); II² 7972 (s. IIa.) sep. mon. The codd. of Diodorus (12.31, 36; 14.93; 16.31, 52; 20.100.7) have Σπάρτακος (for the o of Σπάρτοκος, cf. 6.03 c, p.130 supra). Also in agreement with the coins (cf. HN² p.237) is Αὐδωλέων in two decrees of 285/4, II² 654.12, 37; II² 655.8, 10; Αὐδολέων also in codd. to Diodorus 20.19.1, but the Hellenized Αὐτολέων in Polyaeus 4.12. But the delta in Ἀμάδοκος, Μήδοκος is in agreement with codd. of literary writers against the τ of the coins of the king of the Thracian Odrysians (Αματοκο, cf. CAH 8, p.556); Ἀμάδοκος in the decree of 357/6, II² 126.14 (= Tod, GHI 2, p.151, no.151); for this spelling, cf. Demosthenes 23.8, 10, 170; Aristotle, *Politics* 5.1312 a.14. In the decree, II² 22 (ca. 378/7, cf. SEG 24.79), the readings MHΔO (line a2) and ΔΟΚΩΙ (line a4) could be either Ἀμήδοκος, cf. e.g. Xenophon, *Hellenika* 4.8.26, or Μήδοκος, cf. Xenophon, *Anabasis* 7.2.32, 3.16, 7.11. The [M]ηδόκου of the sep. mon., II² 11019 (s. IV/IIIa.), could be either Μήδοκος as in Diodorus 13.105; 14.94, Μηδόκης, or possibly even Ἀμήδοκος.

If the conjecture Σ|δαλκ| is correct in II² 22,a7 it would be an additional example of δ in these Thracian names; codd. of literary writers always have τ, e.g. Herodotus 4.80.2; 7.137.3; Thucydides 2.29, etc.; Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 134, 141; etc. The name Σάδοκος, cf. Thucydides 2.29.5, 67.2, is not found in Attic inscriptions. Boeckh's change of the Σπαράδοκος of the codd. of Thucydides 2.101 and 4.101 to Σπάρδοκος may be unjustified without further attestation for the name of this Odrysian prince. An Athenian citizen named Σπαρτοκίων appears in a decree of 106/5, II² 1011, col. 2.102 (L.).

A case of τ for Latin d occurs in Κανδίτου *Hesperia* 29 (1960) p.29, no.37, line 12 (ca. 170–190p.) cat.; although Κάνδιδος was normal in Greek, Κάνδιτος occurs rarely, e.g. at Megara in the second century A.D., cf. Eckinger p.98.

d) The Attic spelling δάπις (cf. Pollux 10.38; *Hesperia* 25 [1956] p.246) occurs in an inv., *Hesperia* 47 (1978) p.196, line 8 (post 328/7); a late fifth-century inventory preserves only -]τες, cf. *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p.240, no.1, lines 164–175 (ca. 414), for ἀμφιτάτες.

Lit.: MS³ p.79, notes 673–678; Wilhelm, *Beiträge* pp.27–28; Mayser-Schmoll pp.146–147; Gignac pp.80–83.

35.04 Other interchanges of voiced and voiceless stops

Except in certain clusters, the confusion of voiced and voiceless stops of different series is not found; cf. Γρυνχειῖς ~ Βρυνχειῖς, Πίκες ~ (Π)ύγες ~ Πίτες (cf. 46.0111), Μιλτώριος ~ Μιλκώριος (cf. 46.0125). Probably a copying mistake: δεκάγει for δεκάτει, cf. *Hesperia* 38 (1969) p.425, no.2, line 41 (220/19) decree; cf. κερέα for ιερέα *ib.* 49. For δν → γν in Ἀριάδνη, etc., cf. 46.034.

There is a peculiar variation between spellings with and without initial π in the tribute lists: Ἰστασος in I² 64.106 (= ATL 2, no. A10, col.5.16) (422/1), Πίστασος in I² 211.27 (= ATL 2, no.21) (434/2); Ἰγρες in *Hesperia* 43 (1974) p.314, no.1, line 7 (453/2), but Πι- elsewhere (examples in 46.0111 *infra*). The variation is caused by some kind of difficulty in transliterating a foreign name.

36.00 Spirantization of γ

For γίνομαι, cf. 46.033 b, pp. 562 ff. *infra*.

36.01 Omission of intervocalic γ

36.011 ὀλίος ← ὀλίγος, Φιαλεύς ← Φιγαλεύς

Intervocalic γ is omitted *after* ι before an a- or o-vowel in ὀλίγος and derivatives and in Φιγαλεύς; the first examples appear in the later fourth century B.C., and the last in the second century B.C.

a) ὀλίγος, etc.:

- 1) ὀλίους IG 11375.2 (350–300) sep. mon. (L.);
- 2) ὀλιάρχαι IG 448.61 (318/7) decree (L.);
- 3) ὀλίον IG 1325.22 (185/4) decree (dionysiai);
- 4) ὀλία IG 949.11 (165/4) decree (L.);
- 5) ὀλία IG 1227.8 (131/0) decree (Salaminian cleruchs);
- 6) Ὀλιανθίδης IG III.3, no. 37.1 (date?) defixio.

There are two contemporary examples from Imbros: ὀλίον IG XII.8, no. 52, line 8 (= BCH 7 [1883] p. 166) (s. IIa.); ὠλιώρησε IG XII.8, no. 53, line 5 (= BCH 7, p. 162) (s. IIa.); ID 3, no. 1504, line 7 (= BCH 13 [1889] pp. 413–415) reads ὀλίγον.

The spelling ὀλίγος is also found in three texts of the Hellenistic Period: IG 834.4, 7 (paulo post 229) decree; IG 1304.36 (post 211/0) decree (troops); IG 968.37, 45 (143/2) decree; ὀλίγος is the only spelling found in the Roman Period: IG 1343.27 (ca. 37/6) decree (soteristai); IG 1078.24 (ca. 220 p.) decree; IG 11952.12 (s. V p.) sep. mon.

A fragment of Plato comicus (168 Kock) mentioning a man who said ὀλίον for ὀλίγον and δητώμην for δητώμην says of him οὐκ ἠττίκτιζεν, which shows that ὀλίος was not normal Attic in the late fifth or early fourth century B.C., especially as Herodian, the source of the Plato fragment (= *Gramm. gr.* 3.2.2, p. 925), says the poet characterized the omission of the γ as βάρορον. Herodian cites ὀλίος as Tarantine, but mentions only a literary source, the late fourth-century writer Rhintho.

It is normally assumed that ὀλίος, etc. indicate spirantization of γ [g] to [γ]; but the omission of γ rather points to further development to [j] (presumably via [γ]), possibly with deletion of [j]. In this direction also point very rare cases of γ to indicate a glide between ι and ε as in Ἰγέρων for Ἰέρων (cf. 36.013 *infra*). But the development to [j] goes beyond the development seen in MG in this word, where [γ], not [j], is normal. Hatzidakis (cf. *Lit. infra*) sought to explain ὀλίος as formed on the basis of analogy from μείον, πλείον, but as ει/___V did not pass to [i] as early as it did in other environments (cf. 9.031), this seems unlikely. The analogical influence of numerous adjectives in -ιος such as πλησίος, ἀντίος (cited by Herodian *loc. cit.*) might be possible. The best explanation seems the assumption of a passing of γ to [j] in ὀλίος in some segments of the population, but which did not become general and eventually disappeared (cf. Περαιεύς, etc. in 15.0127). In Greek papyri of the Ptolemaic Period ὀλίος, etc. are very frequent, but not nearly as common as the original spellings with γ. In these texts too there are frequent

cases like ἀρχιγερεὺς, γερά (cf. Mayser-Schmoll p.142; 36.013 *infra*); here the influence of Egyptian has been ruled out by S.G. Kapsomenos, *Museum Helveticum* 10 (1953) p.254. But by the Roman Period the papyri have ὀλίγος (once ὀλίκος), and the γερεὺς spellings are nearly extinct, cf. Gignac, pp. 71, 72 (and note 3), 79, 136.

Lit.: After 36.013 *infra*.

b) Φιαλεύς: A decree of 265/4 has two cases of Φιαλεύς: Φια[λέων] II² 687.25; Φιαλεῦσιν *ib.* 39 (L.). This spelling is current in local inscriptions by the Hellenistic Period, cf. *IG* V.2, no. 419, lines 6, 11, 15, 19, etc.; *IG* V.2, no. 420, line 19 (s. IIa.); and occurs sometimes in codd. of literary writers of the later Hellenistic and Roman Periods, cf. Pape-Benseler s.v. Φιγαλία. Although Hatzidakes (cf. *Lit. infra*) suggested the analogy of φιάλη, it is far more likely that the omission of γ is evidence of spirantization followed by intervocalic yod deletion, i.e. [g]→[γ]→[γ']→[j]; such a development may have been originally local, and the Attic texts merely reflect a spelling current in Arcadia. The word does not otherwise occur in Attic inscriptions.

36.012 Other cases

In MG γ has passed to [j] before [i] and [e], but in Attic inscriptions examples of γ omitted before ε, ι, or ει are virtually unknown. The reading Ἐπιένην (for Ἐπιγένην) in a ded., probably of Roman date, rests only on the authority of Fourmont, cf. II² 4013.10. In II² 4491.3 (s. Ip.) ded. the correct reading is Ὑγεῖ[αι, not Ὑεῖαι (= *IG* III, add. no. 181g) (L.).

The name of the town Τράγιλος is spelled Τράιλος in one of the fifth-century tribute documents, I² 64.115 (= *ATL* 2, no. A10, col.5.25) (422/1), but ΤΡΑΙ, ΤΡΑΙΑΙΟΝ are also normal on fifth-century B.C. coins from this town, cf. *HN*² p.217.

The use of P for γ in the spelling κ]ατεαρότε[ς (= κατεαγότες) in the decree, II² 120.42 (= *IG* II, no. 61.35), is a copying error of the stone-cutter.

36.013 Ἰγέρων for Ἰέρων

The opposite of the spellings ὀλίος, Φιαλεύς can be seen in the use of γ to indicate a spirant glide between ι and a following vowel, found in papyri of the Hellenistic Period and rarely thereafter (cf. Mayser-Schmoll p.142; Gignac p.72, no.4, and note 3). The only Attic examples are four occurrences of the name Ἰγέρων- on three lead pinakia used to identify horses of the hippeis dating from the third century B.C., cf. *AM* 85 (1970) p.217, nos.234(bis), 235, and 236. The same name is spelled Ἰέρων- on other tablets of the same group, cf. *AM* 85, p.217, nos.244–247; *Hesperia* 46 (1977) p.112, no.30; p.118, no.43.

Lit.: MS³ p.75, note 650; Lademann p.56; Sturtevant p.87; Schwyzler, *GG* 1, p.209; Hatzidakes, *GGA* 1899, p.514; Mayser-Schmoll pp.141ff.; Lejeune, *Phonétique* p.56 (= *Traité*² p.47); Gignac pp.71–75.

37.00 Graphemes for Latin consonantal u, Latin qu

37.01 Latin consonantal u

There are several types of Latin consonantal u to be considered here:

1) In initial position before vowels, e.g., before front vowels as in Ventidius, Visellius, etc.; before back vowels as in Valerius, Volusius, etc.

2) Intervocalic position, e.g. Novius, Flavius, etc.

3) Internally after l or r, e.g. Helvidius, Salvius, Calvisius, Nerva, etc.

In all three of these situations when the various lexical items are first attested the Greek graphemes are normally O, Y, or OY, as in Φλά(ο)υιος, Ουεντίδιος, Καλουίσιος, Ο(ύ)αλέριος, Νέρουα, etc. The grapheme B becomes common in the second century A.D., although it is occasionally found even in early Roman times (cf. Βενύστος, p.443; Λ(ε)ύβια, p.445; Ναίβιος, Φόλβιος, p.446; Σέρβιος, p.447). Even after 150 A.D. B is never universal. The pronunciation of the Latin consonant changed from [w] to a fricative, either bilabial [β] or labiodental [v], cf. Sturtevant pp.142–143. That the retention of OY as a grapheme in Greek was in some cases purely orthographic conservatism seems possible, for there are instances of the same person's name spelled both with OY and with B (cf. Ούιβουλλι- and Βιβουλλι- *infra*); and yet the variation could be due to the copyist, who might have employed a divergent pronunciation from that of the individual who bore the name. The OY spellings still occur in the third century A.D., and at least when personal names are concerned, it would not be justifiable to assume no retention of a [w] pronunciation at all, even if there were not supporting evidence for it in Latin literary sources as late as the fifth century A.D. (cf. Sturtevant, *loc. cit.*).

The increased frequency in the use of B for Latin u has been thought by some to be evidence for a change in the Greek pronunciation of B from a labial stop [b] to a fricative (as in MG where β = [v]), but such a view is not entirely convincing. The increase could only reflect the greater frequency of [v] for original [w] in Latin. As there is no evidence for a [b] pronunciation of consonantal u in Latin, the choice as grapheme for it of Greek B, whether pronounced as a voiced labial stop [b] or as a fricative, can only have occurred after the change from [w] to [β] or [v] in Latin. For a sound [β] or [v] there was no satisfactory grapheme in Greek except B, for Φ was used for Latin f (= [f]), and there is very little evidence of confusion of voiced and voiceless sounds in Greek. Neither letter was a wholly satisfactory grapheme, but merely represented the choice of the letter whose sound lay closest to the Latin fricative: Φ = [p'] for Latin F = [f] and B = [b] for Latin u = [v]. Of course it is perfectly possible that some Greeks pronounced Latin sounds correctly and that Φαῦστος, Βῆρος, etc. were sounded [fa^u-st^s] and [ve^r-r^s], but that does not necessarily entail a fricative pronunciation of the two graphemes in native Greek words (cf. 38.03 *infra*).

It can be seen that OY = Latin consonantal u functions as a consonant in Greek verse; for examples, cf. Eckinger p.91; Dittenberger (cf. *Lit. infra*), p.302. For that reason, the accentuation (favored by Eckinger) which treats OY, Y as a consonant, e.g. Φλάουιος, Φούλουιος, etc., is

preferable to that followed by Kirchner in *IG* II², e.g. Φλασούτος, etc., and is adopted here. On the contrary side might be mentioned the allowance of syllabic division after initial OY before vowels, cf. [Ού]||βουλλίων in *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p.193, no.121, lines 17–18 (= II² 1074.17–18) (ca. 120 p.) decree, a text without other exceptions to the rules of syllabic division. There is some evidence that the same possibility of treating u in e.g. silua as consonant or vowel, i.e. sil-ua or sil-ū-a, existed for Greek Σιλουιος, etc., cf. Eckinger *loc. cit.*; for OY as short when for Latin u, cf. 11.043 a, p.222 *supra*.

The use of V for the Latin consonant and U for the vowel in this section is purely conventional; there is no difference in the graphemes in Latin inscriptions of the period covered in this grammar.

Lit.: Eckinger pp.82–94; Gignac pp.68–69, and note 3 (p.68); Dittenberger, *Hermes* 6 (1872) pp.298–309.

37.011 Latin consonantal u in initial position. Before front and back vowels OY is the normal grapheme before the middle of the second century A.D.

Thus: Ουέτερα II² 4145 (fin. s. Ia./init. s. Ip.) ded.; Ουίβιος *Hesperia* 33 (1964) p.215, no.59, line 7 (ca. 40–30) pryt. cat.; Ουίρων II² 3532.3 (ante 50p.) ded.; Ουβίδιος II² 4161 (init. s. Ip.) ded.; Ουέττιος *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p.347, no.5 (ca. 50–ca. 50p.) ded.; Ουεσπασιανός II² 3229.4 (= II² 3281), II² 3283.10 (69–79p.) both dedications (Vespasian); II² 1996.2 (84/5–92/3p.) eph. cat. (Domitian) (L.); Ουιψάνιος II² 2017.14 (paulo post 102p.), II² 2046.32 (paulo ante 140p.) eph. catalogs; Ουιβούλλιος II² 2030.3 (118/9p.) eph. cat., II² 3572 (118/9p.) ded.; Ουιβουλλία II² 1073.3 (cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 [1937] p.193, no.121; *AJP* 70 [1949] pp.299ff.) (ca. 120p.) decree (L.); Ουειτώριος II² 2046.47 (paulo ante 140p.) eph. cat.; etc.

Ουάρος, Ουάριος II² 4124 (ca. 22?) ded., II² 2001.13 (s. Ip.) eph. cat. (L.), II² 2039.22 (126/7p.) eph. cat.; Ουαρία Ουαρίον *Hesperia* 36 (1967) p.44, no.2 (100–150p.) ded.; Ουάλης II² 2022.5 (ca. 112p.) eph. cat. (L.); Ουαλερία *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p.243, no.43, line 6 (81–96p.) ded.; Ουαλέριος II² 4135 (fin. s. Ia.?), II² 4159.1 (init. s. Ip.), II² 3533 (ante 50p.) all dedications; Ουαλα[ρία] II² 4247 (ca. 100p.) ded.; Ουολούσιος II² 2897.2 (s. I/IIp.) ded.; Ουοπεισικου *Hesperia* 29 (1960) p.29, no.37, line 13 (ca. 170–190p.) cat., IOYΨANIAS (= Ουιψανίας) *ib.* 5 (metathesis of I and OY a clerical mistake); etc.

In the early Roman Period O is occasionally found before back vowels for OY: 'Οαλέριος II² 1009, col.4.109 (116/5) decree; 'Ουλτινία II² 4153.4 (aet. Augusti?) ded., in the Latin text above appears Voltinia, although Ultinia is also known from Latin (cf. Eckinger p.93).

Examples of the spelling in B are rare before 150 A.D.: Βενύστος II² 1973.45 (40/1–53/4p.) eph. cat.; Βεργίλιος II² 1996.195 (84/5–92/3p.) eph. cat. (L.); Βέγετος II² 2018.138 (init. s. IIp.) eph. cat.; Βιτελλία II² 4064.3 (ante 128/9p.) ded.; Βερεκοῦνδος II² 2061 a.34 (ca. 150p.) eph. cat. (L.).

The increasing use of B can be seen in texts mentioning Lucius Verus: Βῆρος in II² 3404.5 (163/4p.), II² 3406.4 (161–169p.) dedications, II² 1774.3 (167/8p.) pryt. cat. (L.); Ουῆρος in II² 3405.8–9 (165/6p.); a similar variation between OYI-

and BI- can be seen in names of members of the family of Herodes Atticus in texts dated ca. 150 A.D.: Βιβουλλία II² 3604.9 (ca. 150 p.), same as Ούιβουλλία II² 4063 (ante ca. 135 p.) dedications; Ούιβούλλιος II² 3572.1 (118/9 p.) ded., father of Βιβούλλιος of II² 2050.1 (143/4 p., cf. SEG 24.191) eph. cat.; Βιβούλλιος II² 3979 (post 150 p.) ded., brother of the man whose father is Ούιβουλλίου in II² 3980 (post 150 p.) ded. Cf. Νούμμιος Βάλης in II² 2051.51 (144/5–149/50 p.) eph. cat., alongside Ούεντίδιος in *ib.* 81.

Spellings with B are frequent by the second half of the second century A.D.: e.g. Βικτωρεῖνος II² 2068.210 (155/6 p.) eph. cat., Ούάριος *ib.* 245 (L.); Βίκτωρ II² 1826.27 (post 217 p.) pryt. cat., II² 2208.142 (212/3 p. aut paulo post) eph. cat.; Βειτάλιος II² 1775.18 (168/9 p.) pryt. cat., II² 2208.15, 85, 109–110 (212/3 p. aut paulo post) eph. cat.; Βαλέ(ριος) II² 1783.41 (post 216 p.) pryt. cat., II² 3607.10, 11, 20 (ante 161 p.) ded.; Βαλεριανός II² 2125.27 (190–200 p.), II² 2239.157 (238/9–243/4 p.) eph. catalogs (in the latter also Ουαλέριος in *ib.* 11, 97, 99, 105, 123, 186, 188, 190, 193, 194, 195, Ουάρι(ς) in *ib.* 244, 245; Ουετούριος in *ib.* 94, 289) (L., except lines 11, 123); Βεν(ο)ῦστος: II² 2086.94 (163/4 p.), II² 2103.77 (172/3 p. aut paulo post), II² 2212.47 (init. s. III p.) eph. catalogs; Βιβούλ(λιος) II² 2003.25 (init. s. III p., cf. SEG 24.200) cat.; etc.

But OY is not infrequent at this time and even after 200 A.D., e.g. Ουαλέριος, Ούάριος, Ουετούριος cited in II² 2239 (238/9–243/4 p.) (cf. *supra*); Ουαλέριος *Hesperia*, suppl. 13 (1970) pp. 3ff., lines E9, E51 (ca. 175 p.) imp. letter; Ουίκτωρ II² 4217.3 (init. s. III p.) ded.; Ουοπίσκος II² 1788.3 (174/5 p.) pryt. cat.; Ουεντ(ίδιος) II² 1803.10, 11 (ca. 205 p.) pryt. cat.; Ουεντίδιος II² 2242.23, 40 (238/9 aut 242/3 p.) eph. cat., same men as in II² 2486.14, 13 (ca. 250 p.) cat.; Ουαλέριος *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p. 260, no. 65 (= II² 4007 + new fr.) (paulo ante 238 p.) ded.; etc.

37.012 Latin consonantal u between vowels

Here the preferred grapheme in the earlier examples is -OY- (e.g. Φλάουιος), with -B- (e.g. Φλάβιος) rare before 100–150 A.D. For -OY- there appears fairly often a variant -Y- (e.g. Φλάυιος). Such variants may have been due to attempts to assign one Greek letter to each Latin one, although in effect the spellings were little less satisfactory than those with -OY- because of the natural tendency for a glide to develop between AY-, OY- (= not [u], but [o + y] in Νόνιος), EY- and a following front vowel, e.g. Φλάυιος = [fla^u-wi-^s], rather than [fla^u-i-^s] or [fla-y-i-^s]. For Novius, Νόνιος is normal in Attic; note a similar economy of *ou* in Ἰουβεντιανός, rather than Ἰουβεντιανός, for Iuventianus (for an Attic example, cf. p. 446 *infra*).

Flavius, etc. -AOYI- is the normal spelling in the period before 150 A.D., e.g. Φλάουιος, Φλαουία: II² 4198 (s. Ip.), II² 3114.2 (fin. s. Ip.), II² 3543.8 (fin. s. Ip.), II² 3546.8, 20 (ca. 100 p.), II² 3544.8 (fin. s. Ip.), II² 3559.5 (ca. 100 p.), II² 3560 (ca. 100 p.), II² 4754 (fin. s. Ip.) dedications; II² 2024.10 (112/3 p.) eph. cat.; II² 3590.1 (ca. 122/3 p.), II² 3589.7 (122/3 p.), II² 3593 (post 139/40 p.), II² 3591 (ca. 150 p.) (L.), II² 4065 (ca. 150 p.) dedications; II² 1770.9 (ca. 150 p.) pryt. cat.; etc. -AYI- is

an infrequent variant: Φλανίας II² 4753 (ca. 100p.) private dedication; this is the same woman called Φλαουία in a number of the dedications just cited (II² 4754, II² 3546, II² 3559, II² 3560); Φλαυ' (Φλανιανός or Φλάυιος?) II² 2037.17 (125/6p.) eph. cat., Φλαβιανός in the following line. Φλάβιος, Φλαβία, etc. are rare before 100 A.D., but are not infrequent thereafter: II² 1997.2 (85/6–94/5p.) eph. cat.; *Hesperia* 15 (1946) p.233, no.64 (ca. 100p.), II² 3952.1, 3 (fin. s. I/init. s. IIp.) dedications; II² 2026.2 (116/7p.), II² 2032.1 (119/20–124/5p.) eph. catalogs; II² 4064.6, 7, 8 (ante 128/9p.) ded., these are the same persons called Φλάουιος, Φλαουία in II² 4065, II² 3593, II² 3591 just cited; II² 4068.5 (ca. 150p.), II² 3984.4, 7, 9 (ca. 166/7p.), II² 3985.3 (ca. 166/7p.) dedications; *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p.48, no.11, line 14 (182/3p.) pryt. cat.; II² 3646.6 (fin. s. IIp.), II² 3691 (238/9–243/4p.) dedications; II² 7313 (= *Hesperia* 4 [1935] p.69, no.36) (s. I/IIp.) sep. mon.; etc. Φλαβιανός II² 2037.18 (125/6p.) eph. cat., Φλαυ' in *ib.* 17 (cf. *supra*). -AOY- and -AY- are less common after 150 A.D., e.g. Φλάουιος *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p.75, no.38, line 9 (= *Hesperia* 28 [1959] p.283, no.12) (ca. 175–185p.) cat.; Φλάυιος II² 3704.11 (ca. 250p.) ded.

Novius. Νόυιος is the only form well attested at Athens: II² 3535.4 (ca. 57p.), II² 3270.5 (41p.), II² 3271.5 (42p.), II² 3273.6 (49–53p.), II² 4174.6 (41p.) dedications; II² 1990.6 (61/2p.) eph. cat. (all the preceding refer to the same man); II² 2052.119 (145/6p.) (L.), the same man in II² 2055.8 (145/6p.) eph. catalogs; Νούια II² 9563 (s. IIp.) sep. mon., II² 11795 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon. The spelling Νόουιος occurs in the ded., II² 3306.8 (132p.), where Νοοίου was first inscribed and then Y inserted to produce Νοοίου. For Νόουιος, cf. *SEG* 19.477 (Moesia) (218p.). For Νόβιος (not attested in Attica), cf. *SEG* 18.216 (Delphi) (s. Ip.); *SEG* 20.742.10 (Cyrene) (161p.).

Livius, Livia. The word is rare, and for that reason the unusual statistical relationship of B and OY may not be significant. There are some quite early examples of Λ(ε)ιβι-: Λίβιον II² 4141.3 (fin. s. Ia./init. s. Ip.) ded.; Λιβίαν *Deltion* 23 (1968) p.7, no.3, line 2 (= *SEG* 24.212) (31?) ded.; Λειβία II² 3242 (cf. *Hesperia* 30 [1961] p.187) (45/6p.) ded.; Λειβίας II² 5096 (post 42p.; ante ca. 100p.? cf. *ισρήας*, 9.031, no.49), II² 5161 (aet. Rom.) inscribed on theatre-seats. Λιοϋίαν occurs in II² 3241 (14–29p.) ded. Cf. Λειβιανός, II² 2199.135 (ca. 200p.) eph. cat.

Avidius, etc. 'Αουίδιος, cf. *Hesperia* 32 (1963) p.24, no.25, line 10 (fin. s. Ip.) testament; 'Αυίδιος II² 1776.56 (169/70p.) pryt. cat.; II² 2069.13 (ca. 150p.) eph. cat.; 'Αβίδιος is usually attested later than 150 A.D.: e.g. II² 2119.39, 40 (180/1–191/2p.), II² 2167.13 (s. IIp.), II² 2208.128 (212/3p. aut paulo post), II² 2245.169 (262/3 aut 266/7p.) eph. catalogs; 'Αβιδιανή II² 7701 (s. IIp.) sep. mon.

There was a spelling Αϋδιος, probably a short form of this name (cf. Eckinger p.17): e.g. II² 1998.24–25 (fin. s. Ip.) eph. cat.; II² 1947.8 (s. I/IIp.) cat.; II² 1813.6 (ca. 200p.) pryt. cat.

Cf. AYH = Avienus (cf. Πουπήνιος = Pupienus, cf. 26.03, p.391 *supra*) in the cat. fr., *TAPA* 71 (1940) pp.302–303, line 17 (= II² 2481.17, corrected) (ca. 200p.).

Naevius. An early case of B for Latin u occurs in Ναιβίου (= Naevius), cf. Π² 3238.8 (paulo post 29 p.) ded. But Ναίσο[νιος] on a sep. mon., cf. Peek, AG 1, p. 9, no. 16 (= Π² 5880, corrected; SEG 13.86) (s. Ip.).

Severus, etc. Σεουήρος (less often Σευήρος) and Σεβήρος are common in the late second and early third centuries after Christ when these names are frequent: e.g. Σεουήρ[ω] *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p. 251, no. 53 (197 p.); Σεουήρου Π² 3415.3 (195–198 p.); Π² 4216.3 (ante 205 p.) dedications; Σεουήρου Π² 1077.19 (209/10 p.) decree; Σεουήρου Π² 12595 (s. III p.) sep. mon.; Σευηρίνος Σεουήρου Π² 7882 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.; Σευήρος Π² 4844 (aet. Rom.) ded. (priv.); Σεουήρος Π² 5205 (395–400 p.) ded.; etc.; Σεβήρος Π² 3607.27 (ante 161 p.) ded.; Σεβήρος *Hesperia* 21 (1952) pp. 381 ff., line 33 (= Π² 1092 B.14) (ca. 165 p.) decree; Σεβήρεια Π² 2193.22 (198/9–205/6 p., cf. Graindor, *Album* p. 55); Π² 2196.6 (ca. 200 p.) (L.); Π² 2199.29 (ca. 200 p.); Π² 2200.2 (ca. 200 p.) eph. catalogs; Π² 3015.13–14 (210–220 p.) ded.; Π² 2197.10 (paulo post 200 p.), Π² 2208.108 (212/3 p. aut paulo post) eph. catalogs; etc.

Octavius, etc. B is not usually attested before 150 A.D.: Ὀκτάουιος Π² 2024.54 (112/3 p.) eph. cat.; *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p. 45, no. 14, line 18 (148/9 p.) pryt. cat.; Π² 2052.100 (145/6 p.) eph. cat.: Ὀκτάου[ος] (L.). Ὀκτάβιος *Hesperia* 34 (1965) p. 98, no. 9 (s. I/II p.), Π² 3974.2 (ca. 150 p.) dedications; Π² 2128.40 (190–200 p.), Π² 2130.112 (192/3 p.) eph. catalogs; etc.; Ὀκταβιανός Π² 2119.136 (180/1–191/2 p.) eph. cat.; Π² 12350 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.

A spelling Ὀκτάος is also found at all periods: e.g. Π² 4156.2 (post 14 p.) ded.; Π² 9803 (s. Ip.), Π² 10160 (s. Ip.) sep. monuments; Π² 2020.43 (ca. 110 p. aut paulo post), Π² 2050.73 (143/4 p., cf. SEG 24.191), Π² 2051.28 (144/5–149/50 p.), Π² 2065.90 (150/1 p.) eph. catalogs; etc.; Ὀκταία Π² 10906, Π² 12351, Π² 12352 (aet. Rom.) sep. monuments.

Rare names. Cf. Κείβικα, *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p. 220, no. 78, line 1 (157 p.) ded.; Γαουνίου, *Hesperia*, suppl. 13 (1970) pp. 3 ff., line E35 (ca. 175 p.) imp. letter; Ἰουεντιανοῦ, Π² 4221 (s. III p.?) ded.

37.013 Latin consonantal u after l or r. Best attested is Nerva (frequent); OY is normal before 150 A.D. Νέρουα is frequent in texts of the end of the first and early in the second centuries A.D. in names of various members of the imperial family, e.g. Π² 3284 a (in add.) (= *Hesperia* 3 [1934] p. 74, no. 72) (98–117 p.), Π² 3285 (98–117 p.), Π² 3284.1 (113 p.?), Π² 3287.A2, B2, C2 (124/5 p.), Π² 3387.2 (ca. 128/9 p.), Π² 3299 (132 p.), Π² 3302.2 (132 p.), Π² 3322.3 (132 p.) all dedications; *Hesperia*, suppl. 6 (1941) p. 108, no. 24, line 12 (= Π² 1108 + new frr.) + *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p. 231, no. 31, fr. a, line 10 (= *Hesperia*, suppl. 6 [1941] p. 120, no. 25) series of imp. letters dated ca. 176–180 A.D.

Νέρβα is exceptional: *Hesperia* 42 (1973) p. 175, no. 2 (ca. 100 p.) ded.; *Hesperia* 15 (1946) p. 233, no. 64 (ca. 100 p.) ded.

Φόλβιος probably occurs in a text of the early Roman Period, cf. *Hesperia* 33 (1964) p. 198, no. 50, line 4 (fin. s. Ia.) decree: Φόλβιον. Other cases of B before

150 A.D.: Φο[υλ]βίου Π² 2021.13 (ante 112/3 p.) eph. cat.; Φο[υλ]βιον Π² 3581.3 (ante 150 p.) ded. Φούλβιος alongside Σεουήρος in Π² 4216.3, 6 (ante 205 p.) ded. An instance of Φ[ούλ]ουιος should probably be read as Φ[λά]ουιος, cf. Π² 2776.193 (= IG III, no. 61, lapis B, col. 2.37), cf. S.G. Miller, *Hesperia* 41 (1972) pp. 85–86.

Other examples of B in words of this type which are earlier than 150 A.D. are: Σερ[β]ίου Π² 4236.2 (aet. Augusti) ded.; Σερβ[ίου] Π² 4237 (aet. Augusti) ded.; Ἐλβ[ίδ]ιος Π² 2049.124 (142/3 p.) eph. cat. (L.).

The remaining cases fall into the normal pattern of OY = u before ca. 150 A.D., either OY or B thereafter: e.g. Σέρουιος *Hesperia* 33 (1964) p. 215, no. 59, line 9 (ca. 40–30) pryt. cat.; Καλουέσιος Π² 4111.3, 4 (ca. 45) ded.; Σιλουίνος Π² 4153.4 (aet. Augusti?) ded.; Σερουειλίας Π² 10647 (fin. s. Ia./init. s. Ip.), Σερουιλία Π² 6367 (ante 50 p.), Σερουελιος Π² 11346 (s. Ip.) sep. monuments.

For a variant -AY-, cf. Καλυίνος, Καλυίνα in Π² 4243.2, 3 (50–100 p.) ded.

Σάλβιος Π² 3979.10 (post 150 p.) ded.; Π² 2086.176 (163/4 p.) eph. cat.; Π² 2113.76 (183/4–191/2 p.) eph. cat.

Ἐλβίδιος Π² 2130.3 (192/3 p.) eph. cat.; Π² 3642.1 (192/3 p.) ded.

Σερβελιος Π² 9865 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.; [Σ]ερβία Π² 4817.9, corrected (cf. *AE* 1938, *Chronika* p. 17) (s. II/III p.) ded. (priv.).

-CουV- was the normal equivalent for other cases of Latin -CuV-, cf. Σουμπουάριος, Ἰνγέ-νουος (cited p. 222 supra); Ἰανουάρις Π² 1764.53 (138/9 p.) pryt. cat. (L.). But Ἰανάρμ(ο)ς also occurs, cf. Ἰανάρμς *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p. 252, no. 52, line 26 (init. s. Ip.) pryt. cat.; Ἰαναρίου Π² 2097.67 (169/70 p.) eph. cat. Cf. MG demotic Ἰανάρης and 28.03, p. 407 supra.

37.02 Latin qu

Latin grammatical writings are explicit in stating that the grapheme QU does not represent merely Q (= [k]) + U, and that the U is in fact superfluous. Probably this reflex of the voiceless member of the so-called labio-velar series of stops (attested in Greek only in the Mycenaean Period, cf. Lejeune, *Phonétique* p. 47) was a voiceless velar stop accompanied by rounding of the lips not continued enough for Qu- to count as two consonants in prosody, cf. Sturtevant pp. 169–170. The pronunciation of the stop in Latin must be responsible for the diverse transliterations in Greek: KY- for qui-/—r or l (e.g. Ἀκύλας = Aquila); KOI or KYI for qui- elsewhere; but KOYA- for qua-; and peculiarities like Κυντιανός, Κοδρᾶτος, in which the vowel after Qu- disappears in the Greek.

Before back vowels the normal spelling is KOY, cf. Τορκουᾶτος Π² 4180.3 (ca. 43 p.), Π² 4242.2 (ca. 50 p.) dedications; Π² 3548 a (in add.).5 (= *Hesperia* 3 [1934] p. 72, no. 70) (s. Ip.) ded.; Τορκ[ο]υάτου; *Deltion* 25 (1970) p. 64, no. 14 (ante 64 p.), lines 1, 3 (bis) ded.; Κουαδρᾶτος Π² 3151.2 (ca. 50); Π² 3319 (same as the Κοδρᾶτος in Π² 3310 infra) (132 p.) dedications; *Hesperia*, suppl. 6 (1941) p. 108, no. 24, line 15, 17, 39 (line 39 = Π² 1108.11) series of imperial letters dated ca. 176–180 p. But for the latter name Κοδρᾶτος is a frequent variant, e.g. Π² 3310.8 (= the Κουαδρᾶτος in Π² 3319 cited supra) (post 138 p.) ded.; *Hesperia* 16 (1947) p. 176, no. 78, line 17 (= *Hesperia* 11 [1942] p. 56, no. 22) (150–190 p.) pryt. cat.; Π² 2103.120

(172/3 p. aut paulo post), II² 2068.247 (155/6 p.) (L.), II² 2223.81 (ca. 218/9 p.) (L.) eph. catalogs; II² 2489.9 (s. III p.?) cat.

Before front vowels Latin Qu- is best attested in Attic inscriptions in Quintus and derivatives and Aquila derivatives. In the latter case Ἀκυ- is the invariable transliteration, cf. e.g. Ἀκύλλιος II² 4126.8 (non ante 14) ded. alongside Aquillio in the Latin in *ib.* 1; Ἀκύλας II² 4150 (aet. Augusti), II² 4182 (ca. 50 p.) dedications; II² 2022.3 (ca. 112 p.) (L.), II² 2050.9 (143/4 p., cf. SEG 24.191) eph. catalogs; II² 1806.7 (194/5 p.?) pryt. cat.; etc.; Ἀκυλεῖνος II² 2051.46 (144/5–149/50 p.) eph. cat.; *Agora* 15, p. 262, no. 354, line 4 (= *Hesperia* 17 [1948] p. 42, no. 32) (post 150 p.) pryt. cat.; II² 2207.31 (init. s. III p., ante 212 p.) eph. cat.; etc. Cf. also Ἀκύλας in II² 6944 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon., if the early copy on which the text is based has not misread or altered ΑΚΥΛΑΣ. The same pronounced preference for KY can be seen in Quirinius, where a liquid also begins the following syllable. The only Attic example has been influenced by Κυρήνη: cf. Μάρκος Κυρήνιος in II² 4143 (fin. s. Ia./init. s. Ip.) ded.; for Κυρήνιος, etc., cf. Eckinger p. 124. Spellings like Ἀκουίλλιος, Ἀκυίλλιος, etc. are attested in other parts of Greece, but are rare, cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 6 (1941) p. 86, no. 4, line 23: Ἀκυίλλιος; *Hesperia*, suppl. 6, p. 56, no. 3, line 76: Ἀκο[υ]ίλλ[ι]ος, the same man (both texts from Ephesus, dated 104 A.D.).

In Quintus and derivatives the standard graphemes are KOI- and KYI-. In the Attic examples KOI- is much more frequent than KYI-, as it is elsewhere in Greece. A very rare KY- = Qui- occurs, and is attested in Attica in Κυντιανός (= Quintianus), cf. II² 2080.1 (ca. 150 p.) fr. of an eph. cat.; II² 2115.18 (180/1–191/2 p.) eph. cat. For Κοιντιανός, cf. II² 2069.31 (ca. 150 p.) eph. cat.; Κυντιανός II² 2239.95 cited *infra*. A rare KOYI- also occurs, and there may be one Attic example, cf. Κουινις (= Quini(u)s?) in the eph. cat., II² 2245.336 (262/3 aut 266/7 p.) (L.).

Κυνι- is found occasionally at all periods, e.g.: II² 4124 (ca. 22?) ded.; II² 4191 (post 50 p.) ded.; II² 12664 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.; *Hesperia* 33 (1964) p. 224, no. 71 (= II² 5935 + new fr.) (fin. s. II p.) sep. mon.; II² 4212.12 (ca. 160 p.) ded.; *Hesperia*, suppl. 13 (1970) pp. 3ff., lines E 21, E 25, E 29, etc. (ca. 175 p.) imp. letter; II² 3625.5 (post 150 p.) ded.; II² 2162.6 (s. II p.) eph. cat.; II² 2193.7 (198/9–205/6 p., cf. Graindor, *Album* p. 55) eph. cat. (L.); II² 1823.1 (post ca. 217 p.), II² 1825.34 (post ca. 217 p.) pryt. catalogs; II² 2197.5 (paulo post 200 p.) eph. cat.; *Hesperia*, suppl. 4 (1940) p. 138 (ca. 200 p.) ded.; II² 2239.95, 289 (238/9–243/4 p.) eph. cat.: Κυντιανός (L.); etc.

Κουιν- is frequent at all periods, cf. II² 1039.85 (79/8, cf. SEG 22.110) decree; II² 1717.2 (56/5), II² 1716.24 (63/2–53/2) catalogs; II² 3238.8 (paulo post 29 p.), II² 3800.3, 4 (ante 128/9 p.), II² 3704.2, 15 (ca. 250 p.) dedications; cf. Indices to IG III, p. 357; etc.

Cf. also Κυέστωρ II² 2243.50, 55 (post 243/4 p.) eph. cat. (L.).

Is Κῆντος really a rare variant for Κόντιος, as suggested by B.D. Meritt? It occurs in a pryt. cat., *Hesperia* 34 (1965) p. 96, no. 6, line 27 (aet. Rom.), but there is no reason why this name has to be Latin.

Lit.: Eckinger pp. 120–125; Gignac pp. 225–226.

38.00 The aspirates φ, θ, χ

38.01 Loss of an aspiration: aspirate dissimilation, deaspiration

Cases of voiceless stops written for the aspirates which correspond to them are of two types: a) spellings like Πωσφόρος, Περσεφώνη, etc. in which an abnormal dissimilation of aspirates is applied, the normal spellings being those in which exceptions were allowed to the rule requiring deaspiration of the first of two aspirates at the beginning of consecutive syllables in a word (Grassmann's Law), e.g. Φωσφόρος, Φερσεφώνη, etc. (38.011); b) other cases of π, τ, κ for φ, θ, χ (38.012).

38.011 Aspirate dissimilation

A spelling like Εὐτύφρων alongside [Ε]ὐθόνους, Εὐθυκλείδης shows that in some cases an abnormal dissimilation of aspirates could occur, even in the second half of the fourth century B.C. (cf. d) infra). But pre-Roman texts have always Φωσφόρος and nearly always Φερσεφώνη, Φερρέφαττα, and it is possible that the appearance of Πωσφόρος, Περσεφώνη in Roman times represents an extension of aspirate dissimilation beyond what was normal in Classical Attic, perhaps due to the influence of Ionic or grammarians. In the Classical Period examples of this sort of dissimilation of aspirates are far less frequent than cases of aspirate assimilation as in ἀναθιθέναι, etc. (cf. 38.02 infra).

a) Πωσφόρος and Φωσφόρος. Πωσφόρος is attested five times in the later Roman Period:

- 1) Π² 2044.137 (139/40 p.) eph. cat. (stone now illegible);
- 2) Π² 2097.168 (169/70 p.) eph. cat. (L.);
- 3) *Hesperia*, suppl. 4 (1940) p. 138, lines 6–7 (ca. 200 p.) ded.;
- 4) Π² 2191.145 (ca. 200 p.) eph. cat.;
- 5) Peek, *AG* 2, p. 63, no. 208 (s. III p.) sep. mon. (?); perhaps has also Πῶλη for Φῶλη, cf. 38.012b, no. 8.

Cf. also Π² 1798.27 (190/1 p.) pryt. cat., where Fourmont's ΠΟΣΦΟΝ may be Πωσφόρ[ων].

Φωσφόρος is the only spelling found earlier, but is also attested in texts of late Roman date:

- 6) Π² 1526.21 (post 337/6) inv.: φωσφόριον;
- 7) *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p. 111, no. 55, line 8 (= Π² 902) (182/1) decree;
- 8) *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p. 66, no. 18, line 8 (182/1) decree;
- 9) *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p. 71, no. 21, line 10 (174/3) decree;
- 10) Π² 977.8 (131/0) decree;
- 11) *Hesperia* 2 (1933) p. 163, no. 9, line 8 (125/4) decree;
- 12) *Hesperia* 32 (1963) p. 22, no. 23, line 9 (118/7) decree;
- 13) Π² 1755.3 (ca. 50, cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 [1937] p. 169, no. 99) pryt. cat.;
- 14) Π² 1737.4 (53/4 p.?) cat. (stone lost);
- 15) Π² 1996.51 (84/5–92/3 p.) eph. cat.: Φω[σφ]όρος (L.);
- 16) Π² 1795.50 (184/5 p.) pryt. cat.: Φωσφ[όρων];

- 17) *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p. 48, no. 11, line 62 (182/3 p.) pryt. cat.: Φωσφόρων;
 18) *Hesperia* 16 (1947) p. 182, no. 87B, line 5 (188/9 p.) pryt. cat.: Φωσφ[όρων];
 19) *Agora* 15, p. 299, no. 419, line 47 (= II² 1807 + new fr.) (188/9 p.) pryt. cat.: Φωσφ-
 ρ[ων];
 20) II² 2121.6 (s. II p.) cat. fr. (eph. ?);
 21) II² 1077.53 (209/10 p.) decree (stone too worn to confirm reading, L.).

Of the examples of Πωσφόρος as an anthroponym, nos. 1–2, 4 *supra* are epengraphoi and certainly not Athenians, and no. 5 may well not have been an Athenian. Athenians with this name are among the examples of Φωσφόρος, cf. no. 15. The deities are spelled with Π or Φ, cf. nos. 3, 21.

b) Περσεφόνη, Φερσεφόνη, Φερρέφαττα. Φερσεφόνη is certainly the normal spelling on fourth-century sep. monuments:

- 1) II² 5450 (390–365);
- 2) II² 10998.4 (init. s. IV a.);
- 3) II² 12151.3 (400–350);
- 4) II² 11169.2 (ca. 350);
- 5) II² 11594.8 (post 350);
- 6) II² 7873.10 (post 350);
- 7) II² 12236.9 (ca. 300);
- 8) II² 6551.8 (s. IV a.);
- 9) II² 13122.4 (s. III a.).

Spellings with two aspirates are also normal on the defixiones of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., cf. e.g.: *Kerameikos* 3, p. 91, no. 3, lines 4, 14, 32, *al.* (ca. 450? cf. Introduction p. 8): Φερσεφον-; *Kerameikos* 3, p. 97, no. 9, lines 2, 18 (ca. 350): Φερσεφον-; *IG III.3*, no. 102.a 4, b 14 (400–350): Φερσεφώνες, Φερσεφόνη; *IG III.3*, no. 101.2 (init. s. IV a.): Φερσεφόνην (with a different compounding vowel, cf. Morphology); *IG III.3*, no. 103.1 (init. s. IV a.): Φερσεφ[ό]νῃ; Ziebarth, *SB Berlin* 1934, p. 1036, no. 13, lines a 1, b 1 (date?): Φερσεφόνη, Φερσεφόνη. For Φρεσ- instead of Φερσ-, cf. 40.011, p. 476 *infra*.

Περσεφόνη occurs in verse on one fourth-century sep. mon. of an Athenian citizen and was apparently normal in Roman times:

- 10) Περσεφ[ό]νης (now Περσεφ, but the first letter was probably not φ) II² 6004.6–7 (390–365) sep. mon.; text contains poetical forms (L.);
- 11) II² 13209.5 (ca. 150 p.) sep. mon.;
- 12) II² 13210.6 (ca. 150 p.) sep. mon.;
- 13) Περσεφ[Peek, *AG* 2, p. 54, no. 192 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon. (L., from a squeeze).

Cf. Περσιφόνη on a defixio, *Agora inv.* no. IL 493, line 5 (= *Hesperia* 6 [1937] p. 389, no. 3, which needs correction; new reading is that of D. Jordan) (found in a deposit of s. I p. material, but orthography and writing look like s. III p.).

But in the Athenian form of the goddess' name, Attic inscriptions on stone have only the spelling Φερρέφαττα, cited as Attic by Moeris s.v. Φερρέφαττα, cf. Φερρεφάττη[ι] *Hesperia* 4 (1935) pp. 19 ff., no. 2, line 63 (paulo post 403/2) sacred law; Φερρεφάττης II² 1437.58 (ca. 354–350) *inv.*; Φερρεφάττης II² 5074 (s. II p., or later, cf. Maas, *Prohedrie* p. 136) theatre-seat. Φερρέφαττα also occurs in defixiones,

cf. Ziebarth, GGN 1899, p.114, no.16 (400–350?); GGN 1899, p.116, no.17.b2 (400–350?), but the obverse has Περγεφά[ττη] *ib.* a.9.

The dipinti offer considerable variation in the spelling of this word, but deaspiration of the initial φ is very rare: cf. Φεργεφάττα ARV² p.1269, Kodros painter no.3 (= Smith, *Catalogue* 3, p.108, no.E82; HRF 2, p.154, no.3); Φεργεφάσσα ARV² p.496, Oreithya painter no.5 (= CVA, Italy 14, plates 35–36, 37.1–3); ΦΕΡΦ[= Φεργεφ[αττα] or Φεργεφ[αττα? ARV² p.1315, Painter of the Karlsruhe Paris no.2 (= HRF 2, p.184, no.10); Φεργεφάττα ARV² p.459, Makron no.3 (= CVA, England 5, plate 28.2); Περγεφάττα ARV² p.630, Chicago painter no.31 (= FR plate 106.1); Περγεφάττα ARV² p.1012, Persephone painter no.1 (= Richter-Hall plates 124, 171.124) (for -ρσ-, cf. 43.03, no.5, p.536 *infra*).

c) ἀρχεθέωρος, Ἀρχεφῶν and ἀρχεθέωρος, Ἀρχεφῶν. ἀρχεθέωρος occurs in an inv. of the Delian amphiktyons mentioning the archon of 374/3, cf. Π² 1635.34. Deaspiration occurs in the related verb in a decree of 323/2, cf. ἀρχεθεω[ρήσει Π² 365.b7, ἀρχεθ[εωρ- *ib.* a.10 (both L.). Two texts from Delos of the third century have both ἀρχεθέωρος, cf. IG XI.2, no.199.B71ff.; and ἀρχιθέωρος, cf. IG XI.2, no.287.B84ff. The normal spelling outside Attica was ἀρχιθέωρος; Attic texts at Delphi of the later Hellenistic Period have both ἀρχεθεωρ- and ἀρχιθεωρ- (cf. Morphology).

Although Bechtel, *Personennamen* p.79, may be correct in deriving the name Ἀρχεφῶν from ἀρχε/o- and disassociating it from names like Ἀρχέας, Ἀρχέων, Ἀρχίλεως from ἀρχε/o-, the Attic preference for Ἀρχεφῶν over Ἀρχεφῶν seems to indicate influence of the Ἀρχε- names on Ἀρχεφῶν. The men named Ἀρχεφῶν in no.6 *infra* might be related to the man called Ἀρχεφῶν in no.8, as the name Θωμυρίων occurs in both families; but the foreign origin of the woman in no.8 makes this identification problematical (cf. BCH 90 [1966] p.98).

Ἀρχεφῶν:

- 1) SEG 10.424, stele 2, line 56 (known only from two early copies) published *Hesperia* 12 (1943) pp.43ff. as Fragment K of the Π² 954 + Π² 957 + Π² 964 complex, but certainly not a part of that text, cf. SEG 21.131 (fin. s. V a.) cas. list;
- 2) Π² 204.75 (352/1) decree;
- 3) Π² 1927.67 (post 350) cat. (stone lost, seen only by Chandler);
- 4) Π² 2382.17 (= *Agora* 15, p.86, no.74) (ca. 280) pryt. cat.: [A]ρχε[φ]ῶν;
- 5) Π² 1011, col.5.90 (106/5) decree: Ἀρχεφῶν;
- 6) Π² 2461.40, 41 (ca. 50/49, cf. SEG 23.92) cat., the two men are father and son (L.);
- 7) AM 67 (1942) p.97, no.165 (act. Rom.) sep. mon.

Ἀρχεφῶν:

- 8) Π² 1471.14 (post 318/7) inv.;
- 9) Π² 7973 (init. act. Rom.) sep. mon.

d) Other examples are rare. Cf. [E]ὐθόνους Εὐθυκλείδης:Εὐτύφων AE 1961, *Chronika* p.18, no.67 (350–300) sep. mon. (L.). Εὐθύφων was normal, cf. PA nos.5662ff. Κρυσόθεμος on a rf. vase by the Berlin painter is apparently the only example among the dipinti, cf. ARV² p.204, no.109 (= HRF 1, p.445, no.25; CVA,

Austria 2, text p. 17, where Κρυσόθεμις is read by F. Eichler, although it cannot be made out on plates 68–69); this same vase has Θαλθύβιος (cf. 38.0211 a, p. 460 *infra*). Two examples of Ὀθαεν may also belong here, as the normal spelling of the demotic in the fifth century is ἡοαιεύς (cf. 42.0114, p. 502 *infra*). The spelling ὠσκοφόρος occurs twice in the decree (genos), *Hesperia* 7 (1938) pp. 1 ff., no. 1, lines 21, 49 (cf. note to line 49 on p. 58) (363/2) (L.); presumably a dissimilation if the aspirates of ὠσχός, ὄσχός of codd. are correct (codd. also have only ὠσχοφορ-).

In other cases there is no trace of any aspirate dissimilation in Attic. Cf. the name Ἐχέφυλος in a decree, *Hesperia* 15 (1946) p. 198, no. 40, line 7 (= *Hesperia* 3 [1934] p. 14, no. 17) (171/0). The dissimilated Ἐκέφυλος is found in some non-Attic texts, e.g. *Hesperia* 17 (1948) p. 326 (Delos); SEG 18.186 (Delphi); SEG 20.735 b, col. 2.89 (Cyrenaica); both spellings are found in Laconia, Ἐκε-, IG V.1, no. 1230 (ante 431); Ἐχε-, IG V.1, no. 1341 (s. II/Ia.); etc.

So also in compounds of -χοος, -χους; with the θνηκός of Hesychius contrast θνηκός of Attic texts, e.g. I² 372.203 (409/8), I² 374.222 (408–406) (L.) inventories; II² 5026 (aet. Augusti?) theatre-seat; χρυσοχοῖς I² 347.40 (439/8) inv.; χρυσοχός *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p. 249, no. 2, line 78 (ca. 414) inv.; χρυσοχοῖς I² 374.103 (408–406) inv. (L.); χρυσοχόω II² 1388.66 (398/7) inv.; χρυσοχό[ς] II² 13081 (post 350) sep. mon.; χρυσοχόν II² 1558.56 (ca. 330–320) inv. (L.); χρυσοχός Ziebarth, GGN 1899, p. 107, no. 5, line 2 (400–350) defixio; ἡμυχδῖν *Hesperia* 17 (1948) pp. 86 ff., Block 2, Face B.h4 (= I² 838.4; LSAG p. 78, no. 44) (ca. 500–480?) sacred law.

It is perhaps a coincidence that the three Attic attestations of the perfect active of λαμβάνω where the orthography could show initial [h] have it, apparently an aspirate assimilation, cf. 38.0212 a, p. 463 *infra*. For ἡσχυλος, cf. 38.0211 a, p. 460 *infra*.

Lit.: MS³ p. 102, notes 908–909; W. Schulze, ZVS 33 (1895) pp. 386–393 (= KS² pp. 425–431).

38.012 Other cases of π for φ, κ for χ, τ for θ

The examples in 38.011 *supra* are probably the only cases in which one can justifiably speak of *deaspiration* in Attic texts. In a few other places the voiceless stops π, τ, and κ appear in place of φ, θ, and χ, where aspirate dissimilation could not be operative. These examples are of two types.

a) καλκοῦς, κιτών. In other texts of the same type and date, aspirate assimilation and aspirate metathesis are frequent in these words, i.e. χιθών, κιθών, etc. are attested, cf. 38.0211 b, no. 16 (χιθών), 38.022, no. 2 (κιθών); 38.0211 b, nos. 14–15 (χαλχίον, χάλχη), 38.022, no. 1 (καλχ-). The spelling κιτών may be the logical opposite of χιθών or the result of some graphic confusion; likewise καλκοῦς may indicate that a form χαλχοῦς was in existence, although only χαλχίον is actually attested. Note that κιτών was standard in several Doric dialects, κιθών in East Ionic. It is a Semitic loan word.

- 1) *Hesperia* 7 (1938) p. 281, no. 16, line B 24 (= new fr. of II² 1438) (352/1 aut 351/0, cf. *Hesperia* 7, p. 288) inv.: καλκιδν; χαλκ- occurs frequently elsewhere;
- 2) II² 1530.4 (post 350) very small fr. of an inv.: κιτών (L.);
- 3) II² 1472.34 (post 319/8) inv.: καλκοῦν; *ib.* 36, *al.*: χαλκ- (L.).

In Π² 1641.16 (= IG II, no. 778) read: [Σ]κιτώνεια, not κιτωνεία (cf. Kirchner's note in IG II²).

Lit.: MS³ pp. 103–104, notes 927–932; Mayser-Schmoll p. 158; Gignac p. 94.

b) There remain a number of cases in which the corresponding voiceless stop appears for the aspirate and simple confusion of the two sounds seems the only possible explanation. A few of these may be due to assimilation to voiceless stops in other syllables of the word (e.g. nos. 10, 13, 17). A tendency to deaspirate before ρ or λ can also be isolated, at least if the dipinti are brought in (some dialects show a tendency to deaspirate before liquids) (cf. nos. 2, 4, 6). Of the examples on stone, the majority are on private sep. monuments, often offering other orthographical crudities. Particularly striking are cases in which the normal spelling appears in close proximity, e.g. no. 11 with both Ἀχαρνεύς and Ἀχαρνεύς, no. 12 with οἰνοχοῖδιον·προκοῖδιον adjacent in a single line. Examples certainly later than 300 B.C. are very rare and usually known only from early copies. At least some of the latter are false readings of the copyists, and all are here regarded as doubtful. Cf. Π² 1477.3, where Pittakes read AKAPNIOY, but the stone clearly reads Ἀχαρν: (rediscovered and published, cf. *Hesperia* 40 [1971] pp. 448 ff., especially p. 451 and plate 105). A number of the sep. monuments are known to be those of Athenian citizens, cf. nos. 4, 5, 11, 13.

There are a few similar examples among graffiti, dipinti, etc., usually involving clusters of aspirate plus ρ or λ. Cf. ἱσμιον πρέατ(ος) for ἱσθμιον φρέατος, graffito on a mid-sixth-century B.C. well cover, *Hesperia* 18 (1949) pp. 117–119 (L.); ἄτλα for ἄθλα occurs on a bf. vase of Sophilos, ABV p. 39, no. 16 (L.). For rare cases of στ for σθ, cf. 46.02, p. 559 infra.

One of the numerous inscribed vases attributed to the Brygos painter, ARV² p. 371, no. 24 (= HRF 1, p. 132, no. 62), has Δέπιλος, Νικοπέλε, Πίλων (= Φίλων), and Πίλιτος, but on other vases, some of them signed, of this painter the aspirates are correctly used (e.g. HRF 1, pp. 111, 119); M. Lang's suggestion in *Hesperia* 18 (1949) p. 118, note 11 that πιλεκαι on another vase attributed to the Brygos painter, ARV² p. 376, no. 90 (= CVA, Italy 30, plate 91.1), = φιλε καὶ [should probably be accepted. Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* p. 81, was naturally reminded of the constant use by the Scythian τοξότης in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazousae* of π, κ, and τ for φ, χ, θ. Possible affinities between Scythian and Phrygian remain unknown, but difficulty in handling voiceless aspirates seems common to a number of non-Greek languages to the north. For the signature Βρύγος, cf. 39.00, p. 471 infra.

Other examples among the dipinti are very rare: Κίρον is certainly the reading on a rf. vase, cf. ARV² p. 207, Berlin painter no. 139 (= CVA, Italy 14, plate 29.1–4), where the scene on the vase makes it clear that the figure so identified is Chiron; on a vase attributed by Beazley to Onesimos, ARV² p. 324, no. 61 (= HRF 1, p. 415, no. 14), ναϊκί (= ναϊκί) has been read. The Κρωσεύς, Κρωσής on the vase of Makron/Hieron, ARV² p. 458, no. 1 (= FR plate 85), are probably not misspellings for Χρωσεύς, Χρωσής, but are actual variant formations, cf. Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* pp. 206–207. But K and X are sometimes hard to distinguish on vases. Both Εὐτymiδες and Εὐtymiδαι occur on a single vase of Phintias, cf. ARV² p. 23, no. 7 (= FR plate 71; HRF 2, p. 366, no. 14). That ΠΙΟΤΕΟ is for ποθήω, as suggested by Studniczka, cf. *Jahrbuch* 2 (1887) p. 162, on a lost rf. vase seems doubtful (cf. Klein, *Meistersignaturen* p. 133, no. 17).

Μιθρ- is more common than Μιτρ- in Attic texts in names derived from Μιθρα. Μιτραδάτης occurs on a ded. (priv.) of the third century B.C., Π² 4684; a Μιτροβάτης on another, Π² 4689,

of the second century B.C. For the examples of Μιθρα-, Μιθρι-, cf. 6.02 a. The θρ/τρ variation is due to difficulties in rendering the foreign cluster [θr] (where [θ] is a spirant) for which neither θρ [tʰr] nor τρ [tr] was satisfactory.

For κατ' ἡμέραν, cf. 42.0113, no. 3, p. 500 *infra*; for ἐπ' ἱερά, κατάπαξ, κατωτᾶσιν, cf. 42.012, pp. 504 ff. *infra*.

Examples:

π for φ:

- 1) Κνίπον *Hesperia* 15 (1946) p. 171, no. 20, line 11 (fin. s. V a.) cas. list;
- 2) Εὐπροσύνη Π² 11510 (ca. 350) sep. mon.;
- 3) Καλλίμανδρος Σίππινος Π² 10362 (post 350) sep. mon.;
- 4) Πλυεύς Π² 7704.1 (s. IV a.) sep. mon., Πλυ[εύς *ib.* 5;
- 5) Πανονδία (note νδ for δ) Π² 6085 (s. II a.) sep. mon., wife of an Athenian citizen (L.);
- 6) Εὐπροσύνη (= Εὐπροσύνη) Π² 11511 (s. Ia./s. Ip.) sep. mon., cf. 40.012, p. 478 *infra* (L.);
- 7) Πλιννα (= Φλιννα?) Π² 1553.18 (ca. 330–320) inv. (L.).

Doubtful:

- 8) Peek, AG 2, p. 63, no. 208 (s. III p.) sep. mon. (?): Πῶλη for Φῶλη. All that can be read is ΓΙΛΛ; the letters of this first line are much larger and in much worse condition than those of the rest of the text, and perhaps do not belong to it. Πωσφόρος definitely occurs in lines 2–3, cf. 38.011 a, no. 5, p. 449 *supra* (L.).

τ for θ:

- 9) καικλυτι (for κέκλυθι) Π² 4533.7 (s. III p.) hymns (in various metres); many other orthographical crudities in this late verse text, which in this section is attempting the epic dialect, indicate that the spelling with τ may not be of phonological significance at all: it could be just confusion with κέκλυτε (L.).

Doubtful:

- 10) Τουκρίτου (= Θουκρίτου) Π² 2504.3 (211/0) loc., seen only by Pittakes, whose transcription is obviously faulty in *ib.* 12.

κ for χ:

- 11) Ἀχαρνεύς Π² 5785.3 (ca. 360) sep. mon.; *ib.* 2: Ἀχαρνέ[[υ]]ς, gen. sing., *corrected* from Ἀχαρνέως!;
- 12) [ο]ἰνοχοίδιον, προκοίδιον Π² 1641.44 (ca. 350) inv. of Delian amphiktyons; correct σύλινα for ξύλινα in *ib.* 51 (cf. p. 552 *infra*) (L.);
- 13) [Καλλ]ιστομάχη Π² 7557 (ca. 350) sep. mon. (daughter or wife of an Athenian citizen); note Τρικυρυζίου for Τρικορυσίου (L.).

Doubtful:

- 14) AM 67 (1942) p. 21, no. 24, line 12 (350–300?) probably a cat.: Ἀ[ρ]κέδημ[ο]ς so Peek; only the final sigma and part of what could be a my, but could also be a delta or lambda, can be read. Cf. Ἀρχεφῶν, 38.011 c, nos. 1–7, where the dissimilation is of a different type (L.);
- 15) κατὰ κῶραν Π² 13189.10 (ca. 150 p.) sep. curse-text, seen only by Fourmont; the text contains many orthographical irregularities;

16) μνείας κάριν Π² 12040/41.4–5 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon., seen only by Babin in the seventeenth century;

17) Νικομάκην Ἀλεξάνδρου Σωσιβίου γυνή Π² 12291.1 (date?) sep. mon.; known only from Fourmont's copy: ΝΙΚΟΜΑΚΟΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ.. ΣΩΣΙΒΙΟΣ ΓΥΝΗ.

Certain to be misreadings by early copyists are: Ὀλύμπικος, [Μ]όρυκος on a cas. list known only from a copy by Wheeler containing other anomalies that cannot have been on the stone, cf. *Hesperia* 25 (1956) pp. 375–377, lines 12, 28 (ca. 465); ἄρχοντος recorded by Pococke for Π² 678.11 (= IG II, no. 329) (256/5) decree, is one of many copying errors in his copy. So also ἄρχοντες (Fourmont) in Π² 1013.6 (= IG II, no. 476) (fin. s. IIa.) decree.

Notes and Corrections:

In the building inventory, Π² 1672.306 (= IG II.5, no. 834b, col. 2.94), of 329/8 the reading is not τριπλήδεστος, but <φ>ριπλήδεστος, lapis: Ο for Θ (L.); in a late Roman sep. mon., Π² 11120.14 (= IG III, no. 1377.15), read κατέχι, not <ε>χι (L.). In the sep. mon., Π² 6702.2 (= IG II, no. 2286), read not Σωκράτους (= Σωχάρους), but Σωκλέο[υ]ς (Kirchner, following Ross' copy; the stone is lost). In the sep. mon., Π² 12617.2 (= IG III, no. 1346) (s. II/III p.), ἔσκον is the epic and Ionic imperfect of εἰμί, wrongly taken as = ἔσχον by Lademann p. 119 (L.).

In Π² 1638.30, records of the Delian amphiktyons dating to the year 359/8 B.C., the spelling πανδοκεῖον is attested; the aspirated πανδοχεῖον is condemned by an Atticist of the second century A.D., cf. Phrynichus, *Ecloga* no. 276 (p. 89 of ed. of E. Fischer [Berlin, 1974]).

For δέχομαι, cf. I² 6.42 (ante 460), Π² 44.11, 23, 25 (378/7) decrees; etc.

For the normal ἱσοπυγής, cf. Π² 1518.83, Π² 1522.9, 12, both inventories of the third quarter of the fourth century B.C.; there is no example of ἱσοπυγής: in Π² 1524.136 (= IG II, no. 758.B8) read π[α]λ[α]ῖ[ς] π[υ]γ[μ]έ[ς] (Kirchner). In Π² 1695.21 (s. IIIa.) inv., only ΨΥ[·]ΕΙΑ can be read; ψυγεία or ψυχεία?

No deaspiration occurs in the spelling Πινγελεῖς/Πινγαλεῖς in the tribute lists (cf. examples in 6.013 supra). The later preference in literary texts for Φύγελα perhaps comes from a euphemistic desire to avoid the syllable πύγ-, cf. *ATL* 1, p. 543. Cf. Πύγελα in an Argive text of ca. 330, *SEG* 23.189.

Lit.: MS³ p. 76, notes 655–657; Lademann p. 119.

38.02 Extension of an aspiration: aspirate assimilation, metathesis

38.021 Aspirate assimilation

Words containing one of the aspirate stops θ, φ, or χ and one of the voiceless stops κ, π, or τ are frequently spelled as though both stops were aspirated. Voiceless stops in syllables adjacent to those with the aspirates are most often affected, but in some cases there may be an intervening syllable, e.g. Θεμισθοκλῆς.

Examples are especially frequent among the dipinti, graffiti, and ostraca, but are not rare on stone texts of the fifth century (cf. especially nos. 1–11, 13–15, 18–19). In the fourth century, this phenomenon is much less frequent, but is still well attested. Certain examples later than 300 B.C. are extremely few: e.g. no. 12 of 291/0 B.C.

Aspirate assimilation falls into three types:

a) χαλκ-/χαλχ-; χιτών, etc. In a certain number of words aspirate assimilation and aspirate metathesis occur. It would perhaps be better to replace both these terms by aspirate mobility or aspirate uncertainty, especially in words like χιτών, for which χιτών, χιτών, κιτών, κιτών are all attested; κάλχη, for which χάλχη, κάλχη, χάλχη are all attested; etc. In some cases, it is quite uncertain which if any spelling was standard in Attic (cf. ἐνθαῦθα, κάλχη, cf. 38.0211 b, no. 13; 38.022, nos. 1 c–d), and other dialects have sometimes a different form. This class of words is small, and it is the only one in which variation in the orthography is found in Roman times (cf. 38.022, nos. 3–5, p. 467 *infra*), where it may be due to the influence of spellings which originally were current in other dialects besides Attic.

b) θίθημι, θρόφος, ἥχω, ἐθέθην, etc. Here the spellings with two aspirates represent, to be sure, the original form, but in cases in which there are many attestations of a lexical item it is clear that the dissimilated τίθημι, ἔχω, etc. are normal. In view of the demonstrable tendency to assimilate aspirates seen in cases like Διοφείθου, ἡφοχράτος, Ἀνθόλοχος, etc., it seems best to interpret θίθημι, etc. as also due to aspirate assimilation, rather than to argue for a late retention of the original forms in Attic until the Classical Period. That analogy may have sometimes played a part in assimilation is not impossible, however, e.g. δίδωμι : ἔδωκα :: θίθημι : ἔθηκα; πέμνω : πέμψω :: ἥχω : ἥξω; ἔφην : ἐφάνθην :: ἔθηκα : ἐθέθην; etc. This is the most common type of aspirate assimilation in stone texts of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. In rare instances there is uncertainty whether a form is assimilated or not (so εἴληφα, p. 463 *infra*; ἡσχυλος, p. 460 *infra*).

c) True cases of assimilation in which the resulting form can neither be the result of analogy nor is the original form. The etymology of many items is uncertain, but there are certainly many cases in which assimilation produces a form which cannot have been original, e.g. ἡριθμός, Ἀνθόλοχος, ἡφοχράτος, etc. But there is no general assimilation of aspirates: verbal prefixes and inflectional endings are never assimilated: καταθιθέναι occurs, but never καθαθιθέναι; ἀνεθέθην is found, but never ἀνέθηχεν, ἀνεθέθην (for ἀνεθέτην, dual).

The simplest form of aspirate assimilation is that in which π, τ, or χ at the beginning of a syllable is assimilated to an aspirate at the beginning of another syllable within the word, e.g. καταθιθέναι; either the aspirate causing assimilation or the assimilated stop may be preceded or followed by a liquid, e.g. φαρθένε, θρόφος, χαλχός, etc. But there are other types of aspirate assimilation:

1) Initial [h] functions like the aspirated stops and can rarely cause assimilation, e.g. εὐόρχοῦντι (cf. 38.0211 b, no. 17), ἡυήύς, ἡφοχράτος (cf. pp. 461–2 *infra*), or, more frequently, appear as the result of assimilation, e.g. ἡριθμός, ἥχω, ἡθέθεν, etc.

2) That a ψ or ξ could cause aspiration of a nearby stop would be unexpected, cf. the standard opposition ἔχω/ἥξω. But a few ostraca have Χουφεταιών instead of Χουπεταιών (cf. p. 462 *infra*), and ἡυχισορατ- occurs on the François vase, which has other aspirate assimilations (cf. p. 460 *infra*). In Attic script only ΧΣ, ΦΣ, never ΚΣ, ΠΣ are found, and while the actual pronunciation of these is uncertain, that it was aspirated stop + s seems unlikely (cf. 1.011, p. 20 *supra*). It is possible, however, that enough breath was expelled in producing χσ, φσ to cause assimilation of nearby voiceless stops to an aspirate, or at least to confuse the writers of ostraca and dipinti.

ἡφσεφισμένος is ambiguous because the initial [h] could come from the φ beginning the third syllable rather than the φσ (cf. 38.0212 a, no. 19, p. 462 *infra*).

The names Ξάνθιππος, Ξανθήπιπη have always Ξανθ-, cf. ostraca of Xanthippos (484 B.C.) and his son Pericles with Χοάνθιππος, -ο, e.g. *Hesperia* 5 (1936) p. 40; *Hesperia* 10 (1941) pp. 2–3; *Deltion* 17 (1961/2) *Chronika* pp. 35–36, no. 5, plate 34; and *PA* nos. 11155ff.; but these names are of course merely derivatives of ξανθός and do not belong here.

3) It is very doubtful that the mere presence of the sibilant sigma could alone cause aspiration of a nearby stop, or even confuse writers of ostraca. Whether or not there was less breath expelled when ΧΣ, ΦΣ were metathesized (cf. 1.011), the extreme rarity of other examples of σθ for στ in Attic (cf. 46.02) suggests that the mere presence of sigma before the second dental in the name Θεμιστοκλῆς does not explain its frequent aspiration in the spelling Θεμισθοκλῆς normal on ostraca (cf. 38.0212 b, no. 21).

4) When aspirate assimilation affects consonants not in adjacent syllables the intervening consonants are normally ρ or λ, e.g. χαριθμός, Ἀνθίλοχος, or in the case of Θεμισθοκλῆς, Θεμίσιος, it is μ. It is possible that the intervening ρ, λ, and μ were voiceless, although the spellings χαρηθμός, Θεμισθοκλῆς are not attested, and there are no cases of aspiration resulting from a liquid (such as ῥήθωρ for ῥήτωρ). The isolated ἡφοχράτος would support a voiceless pronunciation for the intervening ρ, λ, or μ. φσ is probably intervening in ἡφσεφισμένος (cf. 38.0212 a, p. 462 *infra*).

5) An aspirate in a cluster seems to cause assimilation in ἡσθμός (cf. 38.0211 a, no. 2, p. 458 *infra*); ἡσχυλος (cf. p. 460 *infra*). Also in cases involving nasals, e.g. χέρχνος (38.0211 a, no. 8, p. 459 *infra*); Φανφαῖος (cf. p. 460 *infra*).

In pre-Roman times the spellings Φωσφόρος, Φερσεφόνη, Φερρέφαττα are normal and are not the result of aspirate assimilation (cf. 38.011 *supra*).

Lit.: MS³ pp. 102–103, notes 910–925; Lademann p. 122; Mayser-Schmoll pp. 158–159; Gignac pp. 93–94.

38.0211 Aspiration extended to adjacent syllables

a) Preceding syllable; b) Following syllable.

38.0212 Aspiration extended beyond adjacent syllables

a) Preceding syllables; b) Following syllables.

38.211 Aspiration extended to adjacent syllables

a) Preceding syllable: Before 300 B.C.:

1) ἡέχω:

1 a) ἡέχει P² 678 (ca. 500, cf. SEG 15.45) ded.;

1 b) καθέχει P² 987 (= IGAA p. 132, no. 31) (ca. 500?) sep. mon. (lost);

1c) *ἡχον* TAPA 6 (1935) pp.177ff., line 60 (= P² 22 + new fr.) (450/49, cf. SEG 23.7) *παρέχω* bis *al.* (L.);

1d) P² 280.75 (422/1) and

1e) P² 287.181 (L.) (413/2) both inventories of the Parthenon: *ἡχον*; *ἔχον* elsewhere in these texts, cf. P² 282.128 (420/19); P² 283.132, 142 (419/8); probably in P² 280.92 (cf. 1d *supra*): *ἑ[ἔ]χ[ον]* (stoich.).

In P² 374.161, 176, etc. *ἡχ-* also occurs, but that text writes *h-* almost indiscriminately before vowels in initial position, cf. 42.0111, p.495 *infra*. The dissimilated form is clearly normal at this time; *ἔχ-* occurs in P² 530 (ca. 475; cf. DAA p.126, no.121) *ded.*, which has *ἡυιός*, but *Ἐγγέλοχος* (cf. 42.0113, no.1, p.499 *infra*); P² 39.78–79 (446/5); P² 106.15 (409/8, cf. SEG 24.16) *decrees*; etc. For the mixture of *ἡχον* and *ἔχον* in P² 276–P² 292, cf. *ἡαριθμός/ἄριθμός* (cf. 38.0212 a, no. 18).

2) *ἡσθμ-*:

2a) *ἡσθμοῖ* P² 77.12 (ca. 435, cf. SEG 21.31) *decree* (L.);

2b) *ἡσθμοῖ* P² 829 (bis) (s. V a., probably after ca. 445) *ded.* (priv.) (lost).

Cf. *ἡσθμόδορος* ARV² p.785, *Euaichme* painter no.3.

The etymology is uncertain, cf. Chaintraine, *DEG* 2, pp.469–470. *ἡσθμ-* occurs in P² 606 (dated ca. 450, cf. DAA p.181, no.164) *ded.*; in a graffito (*ἱσμιον*, with *πρέατος* for *φρέατος*, cf. 38.012b) of ca. 550, *Hesperia* 18 (1949) pp.117–119 (L.); and in an inv. of ca. 414, *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p.268, no.6, line 67: *ἡσθμοῖ* (incorrectly read as *ἡσ[μάρο]* in P² 326.16). *ἱσθμιονίκο* in P² 94.37 (418/7) *decree*, is ambiguous because this text uses *H* = [h] only in the word *ἡερόν*.

3) *ἡσθθεν*:

3a) *ἡσθθεν* P² 302.20 (418–414, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.229, no.77) *inv.* (L.).

But *ἡσθθεν* in P² 374.268 (408–406) *inv.* (L.) is probably of no value in view of the indiscriminate use of initial [h] in this text (cf. 42.0111, p.495 *infra*); for the demes **Οη* vs. *ἡωα-* (demotic *ἡωαεύς*), cf. 42.0114, no.2, p.502 *infra*.

4) *ἡσθμ, ἡσθθη*:

4a) *κατασθθεναι* AM 59 (1934) p.35, no.1, line b6 (= SEG 10.10) (ca. 455/4) *decree*.

ἡσθ- is frequent in texts of ca. 450 and later, cf. *ἡσθεντων* P² 22.33 (450/49, cf. SEG 23.7) *decree* (L.); *ἡσθῆσαι* P² 349.22 (437/6) *inv.*; *ἡσθεναι* P² 92.51 (434/3, cf. SEG 22.7; 24.3); *ATL* 2, no. D8.20 (= P² 65.19; cf. *AJP* 88 [1967] pp.29ff.) (426/5) *decrees*.

4b) *ἀνεσθθῆ* P² 76.44 (435–414, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.222) *decree*, but *ἀνασθθεναι* in *ib.* 41 (L.). For other aspirate assimilation in this text, cf. nos. 11, 13 a *infra*; 38.0212 a, no.19 b.

The expected *ἡσθ-* in P² 372.42 (409/8) *inv.*; cf. also *ἡσθη* (probably = *ἡσθηε*), rather than *ἡσθηε*, on a fr. of a bronze vessel, P² 406 a (fin. s. VI a.?).

5) *ἡσθφθεις*:

5a) *ἡσθφθῆς* P² 8523 (init. s. IV a.) *sep. mon.*

6) *Φαρθένος*:

6a) *Φαρθένε* P² 650.1 (= DAA p.43, no.40) (ca. 500) *ded.* (L.);

6b) *Φαρθένε* P² 555.2 (ca. 500, cf. DAA p.84, no.79) *ded.*

The obscurity of the etymology (cf. Frisk, *GEW* 2, p.474) makes it impossible to tell whether *φαρθ-* or *παρθ-* was original; an Arcadian text of the fifth century has *Φαρθένος* (Buck, *GD*²

p. 198, no. 17), and a man named Παρθένιος occurs in a non-Attic cas. list of ca. 450 found in the Agora, published *Hesperia* 29 (1960) p. 65, no. 114, line 2.

Παρθεν- is first found at Athens in public texts of the late fifth century, cf. I² 287.179 (413/2), I² 301.13 (409/8, cf. SEG 23.35) inventories; I² 108.48, 54 (410/9) decree. It is the only spelling found later, cf. I² 128 (in molding, cf. commentary in IG II² (356/5) decree; I² 13143.4 (s. IIp.) sep. mon.; cf. the feminine anthroponym Παρθένιον I² 12417 (fin. s. IV a.) sep. mon.

7) Χαλχηδόνιος:

Χαλχηδόνιος occurs on a number of earlier tribute lists, viz.: *Hesperia* 43 (1974) p. 314, no. 1, line 12 (453/2), where reading is uncertain: Χαλχεδ[; I² 195.29 (= ATL 2, no. 5, col. 5.17) (450/49); I² 202.13 (= ATL 2, no. 12, col. 2.13) (443/2); I² 205.36 (= ATL 2, no. 15) (440/39); probably also the incomplete Χαλ[of I² 193.19 (= ATL 2, no. 3) (452/1) and I² 200.2 (= ATL 2, no. 10) (445/4) should be restored Χαλχ-, as Χαλχηδόνιος is not attested. One later example of Χαλχ- is certain, I² 231.2 (= ATL 2, no. 26) (429/8); in three lists either Καλχ- or Χαλχ- could be restored, viz. I² 201.24 (= ATL 2, no. 11, col. 2.6) (444/3); I² 210.23 (= ATL 2, no. 20) (435/4); I² 211.11 (= ATL 2, no. 21) (434/3). The later lists generally have initial K: I² 203.9 (= ATL 2, no. 13) (442/1); I² 204.18 (= ATL 2, no. 14, col. 1.30) (441/0); I² 212.96 (= ATL 2, no. 22, col. 1.101) (433/2); I² 213.15 (= ATL 2, no. 23) (432/1); I² 218.6 (= ATL 2, no. 25) (430/29); I² 220.29 (= ATL 2, no. 34, col. 2.83) (421/0); *Hesperia* 41 (1972) p. 419, col. 2.16 (418/7).

Καλχηδόνιος occurs later; cf. I² 1437.16 (ca. 354–350) inv.; I² 8951 (ca. 350), I² 8949 (post 350), I² 8950 (post 300) all sep. monuments; Καλχηδών in the decree, I² 1006.46 (bis), 131 (122/1), is an anthroponym. Cf. also 38.022, no. 1h, p. 466 infra.

8) χέρχνος:

8a) χέρχνον *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p. 249, no. 2, line 138 (ca. 414) inv. This text has also κριθαί, cf. no. 11 infra; χαλχίον, no. 14 a infra. κέρχνος is found in other inventories of about the same date, viz.: I² 313.17 (408/7), I² 314.23 (407/6); the etymology is obscure.

9) χεχαρισθ-:

9a) χεχ[αρισθ- I² 495 (= DAA p. 26, no. 22) (paulo post 480) ded. (L.).

10) χινχάνω:

10a) χινχά[νεν *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p. 332, line 7 (fin. s. VIa.) probably a deme decree; in ib. 2: ηεον[?.

11) κριθαί:

11a) *Hesperia* 17 (1948) pp. 86ff. (= I² 838–9; LSAG p. 78, no. 44) (500–480) sacred law; on Block 2, Face A.a 12 (*Hesperia* 17, p. 93): κριθ[ν; Block 2, Face A.c 2–3 (*Hesperia* 17, p. 95 = I² 839.2–3): κριθ[ον;

11b) κριθ[ον AM 66 (1941) pp. 171ff., no. 1, line B 22 (= SEG 10.38; 21.27) (ca. 445) sacred calendar (L.);

The etymology of this word is quite uncertain, cf. Frisk, GEW 2, p. 18; κριθ- occurs first in a decree of the later fifth century, I² 76.38, 40 (with ἀνεθ[εθε, etc., cf. nos. 4b supra, no. 13 a infra, 38.0212a, no. 19 b), and in inventories of ca. 414, i.e. *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p. 249, no. 2, line 237 (alongside χέρχνος, etc., cf. no. 8 supra, no. 14 a infra); *Hesperia* 22, p. 264, no. 5, lines 17, 18, and 21.

If ψυψιδαι = χυχιδαι on a bronze ded. of the Archaic Period, I² 401, both script and name are non-Attic.

The dipinti of the sixth and fifth centuries offer many comparable examples. E.g. on the François vase occur Θρόφος, ἡαφροδίτε, alongside Ἀφροδίτε, Θέτις; ηευχισορατ- may also be an aspirate assimilation of a very rare type (from χσ, cf. p.456 supra, no.2), as there is no evidence for initial [h] in εὔχομαι in Attic, which would be unexpected from the etymology in any case (ἐπεύχεται occurs in I² 663; probably also in I² 503); but perhaps this is only a case of misuse of initial [h] as in 42.0111, p.495 infra; for the texts on this vase, cf. ABV p.76, Kleitias no.1 (= HBF p.152); Θυφειθίδες (= Τυφειθίδης) twice on a bf. handle, ABV p.178 (cf. JHS 52 [1932] pp.193–194); θέθε (= τήθη), θεθίς (= τηθίς) (the latter three times) on a bf. pinax of ca. 500 B.C., BSA 50 (1955) p.62, no.28 (= SEG 16.35 C); Χόλχος (for Κόλχος, cf. 38.022, no.3, p.467 infra) on a bf. vase of Lydos, ABV p.110, no.37 (= HBF p.157); ἐκπεφορ[(= ἐκπεφόρηκα?) on a bf. pinax from the Acropolis, AM 13 (1888) p.441 (for ἐκ, cf. 48.0213, p.583 infra). In the signature of the potter Χαχρυλίων there is no instance with kappa: the full form of the name with two aspirates is attested more than fifteen times, cf. ARV² pp.107–109 (= HRF 1, pp.146ff.). On three vases of Oltos the name of the potter is spelled Φανφαῖος, ARV² pp.53–54, nos.1 (ΦΑΙΦΑΙΟΣ), 2, 5, although on vases of other painters the name is normally spelled Πανφ-, sometimes with Θ for φ (cf. p.471 infra), rarely Παμαφιος (cf. p.408 supra), cf. ABV pp.235–6, p.324; ARV² pp.124–130; *Paralipomena* p.109, p.333; Θαλθύβιος on three rf. vases, one by the Berlin painter, ARV² p.204, no.109 (= HRF 1, p.445, no.25; CVA, Austria 2, plates 68–69) with Κρυσόθεμος (cf. 38.011d, p.451 supra); on an unassigned fr., cf. AA 1891 p.179, no.4; another by Makron, ARV² p.458, no.2 (= HRF 2, p.80, no.25; AJA 38 [1934] plate 14). The Makron/Hieron vase actually appears to read ΘΑΙΘΥΒΙΟΣ, but the form of the second theta is probably due to running of the paint rather than that Θαλθύβιος (with dissimilation of [t'alr] to [t'alh]) was actually intended (as suggested by Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* p.231 and accepted by Sturtevant, p.79, no.90g). The interpretation of χαρχον as Νι|κάρχων on a psykter in London is doubtful, cf. ARV² p.31, Dikaios painter no.6 (= HRF 1, p.443, no.20).

The signature ἡσχυλος never appears without the initial [h], cf. ABV pp.166–167, 172; ARV² pp.161–162, 165–166, 1630; HRF 2, pp.112ff. This could be comparable to the signatures of Χαχρυλίων just cited, but a trace of the original [h] may be preserved in the spelling of the name Ἰσχυλλα with initial [h] in [Hyginus], *Poetica astronomica* 2.14, where codd. read: Hiscylla, Hicila, Hycila, Hiscela, Hischela; and in the gloss of Hesychius βίσχυν· ἰσχύον, by some rejected as evidence for initial *f* in the word (cf. DEG 2, p.472).

For ἡεφεφισμένος, cf. 38.0212 a, no.19, p.462 infra.

The Χνιφωνίδης on a fourth-century horse tablet, AM 85 (1970) p.235, no.573, may perhaps belong here, but cf. 46.031, p.560 infra.

Preceding syllable: After 300 B.C.:

12) Διόφειθος:

12 a) Διοφείθου Π² 1534 A.60 (291/0, cf. SEG 16.118) inv. (L.).

This is the only example known.

b) Following syllable: Before 300 B.C.:

13) ἐνθαυθα, ἐνθαυθοί:

13 a) ἐνθαυθοί I² 76.13 (435–414, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.222) decree (L.), this text also has ἀνεθέθε, ἡεφεφισμένος, but κριθαί, ἀνατιθέναι (cf. nos. 4b and 11 supra; 38.0212 a, no.19b);

13 b) ἐνθαῦθα II² 1237.60 (396/5) decree (phratry).

It is impossible to ascertain whether these examples belong here or with those in which the aspirate moves to a preceding syllable, as neither ἐνταυθ- nor ἐνθαντ- is found in contemporary texts, making it uncertain whether ἐνθαντ-, ἐνταυθ-, or ἐνθαυθ- was normal at this time. An original ἐνθαντ-, preserved in Ionic, cf. Schwyzler, GG 1, p.269, developed to ἐνθαυθ- by aspirate assimilation of the type seen in the other examples in this section; ἐνθαυθ- was later dissimilated to ἐνταυθ-, the normal Attic form. To assume that the ἐνθαυθ- spelling was normal at this time is tempting, but risky with so few attestations. A defixio of later date, IG III.3, no. 106.a5, b3 (s. III a.), offers both ἐνθαῦτα and ἐνταῦθα, cf. 38.022, p.467 *infra*. ἐνταῦθα is frequent in Roman times, e.g. II² 10116.1, II² 10073.2, 4 (both s. II/III p.) sep. monuments; etc.

14) χαλχίον:

14 a) χαλχί[ο]ν *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p.249, no.2, line 246 (ca. 414) inv.; this text also has χέγχνος, κριθαί, cf. nos. 8, 11 *supra*.

The expected χαλκίον is found in another of these inventories, cf. *Hesperia* 22, p.240, no.1, line 96; it also occurs once in the mid-sixth century on a bronze ded. of the tamiai, I² 393 (= LSAG p.77, no.21), and is the only spelling found in fourth-century texts. For further discussion, cf. 38.022, no. 1 a, p.465 *infra*.

15) χάλχη:

15 a) χάλχας I² 374.103 (408–406) inv. for the Erechtheum (L.). Placed here somewhat hesitantly, on the assumption that the normal spelling in this period was χάλκη, cf. 38.022, nos. 1 c–d, p.465 *infra*.

16) χιθωνίσκος:

16 a) χιθωνίσκος II² 1514.7 (post 344/3) inv.;

16 b) χιθωνίσκ[ιον] II² 1516.7 (post 344/3) inv.;

Note χιτωνίσκος in II² 1515.6, 12, *passim al.*; II² 1514, II² 1516, *passim al.* Cf. 38.012 a, no.2, p.452 *supra*; 38.022, no.2, p.467 *infra*.

Doubtful:

17) εὐόρχουντι II² 1183.12 (post 340) decree (deme); this text contains so many crude copying errors (cf. 8.01, no.7) that it is doubtful whether χ is any more than a misreading by the stone-cutter of κ here.

The ostraca and dipinti offer many comparable examples. Thus on a rf. vase of Peithinos occurs Θέθις for Θέτις, cf. ARV² p.115, no.2 (= Pfuhl, *Malerei* no.417), although the expected Θέτις occurs on many others, e.g. ABV p.76, Kleitias no.1 (= HBF p.152); ABV p.84, the Camtar painter no.3 (= CVA, USA 14, plates 16, 17.3); ARV² p.146, Epeleios painter no.2 (= FR plate 155); ARV² p.61, Oltos no.76 (= A. Bruhn, *Oltos and Early Red-Figure Vase-Painting* [Copenhagen, 1943] p.41, no.31); ARV² p.438, Douris no.134 (= HRF 1, p.285, no.83); ARV² p.207, Berlin painter no.139 (= CVA, Italy 14, plate 29.1–4); ARV² p.1250, Eretria painter no.34 (= Pfuhl, *Malerei* no.561); etc. An ambiguous Θέ[τ]ις occurs on a vase of the Amasis painter, cf. ABV p.152, no.27 (= CVA, USA 14, plate 27.2). Here also belong hυθύς, occurring once on a bf. vase of the potter Eucheiros, cf. ABV p.162, no.2 (= HBF p.86, no.2) and three times on a vase of his son, cf. ABV p.163; hυθς (= hυθύς with careless omission of the upsilon, cf. Εύχερς for Εύχερος on the same vase), cf. ABV p.162, no.3 (= HBF p.85, no.1). For the initial [h] (from *s-) of this word, cf. GEW 2, p.960. Note also ήχ[τ]ορ (this is the reading given in Smith, but Hoppin reads ήχθορ, stating “a Θ was added in antiquity in

place of T to cover a rivet hole", cf. *HRF* 1, p.371, no.18), cf. *ARV*² p.90, Euergides painter no.33 (= Smith, *Catalogue* 3, p.46, no. E 10); perhaps *ὑποστύλε*, name of an Amazon (unless for *ὑποσπύλε*, with careless omission of the Σ), *ARV*² p.30, Hypsis no.1 (= *HRF* 2, p.120, no.1) (L.).

On the ostraca occur *ὑποχράτος*, cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 8 (1949), p.403, no.18 (480s) (cf. p.464 *infra*); and several cases of *Χουφεταιῶν* (with a rare assimilation to *χσ*, cf. p.456 *supra*, no.2): *Χουφεταιῶν Hesperia* 19 (1950) p.388, no.26; *Χουφεταιῶνον Hesperia*, suppl. 8 (1949) p.394, no.1a; *Χουφε[ταιῶ]να Hesperia*, suppl. 8 (1949) p.395, no.1b (all these ostraca of the 480s).

Following syllable: After 300 B.C.:

There are no certain examples. As Schulze has shown (cf. *ZVS* 33 [1895] pp.233 ff. [= *KS*² pp.384 ff.]), the Egyptian name *Har-pe-chret* was Hellenized as *Ἀρποχράτης* or *Ἀρποκράτης* (influence of Greek names in *-κράτης*). *Ἀρποκράτης* is a frequent variant, which probably arose early enough for aspirate metathesis to be the explanation for it (cf. 38.022, p.467 *infra*), doubtless encouraged by the influence of *-κράτης*. Since there is scarcely any evidence for an initial [h] in the word (Latin has almost invariably *Arpho-* or *Arpo-*) the name *Ἀρποκρατίων* in the *eph. cat.*, *II*² 2207.4 (init. s. *III*p.), cannot be referred to aspirate assimilation. The other variant of the name occurs on a sep. mon., cf. *Ἀρποκρατίων*, *II*² 10826.5 (s. *III*p.). Cf. Mayser-Schmoll p.158.

38.0212 Aspiration extended beyond adjacent syllables

a) Preceding syllables: Before 300 B.C.:

18) *ἡαριθμός*:

18a) *ἡαριθμόν* *I*² 276.8 (434/3) inv. of the Parthenon (L.);

18b) *ἡαριθμόν* *I*² 279.59 (431/0) inv. of the Parthenon (L.);

18c) *ἡαριθμ[όν]* *I*² 288.210 (412/1) inv. of the Parthenon (L.).

ἀριθμόν in *I*² 286.157. Cf. the variation between *ἔχον* and *ἔχον* in these texts, 38.0211 a, 1 d–e. Stone texts of the fifth century do not normally write *qh* even in initial position, and the intervening *rho* may also have been affected, cf. p.457 *supra*, no.4.

19) *ἡεφσεφισμένος*:

19a) *ἡεφσεφισμένον* *I*² 45.22 (439/8, cf. *SEG* 21.29; 10.34) decree (L.);

19b) *ἡεφσεφισμένα* *I*² 76.23 (435–414, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.222) decree; no.19b contains other aspirate assimilations, cf. 38.0211 a, nos.4b, 11; 38.0211b, no.13a.

Χουφεταιῶν on ostraca shows that *φσ* and *χσ* could exert the same influence as *φ* and *χ* (cf. pp.456–457 *supra*), and it is barely possible that *ἡεφσεφισμένος* belongs with examples in 38.0211 a *supra*.

Here the original form was probably *ἐψηφισμένος* with a reduplication of the form *ἐ-* seen in such perfects as *ἔσουςμαι*, *ἔγραπται*, etc., cf. Chantraine, *Morphologie historique* pp.187–188; Lejeune, *Phonétique*, p.110, note 5; p.119, note 3 (= *Traité*² p.93, note 1; p.101, note 4). In fifth-century Attic inscriptions *ἐφσεφισμένος*, *ἐφσεφισται* are very frequent, cf. *I*² 39.49, *I*² 56.20, *I*² 91.5, *I*² 94.18 (L.), etc.; the earlier *ἐψηφισμένα* of *I*² 16.20 is of no value because that text is in Ionic script.

20) *ἡεληφα*:

20 a) *ἀφειληφότας* I² 108.20 (410/9) decree (L.);

20 b) *καθειληφότος* II² 682.10 (post 256/5) decree;

20 c) *καθειληφότων* II² 687.14 (265/4) decree (L.).

Why Attic would have preserved the initial [h] in this word is without explanation and these spellings are accordingly interpreted as aspirate assimilations, although in fact there are no attestations of *εἴληφα* without initial [h] in pre-403 texts, nor of *ἀπειληφ-*, *κατειληφ-* at any period from Attica. For the [h] cf. also *καθελήφασι* from Karpethos, *IG XII.1*, no. 977.18. An archaizing ded. of the Roman Period in Attic script has the spelling *περιελη[μ]μένεν*, cf. II² 3194 (144/5–149/50 p.); but it may not be an accurate indication of the fifth-century form, as it contains other impurities (Ω and possibly another omitted H = [h] in line 9). The date of nos. 20b–c is also unusually late for an assimilation.

Comparable examples on the dipinti are few. A bf. vase in Berlin of Group E (inv. no. 1698; cf. *ABV* p. 136, no. 54) offers a certain case of *Ἀνθόλοχος* (the reading *Ἀντίλοχος* recorded by Hoppin, *HBV* p. 108, no. 11, is certainly erroneous; the correct reading is clear on the photograph in Pfuhl, *Malerei* no. 277). Another bf. vase said to have *Ἀνθόλοχος* (cf. Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* p. 150) has never been adequately illustrated or published. *Ἀντίλοχος* occurs on a bf. amphora, cf. *ABV* p. 145, Exekias no. 14 (= *The Museum Journal, Philadelphia* 6 [1915] pp. 90–93). Doubtful is the reading *Χλίσσοφος* recorded on a rf. vase, cf. *ARV²* p. 316, Proto-Panaetian group no. 4 (= *HRF* 1, p. 427, no. 58), but subsequently painted over. Probably the early observer of the vase misread *Κλίσσοφος*; cf. the suspicious *Φοινεις* (with EI for ι) reported on the same vase (cf. 9.021, p. 190 supra).

ἡλείθουα has always initial [h] on vases, cf. 18.012, p. 342 supra.

Preceding syllables: after 300 B.C.

The two instances of *καθειληφot-* in two third-century decrees (nos. 20b–c supra) are the only possible examples, and they are somewhat doubtful.

b) Following syllables: before 300 B.C.:

21) *Θεμιστοκλῆς*:

21 a) This spelling is virtually universal in the large numbers of ostraca (from the 480s) found on the Acropolis and in various parts of the Agora. Of the 190 ostraca from the north slope of the Acropolis published *Hesperia* 7 (1938) pp. 228ff., only two (cf. *Hesperia* 7, p. 231; nos. A.O. 42–43, the latter illustrated p. 233, fig. 63) have *Θεμιστοκλῆς*. But if one accepts the arguments of O. Broneer in *Hesperia* 7, there are fourteen different hands here, and thus a larger percentage of the population might be expected to have written tau than two out of 190. The other twenty ostraca of Group B (to which nos. A.O. 42–43 are assigned) have the usual *Θεμισθοκλῆς*. The analysis into hands is accepted by Vanderpool, *Ostracism* p. 11. The vast majority of the as yet unpublished ostraca from the Agora also have *Θεμισθοκλῆς*. These date also from the 482 attempt to ostracize this man. Dating either from 482 or 471 are the Ceramicus ostraca, which all read *Θεμισθοκλῆς*, cf. *Kerameikos* 3, pp. 83–84, nos. 157–159 and I² 910.

Stone texts of the fifth century offer no examples of *Θεμιστοκλῆς* or *Θεμισθοκλῆς*, as the crucial letter of the name cannot be read in a cas. list, cf. *SEG* 10.424, stele no. 3, line 42 (= *Hesperia* 7 [1938] p. 82, no. 10; I² 954 + I² 957 + I² 964 + new fr.) (ca. 409, cf. *Hesperia* 33 [1964] p. 55), although this same text offers *[Θ]εμιστοκλῆς* in line 21. The only comparable example on a fifth-century stone monument is the *Θεμισθιος* of no. 22 a infra.

21 b) In the fourth century Θεμιστοκλῆς is frequent, e.g. Π² 212.3, Π² 213.1 decrees, etc.; for other examples, cf. PA nos. 6650 ff.; but one instance of Θεμισθοκλῆς has been read on a prytany catalog, Π² 1742.58 (370/69?); there is no reason to doubt the reading, although the stone is now so worn at this point that it cannot be confirmed (L.). This is the last attestation with theta, and the name always has tau thereafter, cf. IG II, Indices p.24; IG III, Indices p.352; also a dipinto on a vessel of the first century A.D., *Hesperia* 25 (1956) p.56 (inv. no. P25246).

The writing of fairly crude documents such as the ostraca is not necessarily phonetically accurate and represents what ordinary persons *thought* they were saying; but in this case the enormous number of examples of Θεμισθοκλῆς in comparison with Θεμιστοκλῆς makes it very likely that the second dental *was* aspirated by most persons in the 480s, and the appearance of Θεμισθοκλῆς on a stone text (no.21 b), a public monument without other deviations from the accepted orthography of its time, both supports this view and indicates the continuance of the pronunciation with two aspirates in some quarters a century later. As στ is not otherwise replaced with σθ in this period (cf. 46.02), the fact that tau immediately follows the sigma probably does not have anything to do with the aspiration here, but it is probably an example of assimilation of the type seen in χαριθμός (no.18 supra), ηεφσεφισμένος (no.19 supra); Ἀνθῶλος (cf. p.463 supra); etc. The intervening μ may also have been affected, cf. p.457 supra, no.4.

The etymology of θέμης, θεμιστο-, etc. is the subject of controversy, but all plausible theories start from original *st in θεμιστο-, cf. Chantraine, *DEG* 2, p.428; note also the genitive in Homer θέμιστος from θέμης.

22) Θεμισθιος:

22 a) Θεμισθιος *Hesperia* 33 (1964) p.38, no.10, line 8 (ca. 430) cas. list.

But Θεμιστί already in Π² 1929.7 (init. s. IV a.), a liturgy cat., and elsewhere, cf. PA nos. 6645 ff. This is the same phenomenon as in Θεμισθοκλῆς, cf. no.21 supra.

The reading θεμισστο on a rf. vase assigned by Beazley to the Penelope painter, ARV² p.1301, no.7, fails to account for the preserved letters of the text and thus cannot be correct (cf. *FR* plate 125); it was described by F. Hauser (*FR*, Textband 3, p.31) as "eine recht unsichere Lesung".

An ostrakon of the 480s which reads ηυφοχράτος provides a good parallel for Θεμισθιος, Θεμισθοκλῆς, cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 8 (1949) p.403, no.18. For θυηχούς, etc., cf. p.452 supra; for διθύραμπος, cf. 39.00, p.471 infra.

Following syllables: after 300 B.C.:

Doubtful:

23) θυγάθηρ:

23 a) θυγάθηρ Π² 4710.3 (s. Ia.) ded. The stone is apparently lost. Although the original edition in IG II, no.1620 does indicate the omitted nu of θεῶ(ν), it records θυγάθηρ. Since Kirchner gives no indication of restudy of the monument, it seems likely that θυγάθηρ in IG II² is a misprint.

38.022 Aspirate metathesis

In addition to the examples of extension of aspiration to stops in other syllables of the word (cf. 38.021 supra) there are a few cases in which a sort of transposition of aspiration seems to take place, e.g. occasionally spellings such as κιθών, καλχ-, etc.

occur for the far more frequent χιτών, χαλκ-, etc. If one were to rely on the evidence of Attic inscriptions alone it would be impossible to tell in some cases which position the aspirate normally occupied because of the paucity of examples. In some cases forms with two aspirates (e.g. χαλχ-) or no aspirate at all (e.g. κιτών) are also found. Examples are infrequent after 300 B.C., but there are certain instances of the Roman Period, cf. nos. 4, 5 *infra*. These could indicate that true aspirate metathesis could still occur in Attica at this time, but they could also mean that the spellings had never been standardized in earlier times; sometimes other dialects preferred a different spelling from Attic, e.g. κιθών in Ionic, κιτών in Doric. χιτών/κιθών/κιτών/χιθών and κύθρα/χύτρα/χύθρα occur in papyri of Roman times, and that they are merely the same sort of aspirate interchange found in other words as suggested by Gignac (p. 93) seems doubtful.

1) χαλκ-, καλχ-:

There are several different words here, and it is surprising that there should be considerable variation in the spelling of some, and none in that of others.

χαλκίον:

1 a) A spelling καλχ(ον) is not attested. χαλχ(ον) occurs once in an inventory of ca. 414, although the normal χαλκίον is found on another of these inventories, cf. 38.0211 a, no. 14; χαλκίον is first attested once on a bronze ded. of the ταμίαι, I² 393 (= LSAG p. 77, no. 21), dated ca. 550 B.C. It is the only spelling found in fourth-century inventories, e.g. I² 1424 a (in add.). 158, 282 (369/8); I² 1425.363, 376 (368/7); I² 1453.9 (ante 350); I² 1641.37 (ca. 350); I² 1440.64 (350/49); etc.

χαλκοῦς:

1 b) Only χαλκοῦς occurs in the fifth century, e.g. I² 288.217 (412/1) Parthenon inventory (with χαριθμός, cf. 38.0212 a, no. 18); I² 313.55 (408/7), I² 314.15 (407/6) inventories of epistatai; etc. Although neither χαλχοῦς nor καλχοῦς is attested, the appearance of καλκοῦς on two fourth-century inventories (both have χαλκοῦς frequently elsewhere) is probably best explained by assuming aspirate assimilation and transposition were also occurring in this word (cf. 38.012 a, nos. 1, 3).

Other words with the meaning 'bronze' have always χαλκ-, cf. χαλκός(?) in I² 371.2, a late fifth-century inventory, and many examples in the fifth and fourth centuries of χαλκοθήκη, χαλκεύς, ἐπι-, ὑπόχαλκος, etc.

κάλχη/χάλκη:

This word (in the sense 'rosettes applied to columns') occurs in two late fifth-century inventories:

1 c) τὰς κάλχας I² 372.90 (409/8);

1 d) χάλκας, χαλκῶν I² 374.249, 283, 317 (408–406); χάλχας *ib.* 103 (L.).

It is likely that both χαλκ-, 'bronze', and κάλχη, 'purple dye, rosettes' are the same word, borrowed from an unknown Eastern source, cf. Frisk GEW 2, pp. 1070–1071. The spelling χαλκ- was certainly normal in the word for bronze at Athens, but at least aspirate assimilation to χαλχ- was also occurring. The small number of examples scarcely justifies the assumption that the distinction between κάλχη and χαλκός was maintained in late fifth-century Attica, and a

spelling $\chi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta$ is known from some literary texts (cf. *LSJ* s.v. $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta$, Chantraine, *DEG* 2, p. 488). Somewhat arbitrarily, on the basis of the greater frequency of $\chi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta$ in I² 374, $\chi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta$ has been assigned to the instances of assimilation to an aspirate in a preceding syllable, as if $\chi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta$ were normal (cf. 38.0211b, no. 15, p. 461 supra). It is perhaps most reasonable to assume that in Attic at least $\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\kappa\kappa$ was normal in both words, but that aspirate assimilation and transposition occurred often enough in the pronunciation to allow occasional examples of $\kappa\alpha\lambda\chi\kappa$, $\chi\alpha\lambda\chi\kappa$; but see also on Καλχηδόνιος , no. 1 h infra.

Χαλκίς , Χαλκιδεύς , etc.:

Always $\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\kappa$. Χαλκίς and derivatives are frequent in fifth-century texts:

1e) I² 39 *passim* (446/5) decree;

In tribute lists: cf. I² 196.23 (= *ATL* 2, no. 7, col. 4.23) (448/7); I² 211.26 (= *ATL* 2, no. 21) (434/3); I² 212.68 (= *ATL* 2, no. 22, col. 1.73) (433/2); I² 216/17.46 (= *ATL* 2, no. 26, col. 2.47) (429/8); I² 218.39 (= *ATL* 2, no. 25, col. 2.47) (430/29); I² 63.71 (= *ATL* 2, no. A 9) (425/4); etc. (ambiguous cases like $\text{[}\alpha\lambda\kappa\kappa\text{]}$ also occur, e.g. I² 202.31; I² 204.78); I² 280.86 (422/1) Parthenon inventory (has $\text{[}\acute{\eta}\chi\omicron\nu\text{]}$, cf. 38.0211a, no. 1d, p. 458 supra); I² 310.169 (429/8) inv. Χαλκίς , etc., are also universal in the fourth century and later. Local coins in the Archaic Period (before 507 B.C.) have always Ψ (with $\Psi = [\text{k}']$), ΨA , or $\Psi\text{A}\nu$, cf. *HN*² p. 358.

Χαλκε(ι)ᾶται , Χαλκιᾶται :

1f) Always $\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\kappa$ in the name of this town, located on a small island on the north coast of Rhodes, cf. *IG* XII.1, p. 158. The word occurs in several tribute lists, e.g. I² 195.10 (= *ATL* 2, no. 5) (450/49); I² 200.17 (= *ATL* 2, no. 10, col. 3.22) (445/4); I² 203.7 (= *ATL* 2, no. 13) (442/1); I² 204.60 (= *ATL* 2, no. 14, col. 1.77) (441/0); I² 213.47, 48 (bis) (= *ATL* 2, no. 23, col. 1.54, 55) (432/1); I² 214, col. 3.6 (= *ATL* 2, no. 27) (428/7); I² 221.13 (= *ATL* 2, no. 40, col. 1.14) (415/4); I² 222.19 (= *ATL* 2, no. 28) (427/6 aut 426/5).

The word has been restored in a decree, I² 146.2, cf. *SEG* 12.36 = *Hesperia* 17 (1948) pp. 57–58, but doubts have been voiced by L. Robert, *REG* 62 (1949) p. 104.

Χαλκήτορες :

1g) Always $\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\kappa$ in the name of this town in Caria, which occurs in the tribute lists, e.g. I² 196.17 (= *ATL* 2, no. 7, col. 2.24) (448/7); I² 200.25 (= *ATL* 2, no. 10, col. 5.30) (445/4); I² 203, col. 4.30 (= *ATL* 2, no. 13) (442/1); I² 204.65 (= *ATL* 2, no. 14, col. 1.82) (441/0).

$\text{Καλχηδόνιος/Χαλχηδόνιος}$:

1h) $\chi\alpha\lambda\chi\kappa$ becomes the normal orthography in the tribute lists from 442 on and is the only form found in the fourth century; Χαλχηδόνιος is found chiefly in earlier tribute lists, but occurs once in 429/8 (cf. 38.0211a, no. 7, p. 459 supra). Χαλκηδόνιος would not be surprising, but is as yet unattested, and perhaps really never occurred: there seem to be certain pronounced tendencies in toponyms, and local coins (some 450–400 B.C.) have only $\text{KA}\lambda\chi\chi(\text{A})$ (cf. *HN*² pp. 511–512). Whether or not Καλχηδών was derived from $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta$, as seems impossible to prove or disprove, it might be argued that in fifth-century Attic a connection was seen between the two words, and that for this reason $\chi\alpha\lambda\chi\kappa$ was preferred to $\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\kappa$. And yet such an assumption seems unsatisfactory as long as $\chi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta$ is better attested than $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta$ (cf. 1c–d supra); three cases of $\chi\alpha\lambda\chi$ could conceivably be restored $\text{Χαλ}\chi\eta\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu\text{ιοι}$ (as in *IG* I²) rather than $\text{Χαλ}\chi\chi\kappa$.

2) χιτων-/κιθων-:

The standard Attic was χιτων-, already in an inv. of ca. 406, I² 386.23, I² 387.34 (cf. *SEG* 10.219; 15.19) and frequent in fourth-century inventories, e.g. I² 1514, I² 1516, etc. But three fourth-century inventories of about the same time have κιθων-:

2a) κιθωνίσκον I² 1523.18 (350–336) inv., χιτων- *ib.* 14, 17, 21, 24, 27 (L.);

2b) κιθώνια I² 1464.13 (ca. 330?) inv.;

2c) κιθώνιον I² 1527.28, 46 (post 327/6) inv., κιθώνιον *ib.* 26, 30 (L.).

Also attested are κιτων- (cf. 38.012a, no.2) and χιθων- (cf. 38.0211b, no.16). The spelling κιτων- was evidently standard in several Doric dialects; κιθων- was standard in East Ionic.

3) Κολχ-/Χολκ-:

The expected Κολχ- occurs twice:

3a) *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p.240, no.1, line 44 (= I² 329.25) (ca. 414) inv., where a slave is referred to as Κόλχος;

3b) I² 9050 (s. IIa.) sep. mon.

But Χολκ- occurs in two later sep. monuments, one of the first century B.C. (in contrast to coins of roughly the same date with Κολχίδος, cf. *HN*² p.496), the other of the Roman Period:

3c) Χολκίς I² 9049.3 (s. Ia.) sep. mon. (feminine ethnic) (L.);

3d) Χολκίδος I² 12949 (s. II/IIIp.) sep. mon.

For Χόλχος on a bf. vase, cf. 38.0211a, p.460 *supra*.

4) Κυθν-/Χυτν-:

Always Κυθν- in the tribute lists (e.g. I² 195, col.4.39; I² 196, col.3.43; etc.); also in an inv. of 408/7, I² 313.147; normally later: I² 549.10 (ca. 315) decree; I² 9115 (L.), *Hesperia* 23 (1954) p.271, no.110 (both s. IVa.) both sep. monuments; I² 682.10 (post 256/5) decree; I² 3218.28–29 (ca. 79) ded. (pub.); but Χυτνία is recorded on one sep. monument of the Roman Period, I² 9114.

5) Χυτρ-/Κυθρ-:

One eph. cat. has Κυθρ-:

5a) Κύθρους I² 2130.69 (192/3 p.) eph. cat.;

elsewhere only Χυτρ- occurs:

5b) χύτραν I² 4.5 (485/4) decree (L.);

5c) ἐν Χυτρεαῖς I² 1596.15 (ca. 350) inv.;

5d) χυτρογαύλους I² 1631.408 (323/2) inv.;

5e) χυτρίδιον I² 1534A.113 (291/0, cf. *SEG* 16.118) inv.;

5f) χύτραι I² 1552.10 (init. s. IIIa.) inv.

Cf. χύτρας, *Agora* 21, p.10, no. B 13 (350–300) graffito.

A defixio, *IG* III.3, no.106 (s. IIIa.), has ἐνταῦθα once in line b1, but ἐνθαῦτα in *ib.* a5 (cf. 38.0211b, no.13, p.461 *supra*). For the variants Ἀρποκρατίων, Ἀρποκρατίων, cf. 38.0211b, p.462 *supra*.

Perhaps Μηθυκη is for Μητίχη in another graffito, cf. *Agora* 21, p.42, no. F 184 (fin. s. IVa./init. s. IIIa.).

The spelling φάτνη is attested in inventories of the fifth and fourth centuries, cf. *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p.249, no.2, line 39; *Hesperia* 22, p.264, no.5, line 37 (both ca. 414); Π² 1487.37 (fin. s. IV a.): τῆ [.]άτνη. This spelling is cited by Moeris as Attic (cf. p.212 of Bekker's 1833 ed.) in contradistinction to the later Greek πάτνη.

A number of texts confirm that for πιδάκνη and derivatives the Attic form was φιδάκν-: φιδάκνη: *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p.249, no.2, line 251; *Hesperia* 22, p.264, no.5, lines 26, 34; *Hesperia* 22, p.279, no.7, lines 52–56 (five times) (all ca. 414) inventories; φιδάκνιον: Π² 1627.313, 316 (330/29) inv.; φιδάκνις: φιδάκνι[δες?], cf. *Hesperia* 27 (1958) p.173 and note 33. For Attic φιδάκν-, cf. Moeris *loc. cit.* and Pollux 10.74, 131. Is it due to the influence of φείδομαι? Cf. Frisk, *GEW* 2, p.535.

Lit.: MS³ pp.103–104, notes 930–932, 935; Lademann p.122; Mayser-Schmoll pp.158–159; Gignac pp.93–94.

38.023 Other cases of φ for π, χ for κ, θ for τ

Only extraordinarily rarely does an aspirate stop appear for its equivalent un-aspirated stop where assimilation or metathesis of aspiration is not the explanation. In a decree of the demesmen of Ikaria of ca. 330 B.C., *Hesperia* 17 (1948) p.142, no.3, line 5, the reading τὰς προσόδους χαί τὰ ἀναλώματα seems certain (cf. plates 35, 36.4–6), but χ for κ may be of no phonological significance, as the same text has elsewhere crude copying errors like δημαρχιω for δημάρχω and δραχμωη for δραχμών. χαί for καί has been suggested in a state decree, Π² 652.10 (paulo post 286/5, cf. *SEG* 23.65), where it depends on a restoration which is reasonably certain: μετὰ Χαριξέ[νου τοῦ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν στρατηγοῦ] χαί ἄλλους τῶν ... (the stone has ΧΑΙ at the beginning of line 10, L.). κεχομμέ[νο- occurs in the inv., Π² 1648.11 (ca. 350), but the text contains other peculiarities (ΣΚΕΥΧ = σκεύη) which look like copying errors of the mason (L.). A marble discus dated possibly to the end of the sixth century B.C. has the sequence of letters εχτονεριονεινι, which might well be for ἐκ τῶν ἐρίων εἰμί, cf. P. Jacobsthal, *Winckelmannsprogramm* (Berlin) 93 (1933) p.19, no.4 (= *IGAA* p.145, no.59 a; *SEG* 10.398). But this might be due to the writer's imperfect knowledge of the alphabet (for εἰνί, cf. 41.03, no.1, p.491 *infra*).

τᾶναχτι is apparently for τῶι ἄναχτι in an early graffito, cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 16 (1976) p.13, no.1 (ca. 600 B.C.); perhaps inept knowledge of the alphabet.

The interpretation of the letters read as δεκάθεν on the archaic ded., I² 711, is uncertain; δεκάτ-εν (so Kirchhoff in *IG I*, suppl. p.92, no.373.120; also *DAA* p.335, no.314) seems more attractive than Hiller's δ' ἑκαθεν (*IG I* 711), but θ for τ remains without parallel in Athens. The stone has suffered damage and at the present time only ΔΕ[²⁻³]ΕΝ can be read (L.).

In certain instances a Greek aspirate is used to transliterate a Latin voiceless stop. Thus φ is used for Latin p in the name Sulpicius, e.g.: Σολφικι- twice in Π² 4237 (aet. Augusti) ded.; Σο(υ)λπικ- in Π² 4157 (ante 15 p.) ded.; Π² 2045.7 (post 136/7 p.), Π² 2051.53, 54 (144/5–149/50 p.), Π² 2155.20 (= *SEG* 12.115.48) (ca. 163–170 p.) all eph. catalogs; Ἰολπίκιον on the small fr., *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p.60, no.23 (cf. 11.042). For the -pp- of Appius, Appianus both -πφ- and -φφ- are found in Attic

texts in addition to the expected -ππ- (cf. 43.05). The reason for the occasional transliteration of Latin voiceless stops with Greek aspirates is obscure (cf. Sturtevant p.78, no.90d for other examples). Perhaps the Latin stops were pronounced with more vigor than the Greek ones or were even slightly aspirated. The use of θ for Latin t in Ἀνθέστιος for Antistes may be a similar phenomenon, cf. II² 4145 (fin. s. Ia./init. s. Ip.) ded., unless the name has been Hellenized along the analogy of some name like Εὐέστιος formed from ἔστι-; but Ἀντίστιος is also found, cf. II² 2894 (fin. s. Ip.) ded. For ε = Latin i, cf. 7.0112, no.5, p.140 supra. Δομέστιχος is also the only spelling found, cf. II² 2097.76 (169/70p.), II² 2155.16 (= SEG 12.115.44) (ca. 163–170p.), II² 2280.2 (date?) all ephebic catalogs. Here the aspirate is most likely due to an attempt to Hellenize the name; cf. Greek names like Φιλώνιχος, Σωτήριχος, Ὀλύμπιχος, etc.

The Attic spelling was σφόνδυλος (not σπόνδυλος), cf. II² 1668.43 (347/6) inv.; II² 1673.78, 79, 80, *et. al.* (333/2? cf. AE 1971, p.112) inv.; II² 1675.2 (ca. 337/6), II² 1672.310 (329/8) both inventories; cf. σφόνγγους, II² 1283.18 (263/2, cf. SEG 24.155) decree (Thracian aliens).

The χλόνια χοίρου in the sacred calendar of ca. 445 B.C., AM 66 (1941) pp.171ff., no.1, lines A31, B26–27 (= SEG 10.38; 21.27) (L.), is the same word as κλώνιν = ἰσχίον ῥάχιν in Hesychius.

Probably the Attic spelling was τράφηξ, cf. τράφηκος, II² 1604.40 (ca. 376?) inv.

The only certain example of σθ for στ is μασθόν occurring twice in II² 4511.26, 29 (ante 114–116p.) ded. (priv.) (cf. 46.02, p.559 infra) (L.).

For φάτην, φιδάκνιον, cf. 38.022; for κισσούφιν, cf. 39.00.

Lit.: MS³ p.78, notes 668–669; Mayser-Schmoll pp.144–148; Gignac pp.86–96.

38.03 Spirantization of φ, θ, χ

φ, θ, and χ were certainly true aspirate stops in the Classical Period as can be seen from the numerous examples of aspirate assimilation and aspirate metathesis found in Attic texts of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. (cf. 38.021–38.022 supra; Sturtevant pp.76ff.; Schwyzler, GG 1, p.204). The last Attic examples of aspirate assimilation are of the third century B.C.: Διοφείθου in an inv. of 291/0 (cf. 38.0211a, no.12, p.460 supra); perhaps two instances of καθειληφου- (cf. 38.0212a, no.20, p.463 supra), unless εἴληφα was actually the normal Attic form, in third-century decrees. Examples like Χυτνία, κύθρους, and Ἀρφοκρατίων/Ἀρποκρατίων (cf. 38.022, nos.4, 5, p.467 supra) do occur in the Roman Period, but they are not necessarily true aspirate metathesis; they may merely continue a lack of standardization in the orthography that had existed earlier when true metathesis of aspirates was frequent. Thus in Roman inscriptions one frequently finds both Arfocrates and Arpo-crates, where the f clearly indicates a spirant pronunciation in Ἀρφοκράτης. Certainly the disappearance of spellings like φαρθένος, καταθιθέναι, Θεμισθοκλῆς, etc. after ca. 300 B.C. is striking, and it is tempting to assume that their demise is due to a spirantization of φ, θ, and χ.

But there is no positive evidence in Attic texts of spirantization. Use of φ for Latin f proves nothing, because there was no other letter close to f in the Greek alphabet,

even if φ was a true aspirate. The fondness for Περσεφόνη, Πωσφόρος in the Roman Period, and certain spellings like Σολφίκιος instead of Σολπίκιος (cf. 38.023, p.468 supra) would be easier to explain if φ were an aspirate stop and not a spirant. But rare spellings like Ἐφρονίς, Ἐφραῖος, εὐφήβοισι would tend to support a spirant pronunciation of φ at least in εὐφ-, but it must be admitted that the Attic examples are rather doubtful (cf. 20.00c, p.347 supra). Graffiti like Dafne, fisica at Pompeii point to a spirant pronunciation of the aspirates, and there is rare evidence for it in the papyri by Roman times (Gignac pp.98 ff.). But there is also evidence of maintenance of true aspirates in some quarters into late Roman times (cf. Sturtevant p.84), and there is nothing in Attic inscriptions to argue against such a preservation in Athens.

It seems doubtful that a slight increase in the frequency of spellings like Βάχχος, etc. for Βάκχος in Roman times is evidence for spirantization of the aspirates, at least in all environments (cf. 43.05, pp.541 ff. infra).

It is doubtful whether the use of σ for $\sigma\theta$ is evidence for a spirant pronunciation of θ either in this cluster or in other positions; the phenomenon is very rare in Attic texts, and the examples from the Roman Period may be due to foreign influence or clerical confusion (for examples, cf. 46.02).

Only a clerical error is παραδοσειῶν in a naval inv., II² 1611.8 (357/6); $\sigma = \theta$ is otherwise normal only in Laconian (cf. Buck, GD² p.59).

In Μιθραδ-, Μιθραδ- ~ Μιτρ-, etc. the hesitation indicates difficulty in transliterating the spirant [θ] in Greek; neither τ [t] nor θ [t'] was accurate. Cf. 38.012b; for examples, cf. 6.02a; and add: Θηλυμίθρης Θ, an Athenian listed in an eph. cat., cf. II² 2237.99 (230–235 p.) (L.); Μιθραῖς, non-Athenian (epengraphos) in another eph. cat., II² 2082.86 (post 150 p.) (L.).

The interchange of H = [h] and χ seen in the tribute lists in the variant spellings ηεδρόλοι, cf. I² 196.3 (= ATL 2, no. 7, col. 3.3) (448/7); I² 198.33 (= ATL 2, no. 8) (447/6); and Χεδρόλοι, cf. I² 210.25 (= ATL 2, no. 20) (435/4); I² 212.83 (= ATL 2, no. 22, col. 2.88) (433/2), is due to hesitation in transliterating a foreign sound, perhaps an aspiration stronger than the Attic [h] or some kind of a velar fricative such as [x]. It is doubtful whether the toponym Ἐρῶδιοι of I² 195, col. 4.30 (= ATL 2, no. 5, col. 4.18) (450/49) has anything to do with the Chedrolioi (cf. ATL 1, p. 175).

For φάτην, φιδάκη, cf. 38.022; for κισσύφιον, cf. 39.00.

Lit.: MS³ p. 76, note 654; p. 78, notes 669–670; p. 80, notes 682–685.

38.04 Confusion of φ and θ

In a certain number of cases there is confusion of theta and phi in texts of the Archaic Period. These are surely no more than confusion of different alphabetic symbols with no phonological significance. This can be seen from texts which use one form of theta for phi (Θ) and another (⊙) for theta, and from the dipinti, where graphic carelessness is certainly the reason for irregular use of Θ, ⊙, ⊗, and even O. Thus in I² 487 (= DAA p. 7, no. 3; *Imagines*² plate 6, no. 14) (fin. s. VIa.?, cf. LSAG p.295) ded., Θ = φ occurs alongside ⊙ for θ; and in I² 609, dated just after 490 (= Meiggs-Lewis p.33, no. 18; *Imagines*² plate 8, no. 18), ⊙ is used for θ and Θ is used for φ; ΘΕΙΔΟ on another dedication is probably for Φειδῶ, cf. Peek, *AM* 67 (1942) p.162, no.336 (= DAA p.287, no.258; *Hesperia* 2 [1933] p.373, no.1) (ca. 500–480), where a squared form of Θ is used for ⊙; in I² 684 (= DAA p.303, no.283; *Imagines*² plate 10, no. 21) (ca. 480 aut paulo post), ⊙ is for θ in Α⊙ΕΝΑΙΑ[I], but ⊗ is used for φ in [ΔI]⊗⊕ΑΝΕΣ.

Similar confusion occurs in dipinti. Cf. ΘΙΛΩΝ alongside ΣΚΥΘΕΣ, ΣΜΙΚΥΘΟΣ on a bf. vase, ABV p. 516, Philon no. 1 (= CVA, England 6, plate 21.1). Cf. ΠΑΝΘΑΙΟΣ, an infrequent variant for ΠΑΝΘΑΙΟΣ (also sometimes ΠΑΝΘΑΙΟΣ, once even ΠΑΝΘΑΙΟΣ) on rf. vases, cf. ARV² pp. 124ff.; ΔΕΜΟΘΩΝ alongside ΑΕΩΠΑ on a rf. vase of Myson, cf. ARV² p. 239, no. 16 (= Smith, *Catalogue* 3, p. 280, no. E 458); ΔΕΜΟΘΑΩΝ alongside ΦΩΙΝΙΧΣ, ΑΙΩΠΑ, ΘΕΣΕΥΣ on another rf. vase, cf. ARV² p. 460, Makron no. 13 (= HRF 2, p. 82, no. 26); etc.

Possibly Θ, Θ are for phi in the following graffiti: ΕΥΘΩΝΙΑΔ[Ο, *Agora* 21, p. 32, no. F 43 (init. s. Va.); ΕΥΘΩ[*Agora* 21, p. 18, no. D 15 (600–550); but rare names in Εὐθρον- are also possible.

For confusion of theta and phi elsewhere in Greece, cf. DAA p. 288 and JOAI 31 (1938) Beiblatt, col. 28. The view that there was any real phonological confusion between θ and φ in Ancient Greek does not seem tenable. M.K. Langdon has pointed out to me that two of the examples in the article of R. Arena, *Glotta* 44 (1966 [1967]) pp. 14ff., in fact read not phi, but theta: thus the correct reading in the Megarian text published by W. Peek in *AM* 59 (1934) p. 53 is: ΑΘΑΝΑΔΑΣ: ΘΩΝΙΧΩ; and the thetas (of the Θ type) in the graffito published *Hesperia* 17 (1948) p. 160 are clearly visible in the photograph (plate 41, no. 2) and in the drawing published in Lang, *Graffiti*, no. 18 (cf. *Agora* 21, p. 8, no. B 1).

ΘΕΠΕΙΜ for φέρειν in a copy of the sep. curse-text set up ca. 150 A.D. by Herodes Atticus, Π² 13189.7, is probably a copying error of Fourmont, the only witness to the text.

39.00 Confusion of φ, θ, χ and β, δ, γ; οὐθείς, οὐθέν, etc.

As the Greek writing system possessed no symbols to represent the so-called voiced aspirates, the precise value of the spelling διθύραμπος which occurs on a rf. vase of the third quarter of the fifth century B.C. remains uncertain, cf. ARV² p. 1055, no. 78 (= *JHS* 76 [1956] plate 3.1; *SEG* 16.40): either [di-t'y-ram-p'os] or [di-t'y-ram-b'os]. Perhaps an aspirate assimilation is seen here similar to those like λιποχράτης, Θεμισθοκλής, etc. (cf. 38.0212b, no. 21, p. 463 supra, and p. 464 supra); others have seen traces of the word's non-Greek origin in the φ~β alternation seen here (cf. Furnée, p. 169). For the expected -μβ-, cf. διθύραμβ-: Π² 1105 B.b 11 (aet. Hadriani) imp. letter; Π² 3120.5 (190–200 p.) ded.

The signature Θυφειθίδες is probably not for Τυφειθίδης, as suggested by Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* p. 152, but for Θδφειθίδες, as suggested by Beazley, *JHS* 52 (1932) p. 194 (cf. 38.0211a, p. 460 supra, and 13.04, p. 260 supra). Reject Θωρόθεος = Δωρόθεος on a volute-crater of the Pronomos painter, ARV² p. 1336, no. 1; the correct reading is Δωρόθεος (cf. *FR* 3, plate 143). The πιμθαγο on an ostrakon published *Hesperia*, suppl. 8 (1949) p. 402, no. 15 is probably Σπιμθαγο rather than Πινδ-άγο, especially as this word contains no other aspirate stop (cf. 41.03, no. 4, p. 491 infra).

Certain variations between voiceless and aspirate stops in the spelling of names may be due to inability to render in Greek voiced aspirates of other languages, e.g. Μηκύβερα (cf. 35.01b, p. 435 supra), Βούγος, the normal signature on vases of the Brygos

painter, where it is the normal Greek name for this people to the north, distinct from the Phrygians or Φρύγες. For the latter, cf. Φρυγός in a fifth-century sep. mon., I² 1084 (ca. 430–425), cf. Wilhelm, *Beiträge* pp.35ff., no.22. The signature of the vase-painter indicates his foreign origin, as does his occasional use of Π for φ (cf. 38.012b, p.453 supra). For Βρύγος, cf. ARV² pp.368–424. There is a single example of Βρύκος, on a vase of the circle of the Brygos painter, cf. 35.02b, p.437 supra. Βρύκος is also found as a variant in codd. of later literary texts. Cf. also Cambitoglu, *The Brygos Painter* pp.10–11; W. Schulze, GGA 1896, p.243 (= KS² pp.705–706).

An inventory of 369/8, II² 1424a (in add.).265, gives a spelling κισσύφιον (L.); probably this is a remodeling of the κισσύβιον normal in codd. on the basis of diminutives in -υφιον, cf. Chantraine, *DEG* 2, p.535; the word is not otherwise attested in Attic texts. This variation has been thought to be evidence for the word's non-Greek origin, cf. Furnée, p.170.

39.01 ούθεις, ούθέν, etc.

The spellings ούθεις (μηθείς), ούθέν, ούθενός, etc. first appear in a state decree of 378/7 and the forms with θ are the only ones in use by the end of the fourth century; in II² 885.5 read ούθέ?ν and in II² 1299.8 μηθενός, cf. add. to *IG* II² and no.95 infra.¹ That there can be no question of confusion between ούδέ and οὔτε here is shown by the exclusive use of ούδεμία, etc. in the feminine (cf. nos.74, 117, etc. with ούδεμία alongside ούθεις). One decree of 330/29 (nos.27, 76) has both ούθενός and μηδένα.

The original spellings with δ begin to reappear in the first century B.C. and are normal throughout the Roman Period. But forms with theta occur in both of the texts of regulations for the cult of Menes Tyrannos set up by Xanthus of Lycia, of which only the first contains peculiar non-Attic spellings (s. Ip.; four cases, nos.122–123), and once in an eph. cat. of the late second century (cf. no.124).

The final δ in this compound joined so closely with the following aspiration that it became an aspirate stop; the value of θ here was probably [d'] rather than [t'], since θ = δ + [h] in these words has developed like δ elsewhere to produce [δ] in MG, while θ has undergone a different development to [θ]. The reintroduction of ούθεις in the Roman Period is probably a characteristic learned revival of the original orthography.

There is probably one example of ούθ' for ούδ' before a following aspiration (no.125 infra), and μηθαμοῦ occurs once on a defixio of ca. 300 B.C., but otherwise the use of theta is confined to ούδεις/μηδεις.

These words are sometimes written separatim, especially in the fifth century, cf. Syntax.

In the archaic dedication I² 837 rediscovery of the stone rules out the unlikely possibility that what had been read as ΘΘΓΕΡΜΕΣ could be for ὀδ' ἡερμῆς; the reading is in fact ἀγλαὸς ἡερμῆς, cf. *AM* 62 (1937) p.1, no.1 (= *SEG* 10.345), *LSAG* p.78, no.35 (ca. 520–514).

Lit.: MS³ pp.104–105, notes 937–943; pp.258–259, notes 2011–2013; Lademann pp.60–61; Mayser-Schmoll pp.148–149; Gignac p.97.

¹ Read μηθένα, not μηδένα, in *Hesperia* 47 (1978) p.49, line 11 (L.).

Examples:

οὐδεις/μηδεις, etc.:

Before 300 B. C.:

- 1) I² 22.28 (450/49, cf. SEG 23.7) decree (L.);
- 2) I² 29.7 (ante 446) decree;
- 3) I² 39.6, 9 (446/5) decree;
- 4) I² 183.10 (ca. 445) fr. of a law;
- 5) I² 92.46 (434/3, cf. SEG 22.7; 24.3) decree;
- 6) I² 57.15, 56 (inscribed 423) decree;
- 7) I² 370.13 (421/0–416/5) inv.;
- 8) I² 98.16 (416/5) decree;
- 9) I² 12.19 (411, cf. Meiggs–Lewis p. 247, no. 80) decree;
- 10) II² 28.13 (387/6) decree (L.);
- 11) II² 1415.14 (post 385/4, non post 378/7, cf. SEG 21.548) inv.;
- 12) II² 1605.19 (ca. 376?) inv.;
- 13) II² 1141.3 (376/5) decree (tribe);
- 14) II² 141.35 (376–360) decree;
- 15) II² 1606.9, 13, *et al.* (374/3) inv.;
- 16) II² 1609.91, 94, *et al.* (ante 370/69) inv. (L.);
- 17) II² 125.2, 3 (357/6) decree, μ[η]δέναι *ib.* 4;
- 18) II² 204.52 (352/1) decree;
- 19) Robert, *Etudes* (1938) pp. 296 ff., line 31 (= Siewert, pp. 5–7) (paulo post 350? cf. *Charisterion Orlandou A*, pp. 79–87) oath of ephebes;
- 20) II² 1128.13 (ante 350) decree (of Cean cities);
- 21) II² 1361.8, 10 (post 350) sacred law (orgeones);
- 22) II² 212.19 (347/6) decree;
- 23) II² 2492.11, 28 (346/5) loc. (demesmen of Aixone);
- 24) II² 226.6 (ca. 343/2) decree (L.);
- 25) II² 1622.591, 594, 605, 607 *et al.* (ca. 342/1) inv.;
- 26) II² 411.26 (post 336/5) decree;
- 27) II² 360.39 (325/4) decree (cf. no. 76 *infra*) (L.);
- 28) II² 416.12 (ca. 330) decree;
- 29) II² 1672.274 (329/8) inv. (L.);
- 30) II² 1266.5 (fin. s. IV a.?) decree (eranistai).

First century B. C. and Roman Period:

- 31) II² 1035.8 (10/9–3/2, cf. p. 124 *supra*, no. 59) decree;
- 32) II² 1063.7 (post 48/7) decree;
- 33) *Hesperia* 34 (1965) pp. 255 ff., line 29 (= II² 1025, II² 1040 + new fr.) (46/5) decree;
- 34) II² 1346.17 (init. s. I p.) decree (hierateuousai);
- 35) II² 1051.a 17, b 8 (= *Hesperia* 36 [1967] p. 66, no. 12) (post 38/7, ante 31) decree (L.);
- 36) II² 13134.5 (s. I/II p.) sep. mon.;
- 37) II² 1075.6 (117–138 p.) decree;
- 38) II² 1106.8 (post 131 p.) imp. letter;
- 39)–47) II² 13188.13, II² 13191.9, II² 13193.12, II² 13195.15, II² 13196.18, II² 13200.12, II² 13201.20, AM 67 (1942) p. 141, no. 310, line 8; probably also AE 1961, Chronika

- p.23, no.1 (= IP² 13190.15 with improved reading: μηδέν) sep. curse-texts erected ca. 150 A.D. by Herodes Atticus;
 48) IP² 2090.10 (165/6 p.) eph. cat.;
 49) *Hesperia* 21 (1952) pp. 381 ff., line 29 (= IP² 1092 B.10) (ca. 165 p.) decree;
 50) IP² 1368.31, 32 *et al.* (ca. 162/3 p.) Iobacchi regulations (L.);
 51) IP² 2191.131 (ca. 200 p.) eph. cat.;
 52) IP² 1086.22 (init. s. III p.?) decree;
 53) IP² 1369.31 (ca. 200 p.) law (erānistai);
 54) IP² 5426.11 (s. II/III p.) sep. mon.;
 55) IP² 11267 (s. II/III p.) sep. mon.;
 56) *Hesperia*, suppl. 6 (1941) p. 125, no. 31, line 38 (= IP² 1064 + new fr.) (ca. 230 p.) decree;
 57) *Hesperia* 5 (1936) pp. 43 ff., lines 17–18 (ca. s. III p.) defixio;
 58) IP² 1121.38 (305/6 p.) imp. edict;
 59) IP² 11606 a (in add.) 7 (aet. infimae) sep. mon.

Doubtful:

- 60) IP² 13228 (date?) sep. mon.; doubtful if Attic.

οὐθείς, μηθείς, etc.:

- 61) IP² 43.37, 41 (378/7) decree (L.);
 62) IP² 1608.43, 54 (373/2) inv. (L.);
 63) IP² 1607.20, 24, *et al.* (373/2) inv. (L.);
 64) AE 1965, pp. 131 ff., lines 4–5 (361/0) decree (tribe);
 65) IP² 1618.87 (post 358/7) inv. (L.);
 66) IP² 11169.1 (ca. 350) sep. mon.;
 67) IP² 13098.1 (ca. 350) sep. mon. (L.);
 68) *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p. 226, no. 13, line 128 (350–344) inv.;
 69) IP² 2496.19–20 (post 350) loc. (L.);
 70) IP² 6873.5 (post 350) sep. mon.;
 71) IP² 7265.5 (post 350) sep. mon.;
 72) IP² 233.15 (340/39) decree (L.);
 73) Robert, *Études* (1938) pp. 293 ff., line 15 (340–335? cf. BCH 96 [1972] pp. 73 ff., no. 2) decree (deme);
 74) IP² 236.9 (338/7) decree (L.);
 75) IP² 275.5 (ante 336/5) decree;
 76) IP² 360.41 (325/4) decree (cf. no. 27 supra) (L.);
 77) IP² 1629.268 (325/4) inv.;
 78) IP² 2499.14 (306/5) loc. (orgeones) (stone illegible);
 79) *Δελτιον* 8 (1923) p. 86, no. 1, line 17 (303/2) decree (tribe);
 80) IP² 584.18 (fin. s. IV a.) decree;
 81) IP² 2500.12 (fin. s. IV a.) loc.;
 82) Peek, AG 2, p. 62, no. 179 (s. IV a.) sep. mon.;
 83) IP² 1241.32, 51, 52 (300/299) decree (phratry);
 84) IP² 2631.5, 6 (s. III a.?) horos (deme);
 85) IP² 2632.5, 6 (s. III a.?) horos (deme); nos. 85 and 84 in the same hand;
 86) IP² 1275.13 (s. III/II a., cf. Sokolowski, *Supplément* p. 210, no. 126; SEG 21.534) decree (thiasotai);

- 87) IP² 8388.3 (init. s. III a.) sep. mon.;
- 88) IP² 12236.7 (ca. 300) sep. mon.;
- 89) IP² 657.48 (283/2) decree;
- 90) IP² 1534 A.13 (291/0, cf. SEG 16.118) inv.: μηθ[-- (L.);
- 91) *Delion* 22 (1967) pp.38 ff., lines 25, 27 (= SEG 24.154) (264/3 aut paulo post) decree (deme);
- 92) IP² 1243.13 (ca. 250) decree (Marathon tetrapolis);
- 93) IP² 1289.5, 10 (ca. 250) decree (orgeones);
- 94) IP² 1225.6, 10 (ca. 250) decree (Salaminian cleruchs);
- 95) IP² 1299.8 (post 236/5) decree (troops and Eleusinians); cf. addenda to IG IP²;
- 96) IP² 791.19 (247/6) decree (L.);
- 96 a) *Hesperia* 45 (1976) pp.296 ff., line 19 (204/3) decree;
- 97) IP² 833.10 (229/8) decree;
- 98) IP² 838.26 (226/5) decree;
- 99) *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p.525, no.39, line 23 (226/5) decree (L.);
- 100) AE 1953/54, Part 1, pp.126–129, no.2, line 9 (= SEG 15.113) decree (paroikoi at Rhamnus);
- 101) μηθ[έν IP² 1304.16 (post 211/0) decree (troops);
- 102) IP² 1315.11–12 (211/0) decree (orgeones);
- 103) *Hesperia* 5 (1936) p.419, no.15, line 10 (196/5) decree;
- 104) AM 76 (1961) p.127, no.1, line 24 (= SEG 21.435) (187/6) decree;
- 105) IP² 1329.6 (175/4) decree (orgeones);
- 106) IP² 1328.14 (175/4) decree (orgeones);
- 107) IP² 949.34 (165/4) decree;
- 108) IP² 956.8, 10 (161/0) decree;
- 109) *Hesperia* 29 (1960) p.78, no.155, line 8 (ca. 160) decree;
- 110) IP² 957.7 (157/6) decree;
- 111) *Hesperia* 36 (1967) p.64, no.10, line 7 (ante 150) decree;
- 112) IP² 995.11 (ca. 150) decree;
- 113) IP² 968.46 (143/2) decree;
- 114) IP² 1227.15 (131/0) decree (Salaminian cleruchs);
- 115) IP² 1009.9 (116/5) decree;
- 116) IP² 1011.15 (106/5) decree;
- 117) IP² 1013.17 (fin. s. II a.) decree;
- 118) IP² 1019.35 (= *Hesperia* 28 [1959] p.187, no.9) (184/3? cf. *Hesperia* 40 [1971] p.309) decree;
- 119) IP² 1023.8 (fin. s. II a.) decree;
- 120) IP² 1028.82 (101/100, cf. SEG 24.188) decree;
- 121) IP² 1030.13 (post 94/3) decree;
- 122–123) IP² 1365.8–9, 11 (L.), IP² 1366.7, 13 (L.) (s. Ip.) regulations for the cult of Menes Tyrannos set up by Xanthus of Lycia;
- 124) IP² 2105.25 (inter 173/4–178/9 p.) eph. cat. (L.).

οὐθ' for οὐδ':

- 125) IP² 1607.24 (= no.63 supra, οὐθέν several times) (373/2) inv.: ΟΥΟΟΙ etc. (L.) with O = Θ; οὐθέν immediately precedes: σκεῦος ἔχει οὐθέν, οὐθ' οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἐνεισιν.

Too doubtful to be recognized is Π^2 1536.13 (= *IG* II, no. 853), where Kirchner read the last three letters as OVO, and did not retain the οὐθ' [ὕγιες] suggested by earlier editors. The spelling οὐδ' remained normal in the Hellenistic Period, cf. in the phrase οὐδ' / μηδ' ὑφ' ἐνός: Π^2 435.7 (post 336/5), Π^2 505.58 (302/1), Π^2 660.18 (fin. s. IV a., cf. *SEG* 24.115) decrees; Π^2 1165.24 (300–250) decree (tribe); etc.; and perhaps even in a text with μηθέν, Π^2 1304.7 (no. 101 supra, dated post 211/0); οὐδ' ὑμέναιος in Π^2 7198.3 (s. II a.) sep. mon. For the elision, cf. p. 422 supra.

Defixiones have μηθέν: *IG* III.3, no. 59.5; no. 94.17; μηθαμοῦ: Ziebarth, *GGN* 1899, p. 109, no. 10, lines 19–20 (350–330?). The latter is not otherwise attested.

40.00 The liquids ρ, λ

40.01 Metathesis of ρ, λ

Various types of metathesis involving the liquids ρ and λ are found.

40.011 CVRC→CRVC

When followed by a consonant, ρ or λ may move before the preceding vowel, i.e. CVRC becomes CRVC. This probably occurred via an intervening stage CVRVC, perhaps seen in the Μιλτιάδο of one of the Kimon ostraca, *Kerameikos* 3, p. 58, no. 45 (dated 461). Two others of these have Μιλτιάδο, *ib.* 59, nos. 52–53; and Γραγεττ- occurs on three ostraca (dated ca. 450–443) of Menon Gargettios, *ib.* p. 70, nos. 111–112 and *Hesperia*, suppl. 5 (1941) p. 144, no. 39 (cf. fig. 71, p. 143). Cf. Ἰσαρχος for Ἰσαρχος on two vases of the Epeleios painter, *ARV*² p. 146, no. 2 (= *FR* plate 155), p. 147, no. 18. The Τις]ραφρένεν of the decree, Π^2 113.38–39 (ca. 410) (L.), may belong here, although this kind of metathesis is altogether rare on public texts, and Hellenizing of a foreign name is involved. On the inv., Π^2 1386.13 (ca. 400) (L.), occurs ἀγλάμματος, but this may be no more than a graphic error: going back to put the cross bar in his alpha and faced with ΛΛ, the mason crossed the wrong letter. Cf. perhaps χλακία on a fourth-century defixio, *Hesperia* 20 (1951) p. 223, line 1. For τρομήση for τρομήση (with ρ for λ) on a late Roman sep. mon., cf. 40.03, no. 3. Φρεσσεφώνες (alongside Φερεσεφόνη); Φρεσεφόνην; Φρεσ(σ)εφόνη occur on defixiones, cf. 38.011 b, p. 450 supra.

It is doubtful whether the reverse metathesis CRVC→CVRC can be found. The lead curse-tablet with Φύρνιχος for Φρόνιχος, *IG* III.3, no. 89.a2 (400–350?), might be cited here. The writer of an erotic text from the late Archaic Period, Π^2 923, might have been trying to write πορσειπεῖν for πορσειπεῖν in lines 2–3: ΠΟΡΣΕΙΠΕΑ. It looks as though he began the second of these two lines having forgotten his last two letters of the preceding one; has also τερποννος (= τερπνός) cf. 29.00 a, p. 408 supra.

For the sigmatic aorist of φράττω, fifth-century texts have always ἐφραξ-, later texts ἐφραξ-: φάρασαι I² 371.20 (421/0–416/5) inv. (L.); διαφάρασαντι I² 373.251–252 (409/8) inv. (L.).

διαφράξει I² 1668.63 (347/6) inv. (L.); ἐφραξεν BCH 94 (1970) p. 918 (= *Delion* 21 [1966] *Chronika* p. 106, no. 12) (s. IV a.?) decree (not of the state, perhaps of a deme); cf. ἀφράκτων I² 1011.19 (106/5) decree (L.). Here the φρα- universal in the present had a decisive influence.

The Τρυβανῆς cited MS³ p. 69, note 593 as a variant for Ταρβανῆς (in the tribute lists) can be eliminated by the improved reading Τ[α]ρβανῆς in ATL 2, no. 2, col. 1.18 (= I² 192.15, corrected) (453/2), cf. ATL 1, p. 556. Ταρβανῆς also occurs in I² 64.48 (= ATL 2, no. A9, col. 2.140) (425/4).

The only example of this kind of metathesis with no consonant following is Φλυάσιος for Φυλάσιος in the sep. mon., I² 7750 (date?); the reading is known only from Fourmont's copy and must remain suspect. That νελ for υλε in Κῦελνιος (= Κυλλήνιος) on a bf. vase of the Tyrrhenian group, ABV p. 96, no. 14 (= *Imagines*² plate 3, no. 6), has any phonological significance is doubtful.

Lit.: MS³ p. 81, notes 688, 689, p. 181, note 1500; Lademann p. 119; J. Schmidt, ZVS 33 (1895) pp. 456–457; J. W. Poultney, "Assimilatory and Dissimilatory Gain and Loss of r" *AJP* 93 (1972) pp. 198–214.

40.012 κάτοπτρον ~ κάτροπτον, σλεγγίς ~ στελγίς, etc.

When part of a cluster of three consonants, ρ or λ may sometimes move to another position in the word.

κάτοπτρον ~ κάτροπτον:

The expected spelling κάτοπτρον actually occurs only once, in the inv., I² 1471.46 (post 318/7): κά]τοπτρον, but κάτροπτα is found three times in close proximity, cf. *ib.* 47, 48, 49 (L.). Elsewhere only κάτροπτον: I² 1419.6 (post 385/4); I² 1542.24–25 (ca. 350); I² 1515.15 (post 345/4) (L.); I² 1516.3 (post 344/3) (L.); I² 1517.192, 195 (353/2–341/0) (L.); I² 1522.30 (post 336/5); I² 1544.58 (333/2) (L.); I² 1524.257 (post 334/3): κάτρο[πτον (L.); I² 1464.25 (ca. 330?); I² 1469.93, 95, 96, 142, 144 (post 320/19) (L.); I² 1534B.196 (247/6, cf. SEG 16.118) all inventories.

άπαντροκύ, etc.:

The only examples have the transposed ρ:

άπαντροκύ I² 1672.25 (329/8) (L.), καταντροκύ I² 1668.88 (347/6) (L.) both inventories.

σλεγγίς ~ στελγίς:

The normal spelling is σλεγγίς; the transposed spelling στελγίς occurs only once: I² 1541.15–16 (356/5) inv. (L.). Elsewhere σλεγγίς: I² 47.9, 10, 19 (init. s. IV a.) decree (L.); I² 1424a (in add.) 389 (369/8) (L.); I² 1425.395 (368/7) (L.); I² 1542.16 (ca. 350) inv.; I² 1532.7 (343/2) inv. (L.); I² 1526.24 (post 337/6) inv.; I² 1533.101 (post 338/7) inv.; I² 1544.13 (333/2) inv. (L.).

The only example of this kind of mobility after a single stop is Εὐποσρῶνη on a sep. mon., Π² 11511 (s. Ia./s. Ip.) (L.), where presumably Εὐφροσῶνη was intended (cf. 38.012b, no.6, p.454 supra). Note also Λρακίας instead of Λακρίας on a rf. vase, cf. ARV² p.468, Hieron no.146 (= Richter-Hall plate 52); the vase also has Κελιτραστε for Καλιστρατέ (cf. p.572 infra).

In the demotic Λαμπρεῦς the cluster -μπτρ- is sometimes written with transposition of ρ to give Λαμπρεῦς (cf. examples in 47.012). A syllabic pronunciation of ρ is perhaps indicated here, viz. [lam-pr-te's], but these spellings are more likely to be just graphic mistakes. Examples like Μλιτιάδο on three ostraca of Kimon (461), *Kerameikos* 3, p.60, no.54; *ib.* p.61, nos.60–61, are probably not evidence for a syllabic λ, but careless omissions or inaccurate attempts of semi-literates. Clerical omissions: -γορμένων in a decree fr., *Hesperia* 40 (1971) p.101, no.3, line 16 (84/3); Ἡγησας (= Ἡγησανδρος) on a sep. mon., Π² 11564 (init. s. IVa.); Χρσύλλα in an inv., Π² 1524.213 (post 334/3); στρεῦεται on a defixio, *IG* III.3, no.55.a9 (325/4? cf. Wilhelm, *JOAI* 7 [1904] pp.107ff.); etc. For these and similar spellings, cf. 28.00, p.396 supra.

Fifth-century Attic texts have always κέρχνος, not κέγγρος: χέρχνον *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p.249, no.2, line 138 (ca. 414) inv.; κέρχνοι Π² 313.17 (408/7) inv.; κέρχ[νοι] Π² 314.23 (407/6) inv. The word is not otherwise found in Attic inscriptions.

Only the spelling Ἀγλαυρος, never Ἀγρσυλος, is actually attested: Ἀγλαύρῳ BCH 87 (1963) pp.603ff., line B57–58 (= SEG 21.541; Sokolowski, *Lois*² p.36, no.18) (375–350?) sacred calendar; Ἀγλαύρου Π² 5152 (aet. Rom.) inscribed theatre-seat. And on vases: ARV² p.496, Oreithyia painter no.2 (= CVA, Germany 12, plate 205.1–2); ARV² p.1108, Nausikaa painter no.17; ARV² p.1316, ii, fr. Manner of the Meidias painter; ARV² p.1268, Kodros painter no.2 (= CVA, Germany 22, plate 113.1–2).

The Σκαφλεῦς of Π² 11202 (ante 350) sep. mon. has nothing to do with σκαφεύς, but is the ethnic of the Boeotian town Σκάφλαι; the feminine Σκαφλικά may be seen in a text published *Polemon* 5 (1952–53) p.150, no.2 (ca. 350), cf. S.Koumanoudes in *RP* 35 (1961) pp.99ff.

The θυροκλινκίσιν cited by MS³ p.81, note 691 as occurring in Π² 1672.173 (= *IG* II add., no.834b, col.2.37) must be corrected to θυροκλινκίσι (L.).

Metathesis of the type Λυκοῦργος for Λυκοῦργος, Φίλαργος for Φίλαργος is not attested. The Φίλαργος of Π² 1666.7 is a misprint, cf. J.A. Bundgaard, *Mnesicles* (Copenhagen, 1957) erratum at bottom of p.100 (L.).

Lit.: Cf. 40.011; MS³ p.81, notes 689–691; p.83, note 712; Lademann p.119.

40.013 Liquid assimilation

A similar mobility of ρ and λ may be seen in a few examples in which by a sort of assimilation the ρ or λ appears both in its original position and elsewhere in the word, e.g. Χραιρέδημος for Χαιρέδημος. The intrusive ρ or λ is always part of a cluster, either CR, sCR, rCR or RC being the result. This phenomenon is fairly rare, but occurs in public documents:

- 1) Χραιρέδημος Π² 13029 (ante 350) sep. mon. (L.);
- 2) τεργάργων Π² 1498.7 (340–330) inv. (L.);

- 3) στήλη[ι] II² 302.1 (ante 336/5) decree (L.);
- 4) ἐλημετού[γγ]ησαν II² 417.4 (post 330) decree (L.); cf. Mayser-Schmoll p. 160, 2a;
- 5a) θυροκινκλῆς II² 1672.172, 173, 173–174 (329/8) inv. (L.); but θυροκινκλῆς *ib.* 174, 192, 202 (L.). κινκλῆς also in II² 1668.65 (347/6) inv. (L.); II² 4771.2 (ca. 120 p.) ded.;
- 5b) τέρταρον II² 1672.177 (329/8) inv.;
- 6) παρα[τρίδι] II² 467.21 (306/5) decree (stoich.) (L.);
- 7) Κ[ρόπρε]ιοι *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p. 260, no. 67, line 3 (init. s. II a.) cat.;
- 8) Ὁρθαγόρας Εἰσιδότης Φυλάσιος II² 4823.6–7 (ca. 200 p.) ded. (priv.); the same man is Ὁρθαγόρας Ε[ἰ]σιδότη[ς], II² 1784.20 (post 216 p.) pryt. cat., and his son is the Στράτων Ὁρθαγόρου Φυλά(σιος) of the eph. cat., II² 2130.171 (192/3 p.). The Ὁρθαγόρας of the cat., II² 1956.157 (fin. s. IV a.) (L.), has been wrongly interpreted as for Ὁρθαγόρας with loss of ρ due to dissimilation (cf. p. 482 *infra*). But in II² 920.16 read not Ὁ[ρ]θαγόρ[αν], but Πυθαγόρ[αν], cf. *Agora* 15, p. 145, no. 168. Note Ὁρθαγορά on a bf. vase, *ABV* p. 672, Würzburg 205 (cf. *Paralipomena* p. 141) and Βορθαγόρας, cited from Argos by Bechtel, *Personennamen* p. 352.

Doubtful:

- 9) [Σ]τρεϊριεύς II² 2409.35 (330/29, cf. *SEG* 16, 145) cat. But the stone actually has [Τ]ΦΕΙ-ΠΙΕΥΣ, and as this mason is somewhat careless (cf. the omitted crossbar of the alpha of Χολαργεύς in line 61) an interpretation Σ[τ]{ε}ριεύς might also be possible; i.e. an attempted first E was abandoned and then left un erased;
- 10) Ἐρωρς Ἰλάρου II² 11347 (s. II/III p.) sep. mon. (L.); for Ἐρωρς?
Cf. Ἐκτωρ on a bf. vase of the Leagros group, *Paralipomena* p. 164, no. 31bis (ca. 520). (L.).
For Φλεβοναρώ, cf. 40.03 *infra*.
In II² 1996.130 (84/5–92/3) eph. cat. (= *IG* III, no. 1091) the correct reading is certainly not Δημήτριος, but Δημήτριος, cf. Kirchner's apparatus to line 130 in *IG* II² (L.).
Lit.: Cf. 40.011; *MS*³ p. 81, notes 691–697; *Lademann* p. 119.

40.02 Dissimilation, omission of ρ, λ

40.021 Dissimilation of ρ, λ

a) A dissimilation of ρ – ρ to λ – ρ has been claimed in ναυκλα[ρος] on a small fr., presumably of a ded., from the Acropolis, I² 628 (ca. 500). Here, however, there is room for scepticism; Raubitschek (cf. *DAA* p. 69, no. 66) has associated I² 628 with I² 690 and I² 521 to produce a text Ναυκλᾶ[ς] Εὐ[δ]ύκο. The fragments do not join, however (cf. *JOAI* 31 [1939] Beiblatt col. 49), and because of certain differences in the spacing I am inclined to doubt that they belong to the same text (L.). But the rather doubtful nature of the text given by *IG* I² 628 has been shown by Raubitschek's alternative suggestion.

b) F. Solmsen's suggestion (cf. *RM* 53 [1898] p. 153) that the ἡ Πληροσία and τὰ Πρ(ο)ηρόσια are the same must be given up, cf. W. Peek, *AM* 66 (1941) p. 175. Πληροσία occurs in two deme decrees, II² 1177.9 (ca. 350), II² 1183.33 (post 340).

Προηρόσια is attested: Π² 1363.6 (fin. s. IV a./init. s. III a.) sacred calendar; Π² 1006.10 (122/1), Π² 1029.16 (96/5) decrees. Προηρέσια occurs in Π² 1028.28 (101/0, cf. SEG 24.188), Π² 1039.54 (79/8, cf. SEG 22.110) decrees. In the fifth century a contracted (cf. 32.00, p.414 supra) form occurs: Πρεροσίους, πρερόσιον (or gen. plural Πρεροσίδων?) τέλεον θέλυ in a sacred calendar of ca. 445 B.C., AM 66 (1941) pp.171ff., no.1, lines B8, B18 (= SEG 10.38), has πρεροσιάδων κριθὸν *ib.* A4, B21–22; in another sacred calendar recently published from two copies of the stone (apparently lost) Πρηρόσια (it cannot be the Πληροσία because the month is wrong) occurs, cf. ZPE 25 (1977) p.243, line 13 (post 403/2); τὴν προηρο[(other copy has τὴν προηρο[) in *ib.* 5 might be προηρόσιος used as an adjective with a feminine sing. noun or it might be τὴν προηροσ[ιάδα + a feminine noun.

For Φεβλουαρίω, cf. 40.03 *infra*.

Lit.: Cf. 40.011; MS³ p.82, notes 698–699.

40.022 Omission of ρ, λ

ρ or λ may be omitted. Such omissions occur under various conditions:

a) *Cluster simplification*. A good number of instances of -στ- for -στρ- can be assembled:

Ἐγέστατος *Hesperia*, suppl. 8 (1949) p.399, no.10 b (= *Agora* 21, p.13, no. C9) (init. s. V a.) graffito (perhaps an ostrakon?);

Ἀρχέστατος Π² 1609.84 (ante 370/69) inv.;

Χαιρέστατος *Hesperia* 33 (1964) p.225, no.72 (post 350) ded. (priv.);

στατηγός Π² 1672.275, 276 (329/8) inv., στρατηγός *ib.* 277; cluster simplification or dissimilation from ρ in neighboring words? could be careless omission;

Ναυοίστατος IG III.3, no.5.1 (s. IV–III a.?) defixio;

Μενέστατος Π² 1958.20 (post 250) cat.;

Στατονικεύς Π² 10384 (date?) sep. mon., known only from Fourmont's copy;

Χαιλέστατος IG II, no.329, line 34 (= Π² 678.35) (256/5) decree, known only from a copy of Pococke full of copying mistakes.

Since this cluster is rarely written -στρ- or even -τρ-, it is possible that some of the instances of -στ- are due to cluster simplification (cf. 47.011, p.571 *infra*).

Similar simplifications: Καλλαίσχου for Καλλαίσχρου in a mine inv., *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p.263, no.20, line 3 (338/7?), if not just a careless omission; Ἀσκηπιάδου in the decree, Π² 945.3 (168/7) (L.), is comparable to -σκ- for -σκηλ- attested in other parts of Greece; Ἀλεξάν|δου on a ded., Π² 3679.6–7 (s. II/III p.), is an omission certainly not due to lack of space (L.). Perhaps also Νικάνδου on the sep. mon., Π² 6033 (s. III a.), known only from Fourmont's copy. Ἀγασικάτης, Εὐφαῖος, even Ἡρακλώτης in c) no.1 *infra* probably do not belong here.

b) VRC > VC. There may be enough examples of ρ omitted before a consonant to justify the assumption that it was less strongly pronounced here and hence likely to be omitted on texts with a low standard of orthography.

- 1) Ἀχανεῖς for Ἀχαρνέως on an ostrakon, I² 911 (444/3); Ὑπέβολος, Ὑπέβ(ολος) on another, *Hesperia* 43 (1974) p. 190, no. 6 (417);
- 2) Θεσλοχος I² 11673 a (ca. 350) sep. mon.;
- 3) τετάτης I² 1011.31 (106/5) decree (L.); but note such copying mistakes as Συβουλίδης for Εὐβουλίδης, *ib.* col. 5.94;
- 4) Εὐτέπη I² 8063 (ca. s. Ia.) sep. mon.;
- 5) Ζμύνα I² 12628.1 (s. II p.) sep. mon.,]ρνης *ib.* 2;
- 6) Καρπούννιος (= Calpurnius?) I² 2242.33 (238/9 aut 242/3 p.) eph. cat. (cf. 40.03, no. 1, p. 483 *infra*);
- 7) Φίμου (= Firmus) I² 2245.61 (262/3 aut 266/7 p.) eph. cat. (L.);
- 8) Probably just careless omission: Λυκούγος I² 1672.23 (329/8) inv.; cf. *addenda*.

Perhaps comparable to Ἀχανεῖς is Μιτιάδο on one of the ostraca of Kimon (461), *Kerameikos* 3, p. 59, no. 51, but the example remains isolated; perhaps only a clerical omission. The Φιντίας on a rf. vase might be comparable, if it is not for Φιντίας, cf. 46.0124 *infra*.

c) *Omission due to dissimilation.* The most convincing examples of loss of ρ or λ through dissimilation are those in which another ρ or λ occurs very nearby and in the same word and no glaring hiatus or unpronounceable combination of letters is left by the omission:

- 1) Three cases of Ἡρακλέωτης for Ἡρακλεώτης: I² 8706 (post 300) (L.); I² 8557 (s. III/IIa.) (L.); I² 8654 (s. IIa.) all sep. monuments. Cf. Mayser-Schmoll p. 160;
- 2) Πατροκεῖ on an altar dated ca. 550–540, now in the foundations of the Nike temple on the Acropolis (inadequately published *AE* 1937, Part 3, p. 786; *AA* 1939, col. 12; *DAA* p. 359, no. 329; the reading has been confirmed), could be Πατροκλέος or Πατροκλείδο. It may not be impossible that there was an anthroponym Πατροκλήδης; it is not attested, but names in -κλήδης are rare, cf. Bechtel, *Personennamen* p. 236;
- 2a) [Κα]λλικείδης I² 2364.8 (ca. 400 aut paulo ante) cat.; has [Μν]ησιθεῖς *ib.* 5 (L.);
- 3) Ναύκηρος I² 8498 (s. II/III p.) sep. mon. (L.);
- 4) πάστρα for πλαστρα I² 1425.308 (368/7) inv. (L.).

The Ἀγυλῆθεν of the sep. mon., I² 5242 (s. IVa.), could be for Ἀγρυλῆθεν or Ἀγχυλῆθεν.

But doubts could be raised that a true dissimilation is at work. There are a good many examples in which ρ or λ is dropped leaving vowels in hiatus or with no ρ or λ nearby. E.g. θαντίδες I² 1604.83 (+ I² 1605, cf. *SEG* 24.160) (ca. 376?) inv.; Φιάργο I² 11962 (ante 350) sep. mon., the correct Φιάργο in the other copy, I² 11961; Ἀντιφιου (for Ἀντιφίλου) I² 6559 (post 300) sep. mon.; θαντί(δες) I² 1615.56 (post 358/7) inv. (L.); Κτησικῆς *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p. 231, no. 13 (pp. 226 ff.), line 115 (350–345) inv.; Φαηρεύ[ς] I² 7597 (s. IVa.?) sep. mon.; Ἀεξάνδρου *Hesperia* 38 (1969) pp. 459 ff., line 50 (281/0) cat.; Φανοκέους I² 5434 (s. IIIa.); Ἀχεώωι (known only from Fauvel's copy) I² 4566 (400–350) ded. (priv.); Μητρόδωος (for Μητρόδωρος) *SEG* 22.174 (= I² 5762) (s. II p.) sep. mon.; cf. Μελανθίς Νεοκεῖ (probably for Νεοκλέος), graffito on a fifth-century sherd, *Hesperia*, suppl. 2 (1939) p. 226, fig. 144, p. 121, no. B47 (cf. note 20 on p. 400 of *Hesperia*, suppl. 8 [1949]); and several examples on vases, e.g. Λεοκάτες *ABV* p. 337, Rycroft painter no. 24; Ἀγασικάτ[ες] καλ[ός] *Hesperia* 27 (1958) p. 157, plate 45 c (= *ARV*² p. 20, early red-figure) (cf. *infra*); Χαχυλίον

ARV² p.58, Oltos no.51; TIMOKATEΣ ARV² p.1610; ΎΕΛΟΣ ARV² p.1594, no.49 (= Λέαγρος). The majority of these examples look like careless omissions, especially those like Ἀεξάνδρου, etc. leaving vowels in hiatus. Certainly clerical mistakes are ἐλ(λ)Λεά(ν)τοι (should be printed ἐλ Λ·Θ·λ·ά(ν)τοι as the mason merely carved lambda and epsilon in the wrong order) *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p.249, no.2, line 178 (ca. 414) inv.; ΧΑΙΠΠΙΟ (note sequence of upright hastae) Π² 1951.71 (406, cf. SEG 22.53) cat., for Χαίριππου. Even less convincing seem attempts (e.g. Nachmanson, *Lit. infra* pp.25–29) to explain loss of ρ or λ as due to dissimilation from a liquid in another word; the following are probably careless omissions like the preceding: Ἀγασινά(τ)ε[ς] καλ(ό)ς on an early rf. vase cited *supra*; ἔχοντα χυσᾶ, ῥάκ(ος) Π² 1524.181 (post 334/3) inv., it has Χρσίλλα (cf. p.478 *supra*); εἴλκυσε Λυκοῦγος Μελιτεῦς Π² 1672.23 (b) *supra*, no.8) (329/8) inv.; Γυνεᾶ Ἡρακλεῶτις Π² 8608 (s. I a.) sep. mon.; αὐτῷ μέχι * ε' καί Π² 1368.161 (ca. 162/3 p.) Iobacchi regulations, μέχρι *ib.* 90, next to ἀργυρίου; Εὐφάιος Ἀδιστονοῦς Π² 1798.8 (190/1 p.) pryt. cat.

Certainly clerical is Γανκία for Γλυνκία in the sep. mon., Π² 11545: lambda was erroneously crossed to produce an alpha. The Σμκείας of Π² 1927.125 may well be Fourmont's misreading of Σμκείας. A strange sort of copying error has caused Μητωόδωρος to be carved for Μητρόδωρος in the sep. mon., Π² 8479.

A number of examples of omission of ρ or λ allegedly due to dissimilation must be corrected: Π² 1239.1 (fin. s. IV a.) decree (phratry): Διὶ φ[ρ]ατρίῳι (following the better copy of Milchhöfer); Π² 1034.5 (98/7) decree: συνπρόεδροι; Π² 1368.107–108 (ca. 162/3 p.) Iobacchi regulations: ἔπος φωνέτω (L.); Π² 2481.17 (ca. 200 p.) eph. cat.: AYH = not Aurelius, but Avienus, cf. J.H. Oliver in *TAPA* 71 (1940) p.303 (cf. p.391 *supra*).

The interpretation of the name Ὁρθαγόρας, in the cat., Π² 1956.157 (fin. s. IV a.) (L.), as for Ὁρθαγόρας with loss of ρ through dissimilation is entirely erroneous, cf. 40.013, no.8, p.479 *supra*.

While the clerical omission of any letter occurs occasionally in inscriptions, the omission of ρ and λ is scarcely frequent enough (the examples on the foregoing pages are about all from Attica) to justify restorations like: τ·ρ·ο·φῆ SEG 21.3.a 10; π·ρ·ό[βατα ἐ] [ς θυσία]ν in lines 3–4 of SEG 10.34 (= I² 45.3–4);]ε[= τ]ε·λ·ε[υτᾶι *Hesperia* 9 (1940) pp.55–56, no.4; το[= τ·ρ·ό[φιμος Peek, *AG* 1, p.20, no.61 (= Π² 8329). Further study has already corrected ἀ·λ·ε·ξ·ό of Π² 4546 to ἀέξουεγ, cf. *Annuario* n.s. 11–13 (1949–51) p.123.

Lit.: Cf. 40.011; MS³ p.82, notes 700–703; E. Nachmanson, *Altgriechische Volkssprache* pp.4–29.

40.023 ἀλάβαστ(ρ)ος, θέρμαστ(ρ)ις, μκ(ρ)ός, etc.

The following variations between spellings with and without ρ are due to variant formative elements:

1) ἀλάβαστος: *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p.240, no.1, line 234 (= I² 330.8) inv. (ca. 414); Π² 1644.5 (ca. 350) inv. (L.).

ἀλάβαστρον: Π² 1501.17 (340–330) inv. (L.); Π² 1534B.178 (247/6, cf. SEG 16.118) inv. (L.); Π² 1539.11 (215/4) inv.; *Hesperia* 46 (1977) p.259 (175–150) inv.

Always without ρ is ἀλαβαστοθήκη Π² 1424a (in add.).333, 337 (369/8) inv.; Π² 1425.271 (368/7) inv.

2) θερμασις: Π² 1515.21 (post 345/4) inv. (L.); Π² 1514.29 (post 344/3) inv.; Π² 1425.379 (cf. addenda to Π² 1425 and commentary to Π² 1424a[in add.].287).

θερμαστρις: Π² 1414.42 (post 385/4) inv.

θερμανσις: *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p.240, no. 1, lines 97, 98 (ca. 414) inv.; Π² 1424a (in add.).287 (369/8) inv. (L.).

Uncertain: Π² 1516.8 (post 344/3) inv., stoichedon, but lines of unequal length. The ther-mast(r)is and the thermaust(r)is were apparently the same, cf. *Hesperia* 27 (1958) pp.219–220; pp.324–327, where attestations of θερμανσις and examples from literary writers are assembled. For the accent, cf. Ch. Charitonides, *Platon* 4 (1953) p.98.

3) λιβωνωτίς (the only spelling thus far attested from Athens): Π² 1534B.168, 219 (247/6, cf. SEG 16.118) inv. (L.).

4) μικός: Π² 47.12 (init. s. IV a.) decree (L.); Π² 1400.9 (390/89) inv. (L.); Π² 1407.10 (384/3) inv.; Π² 1424a (in add.).154, 266, 274, 289, 385, 393 (369/8) inv.; but μικρός in *ib.* 8, 11, 268, 376, etc. (L.); Π² 1640.18, 20, 32 (354/3) inv. The spelling is too frequent to be due to careless omission; it must be an actual variant (cf. 42.0212 a, nos. 7–11). For (σ)μικρός etc. and further discussion, cf. 42.0212 *infra*.

5) Only Φαιδυντής, not Φαιδυντής, is attested: Π² 5064, Π² 5072 (act. Rom.) theatre-seats; Π² 4075.4 (post 150 p.) ded.; Π² 1828.27 (post ca. 218 p.) pryt. cat.

Lit.: Cf. 40.011; MS³ p.82, notes 704–707.

40.03 Confusion of ρ and λ

ρ occurs for λ in a few very late Roman examples:

- 1) Καρπουνίος (= Calpurnius?) Π² 2242.33 (238/9 aut 242/3 p.) eph. cat. (cf. 40.022b, no. 6, p.481 *supra*);
- 2) Εύερπιστος Π² 2245.222 (262/3 aut 266/7 p.) eph. cat., Εύέλπιστος *ib.* 414, 'Ελπιστος *ib.* 215, 'Ελπίνεικος *ib.* 20, names in 'Ελπιδ- in *ib.* 331, 353 (L.);
- 3) τρομήση (= τολμήση) Π² 13224.6 (s. III/IV p.) sep. mon. (lost).

Cf. χάρκεον δράπανον for χάλκεον δρέπανον on a defixio from the Agora, inv. no. IL 493, line 27 (= *Hesperia* 6 [1937] p.389, no.3, which needs correction; the new reading is that of D. Jordan). This tablet was found in a well with a deposit of material of s. I p., but its orthography and writing look like s. III p.

Probably later than the limits set for this study are no.3 and examples on early Christian sepulchral monuments not included in *IG* II²: 'Ερπίδιος *IG* III, no.3466; 'Ερπίνικος *IG* III, no.3526; ἀδερφοί *IG* III, no.3531.

Both metathesis and λ for ρ in *IG* III, no.3486, another sep. mon. probably later than the limits imposed on this study: Φλεβουαρίω.

The correct reading in *Hesperia* 32 (1963) p.48, no.71 (186/7 p.) ded., is not 'Ολβιος for 'Ορβιος, cf. *Hesperia* 32 (1963) p.318, but Φάβιος. The 'Ασσιελίται for 'Ασσερίται of the tribute list, *ATL* 2, no. 12, col.3.16 (= P 202.16) (443/2), rests only on the authority of Pittakes' copy.

Lit.: MS³ p.83, note 713; Lademann p.119.

40.04 Ὀλυττεύς

Dipinti on Attic vases have always in the earlier period Ὀλυτ(τ)εύς, or sometimes Ὀλυσ(σ)εύς (with -σσ- from epic?), e.g. Ὀλυτ(τ)εύς: *Paralipomena* p.72, Sokles (= Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* no.1737; for the reading Ὀλυτευ, cf. H. Schaal, *Griechische Vasen* [= *Bilderhefte zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte des Altertums* 3; Bielefeld und Leipzig, 1930] 1 [black figure] plate 17, no.32); *ABV* p.76, Kleitias no.1 (= *HBG* p.152); *ARV²* p.62, Oltos no.83 (= *CVA*, France 17, plates 5, 6); *ARV²* p.227, Eucharides painter no.12 (= E. Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre*, Troisième Série [Paris, 1922] p.190, no. G163; *HRF* 1, p.359, no.17); *ARV²* p.319, Onesimos no.5 (= *HRF* 1, p.394, no.9); *ARV²* p.361, Triptolemos painter no.7; *ARV²* p.458, Makron no.2 (= *HRF* 2, p.80, no.25; *AJA* 38 [1934] plate 14); *ARV²* p.460, Makron no.13 (= *HRF* 2, p.82, no.26). Ὀλυτές *ARV²* p.814, Followers of Makron no.97 (= K. Friis Johansen, *The Iliad in Early Greek Art* [Copenhagen, 1967] p.171, fig.67); etc.

Ὀλυσ(σ)εύς: *ABV* p.338, near the Rycroft painter no.3 (= *CVA*, Italy 20, plate 13); *ARV²* p.289, Siren painter no.1 (= *CVA*, England 3, plate 20.1; for the inscription, cf. Pfuhl, *Malerei* no.479); Ὀλυσσεύς *ARV²* p.1300, Penelope painter no.1 (= *FR* plate 138.2; cf. Pfuhl, *Malerei* no.559); Ὀλυσσεύς: *ARV²* p.1300, Penelope painter no.2 (= *FR* plate 142; Textband 3, p.127) (for the ι = υ, cf. 14.01 supra).

In the later period: Ὀδυσσεύς, *ARV²* p.1177, Aison no.48 (= *HRF* 2, p.184, no.12), dating from the end of the fifth century B.C.

All the theories about the etymology are unsatisfactory and the history of the word is likely to remain obscure. The variation ττ ~ σσ ~ ξ probably points to a non-Greek origin. The λ ~ δ variation may be related to the λλ ~ λδ seen in Carian (cf. 46.0122, p.558 infra), or be only the result of attempts to relate the name to ὀδύνη and related words.

Lit.: Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* pp.146–148; *MS³* p.83, note 714.

40.05 I for q

A handful of examples in which I appears for q after a stop or v can be assembled:

EYIYXOPOIΣIN (= εὐρυχόροισιν) I² 1084.2 (= Wilhelm, *Beiträge* pp.35ff., no.22) (ca. 431?) sep. mon., obviously carelessness, cf. ΑΘΗΝΑΣ = Ἀθῆναις in same line;

OIX[.]MENIO for ὈϞχ[ο]μένιο(ς) *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p.240, no.1, line 165 (ca. 414) inv.;

ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΙΑΘΗ (= Καλλιστράτη) II² 13000 (365–340) sep. mon., cf. ΝΙΚΑΠΙΘΗΣ, probably for Νικαρέτης in the same text (cf. 7.012b, no.9, p.142 supra) (L.);

ΤΟ ΧΙΕΩΝ ΕΙΜΑΡΤΑΙ (= τὸ χρεῶν εἴμαρται) II² 8708.5 (ca. 350) sep. mon.; clearly graphic mistake;

ΠΙΑΤΤΩΝ II² 1304.10 (post 211/0) decree (troops);

MATIOΞENIS (for Ματοξενίς) AM 67 (1942) p.111, no.215 (= II² 9318) (s. IIIa.) sep. mon.;

ANTIΠATIOΣ II² 7504 (s. I/IIp.) sep. mon.;

XIONΟΥΣ (= χρόνους) II² 13167 (s. III/IVp.) sep. mon.

But in another sep. mon., II² 7023 (ca. 350), the reading is Ἀλξάνδρου (L.).

These cases of I for ρ are graphic mistakes without phonetic significance; the stone-cutter forgot to return and finish the rho, or it was finished in paint, now no longer preserved. A similar incomplete rho may be seen in Φρεαυρίων of *Hesperia* 39 (1970) pp.47–53, line 12 (s. IIIa.), a lex sacra containing numerous other letters which are unfinished, cf. *Hesperia* 39, pp.48–49. In II² 13000, II² 8708 supra there are other errors which are purely graphic. For the same graphic mistake involving intervocalic rho, cf. ΔΙΟΔΩΙΟ (= Διοδώρου) REG 73 (1960) p.88, line 21 (= SEG 23.87) (ca. 390–375) pryt. cat.; ΛΥΠΗΙΑ (= λυπηρά) II² 6873.5 (post 350) sep. mon.; etc.

Lit.: Lademann p.129.

41.00 The nasals μ, ν

41.01 Internal omission of nasal consonants

For omission of final nasals, cf. 48.06, pp.636–637 infra; for συμαχ-, cf. 43.012, no.3, p.515 infra.

41.011 Omission of nasals before stops

In the position before a stop within a word the nasal consonants are sometimes not indicated in the orthography. Some of these omissions may be no more than graphic mistakes, but the phenomenon is sufficiently well documented to justify the view that there existed a tendency to drop the nasal in this position, possibly with nasalization of the preceding vowel. It is noteworthy that many of the examples involve a nasal before a consonant cluster (cf. nos. 2, 4, 12, 22, 24–25, 27–30).

Examples of omitted nasal consonants before following stops date from all periods, but are not normally found in decrees and documents in which the writing is of a high standard. Comparison of the numerous dipinti with omitted nasals with the examples on stone indicates that the most common instances of omitted nasal before a stop are νύφη, Σκαβωνίδης, Ὀλυπι-, and -ανδρ- becoming -αδρ-.

Lit.: MS³ p.84, note 716; Lademann p.75.

Examples:

Before π:

- 1) Ὀλυπιόν[ι]χος *Hesperia* 25 (1956) p.63 (= *Agora* 21, p.12, no. C5) (525–500) graffito (L.);
- 2) Σαλυπριανός II² 10261 a (in text) (ca. 350–300) sep. mon.; the ethnic here written with non-Attic vocalism, cf. 6.0421 a, p.133 supra;

- 3) Ὀλυμπικός Π² 2191.34 (ca. 200 p.) eph. cat.;
- 4) ἐλαπτῶν (= ἐκ Λαμπτῶν?) Π² 6639 (ca. 200 p.) sep. mon. Known only from an early copy; cf. 48.0217, p. 587 infra.

For Τληπόλεμος, cf. 41.022 infra.

Before β:

- 5) ἀπὸ χρυβολῶν *Hesperia* 15 (1946) p. 249, no. 78, line A 51 (on p. 250) (= I² 6.43, corrected) (ante 460) decree;
- 6) Βαβιδείω[ι *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p. 206, no. 2, line 14 (post 367/6) inv. (mines). For Βαμβιδ-, cf. *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p. 210, no. 5, line 89 (ca. 350); *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p. 2, no. S2, lines 22, 42 (350s); Π² 1582.57 (cf. *Hesperia* 19 [1950] p. 244, no. 16) (342/1) all inventories of mines;
- 7) Σκαβω BCH 87 (1963) pp. 668–669 (400–350) dikast's pinakion;
- 8) Σ[καβω *Hesperia* 28 (1959) pp. 208 ff., line 380 (= Π² 1557.7, corrected) (ca. 330–320) manumission catalogs, Σ[καβων *ib.* 384 (= Π² 1557.11, corrected); Σκαμβω *ib.* 523 (= Π² 1557.81) (L.);
- 9) συβαλόντι Π² 1673.14 (333/2? cf. AE 1971, p. 112) inv. Has πέτε for πέντε, cf. no. 21 infra. As there are many careless omissions in this text, omitted nasals may be clerical mistakes (L.);
- 10) Σκαβωνίδου Π² 7408 (s. I/II p.) sep. mon. (L.);
- 11) τύβω (= τύμβω) Π² 11474 (s. II p.) sep. mon.

Cf. also Ιιουβρες (= Σ[ισύμβρης?) graffito, *Agora* 21, p. 35, no. F 84 (ca. 450).

Before φ:

- 12) Λ[αφο[ακενοί I² 301.93 (409/8, cf. SEG 23.35) inv.;
- 13) Νυφαγέτω[ν SEG 17.82 (= *Archeion Pontou* 22 [1958] p. 157) (ca. 350) ded.;
- 14) νύφαι[ς] Π² 4650.1 (s. IV a.) ded. (priv.).

Before τ:

- 15) θανоти (= θανόντι) *Maia* 20 (1968) p. 370, no. 4 (= SEG 25.60) (s. VI/V a.) sep. mon.;
- 16) θανοτοι (= θανόντων) I² 1016.2 (= IGAA p. 136, no. 41; LSAG p. 77, no. 22) (ca. 540?) sep. mon. Perhaps clerical; same text has μεμα for μνῆμα (cf. p. 642 infra) (L.);
- 17) εύορκῶτι Π² 1237.112 (396/5) decree (phratry);
- 18) Π² 1177.20 (ca. 350) decree (deme): κείται for κείνται; *ib.* 17: κείνται. Careless omission?;
- 19) Ἐκφατίδου AE 1961, *Chronika* p. 13, no. 35 (350–300) sep. mon.;
- 20) οίκοῦτι Π² 1672.84, 88, *et al.* (329/8) inv.; οίκοῦντι *ib.* 110. This text contains many casual omissions, but cf. Introduction p. 14 supra (L.);
- 21) πέτε Π² 1673.15 (333/2? cf. AE 1971, p. 112) inv.; οίκοῦτος *ib.* 29 (cf. no. 9 supra) (L.);
- 22) Λαίτλου (= Λέντλου, Lentulus) Peek, AG 2, p. 21, no. 47 (act. Rom.) sep. mon., for the syncope, cf. 28.03, p. 406 supra; for αι = [e], cf. 15.013, no. 96, p. 299 supra.

For Φιτίας, cf. 46.0124, p. 558 infra.

Before δ:

- 23) Μεδαῖοι I² 196, col. 3.42 (= ATL 2, no. 7, col. 4.36) (448/7) tribute list. Elsewhere in these texts only Μενδαῖοι (L.);
- 24) Ἥγησαδης (= Ἥγησανδρος) Π² 11564 (init. s. IV a.) sep. mon.;
- 25) Νέαδρος Μενάνδρου Π² 6689 (s. III a.) sep. mon. (L.);
- 26) Ἀλαβάδων Π² 2315.36 (post 180) cat. Seen only by Pittakes;

- 27) Λύσσαδρος *Hesperia* 21 (1952) p. 359, no. 7, line 63 (135/4) decree;
 28) [Α]λεξασδρέως Π² 9101 (s. I a./s. I p.) sep. mon. (L.);
 29) Ἀλεξάδρου Π² 6806 (s. I p.) sep. mon.;
 30) Ἀλέξασδρος Π² 2124.36 (190–200 p.) eph. cat. (L.).

An inscribed sherd from Mount Hymettus may offer a very early example, if the interpretation of the letters]εμαδρ[as]εμ' ἀν-δρό[ς is correct, cf. *LSAG* p. 76, no. 3 a (text on p. 401) (= *Hesperia*, suppl. 16 [1976] p. 23, no. 50) (early seventh c.). But this interpretation is exceedingly doubtful.

Before θ:

- 31) Φαλάθ[ο *Hesperia*, suppl. 8 (1949) p. 401, no. 14 c (init. s. Va.) ostrakon;
 32) Σπίθαρρος Π² 12643 (= I² 1087, in add., p. 304) (fin. s. Va.) sep. mon. Pittakes' copy has ΣΠΙΘΑΡΟΣ; Wilhelm's Σπφοδρος (i.e. Σφόδρος) seems unacceptable, cf. *Attische Urkunden* 4 (= *SB Vienna* 1938) p. 14;
 33) Ολίναθης *Hesperia* 21 (1952) p. 372, no. 18 (s. IV/III a.) horos.

Before κ:

- 34) Μελακόμα (= Μελαγκόμα?) *Agora* 21, p. 33, no. F46 (init. s. Va.) graffito;
 35) Ἀκυρανή Π² 7897 (s. I p.) sep. mon.;
 36) Ἀκυρανή *Delton* 25 (1970) p. 73, no. 16 (s. I/II p.) sep. mon.;
 37) ὠκίας Π² 13224.10 (s. III/IV p.) sep. mon.; for ὀνκία, cf. Π² 3199.11 (s. III p.) ded. (L.).

For σαλπικτής, cf. 47.021, p. 574 *infra*.

Before γ:

- 38) συγραφάς Π² 1670.25 (ca. 330) inv.;
 39) Ἀγελ[ιανός? Π² 2162.6 (s. II p.) eph. cat.

Doubtful cases:

- 40) ἡοτιν' ἄν (= ὄντιν') I² 186/7B.4 (ca. 450) decree (deme);
 41) ΜΑΤ[(= Μα-ν-τίου?) Π² 1034 d (not part of Π² 1034 abc).9 (s. I a.?) cat. fr. (L.);
 42) ἐποιγοσάτο (for ἐποιήσαντο) Π² 1030.6 (post 94/3) decree (L.);
 43)]ΟΤΕΣ for χωνάρχ]οντες I² 310.25 (cf. *SEG* 10.225) (429/8) inv.;
 44)]τροφιτι[= --τρο Φιντίας I² 807 (+ *SEG* 10.336) (has four-bar sigma, but uncertain if really later than ca. 450–445) ded.

Corrections: Π² 10261 (= *LSAG* p. 371, no. 39) (fin. s. Va.?) sep. mon.: Σηλυμβριανά (L.); I² 778 (fin. s. VI a./init. s. Va.?) ded.: νύμφαιον, cf. M. Mitsos, *Robinson Studies* 2, p. 349, no. 1 (L.); Π² 1297.29 (237/6) decree (thiasotai): Ἰνδόν (L.); Π² 2067.169 (154/5 p.) eph. cat.: Ἐπιτυγχάνων (gamma cemented up, but clear, L.).

The dipinti offer many comparable examples. E.g.: Κέτα[υρος *ABV* p. 40, Sophilos no. 21 (part of *ABV* p. 42, no. 36, cf. *Paralipomena* p. 18; *CVA*, Greece 1, plate 1.1–2) (ca. 575–550, cf. *LSAG* p. 77, no. 14); νύφαι, Ἀτολάτε *ABV* p. 76, Kleitias no. 1 (= *HBF* p. 152); σφίγς (four times) *ABV* p. 163, Glaukytes no. 2 (= *FR* plate 153.1; *HBF* p. 60, no. 3); τεδί (= τένδι) *ABV* p. 171, Sakonides no. 1, 5; ΑΟΦΙΤΡΠΙΤΕ (if O is a false start for Φ) *ARV*² p. 21, Sosias no. 1 (= Pfuhl, *Malerei* no. 418; *HRF* 2, p. 422, no. 1); Ὀλυπι- for Ὀλυμπι- *ABV* p. 365, Leagros group no. 65; *ARV*² p. 25, no. 1 (a) (Phintias?); *ARV*² p. 1699, bf. lekythos by the Kephisophon painter (but Ὀλυμπιόδορος, *ARV*² p. 316, Proto-Panaetian group no. 4); νύφες *ARV*² p. 61, Oltos no. 74 (= *FR* plate 83; *HRF* 2, p. 258, no. 29); *ARV*² p. 62, Oltos no. 86 (= Smith, *Cat-*

alogue 3, p.53, no.E18); ARV² p.972, Lewis painter no.2 (= CVA, Austria 1, plate 39.1, 2); Κατάδρα ARV² p.163, Paseas no.4 (= J. Davreux, *La Légende de la Prophétisse Cassandre* [Paris, 1942] plate 24, fig.45; HRF 1, p.144, no.4); Μέναδρος ARV² p.246, Painter of the Munich Amphora no.8; Τιμάδρα, Τυτάρεος ARV² p.459, Makron no.4 (= CVA, Germany 21, text pp.33–34, no. F2291); Λάπων ARV² p.1035, Midas painter nos.1 (the final *ny* is turned on its side) and 2 (= CVA, England 4, plate 22.4); πετροετα (= πετροέντα) ARV² p.1060, Polygnotos group no.145, cf. J.D. Beazley, *Vases in Poland*, pp.9–10; H.R. Immerwahr, *Book Rolls* p.26; ἀφι (= ἀμφι) ARV² p.431, Douris no.48 (= CVA, Germany 21, plate 77) (the suggestion of Immerwahr, *Book Rolls* p.19, note 1 that the nasal of ἀμφι has found its way into the ἀείνδεν two lines below has perhaps a small chance of being correct, cf. 41.021 *infra*); Ἐκέλαδος ARV² p.1318, Aristophanes no.1 (= CVA, Germany 22, plate 119). For Φιτίας, cf. 46.0124, p.558 *infra*.

Cf. also Παφίλου for Παμφίλου on the defixio, IG III.3, no.56.2 (date?); ἀνατία (= ἐναντία), ἀπατα, ἀγοράτας, ἀποπωλδι, τιμάτι[σι] on another defixio, IG III.3, no.110 (400–375), also omitting final -v in τῇ τήχη[v] (cf. 48.06, pp.637 ff. *infra*) (this text not Attic?).

41.012 Other internal omissions of nasal consonants

In a few places a nasal is omitted when the final consonant of a cluster. Attempts to simplify the cluster may be the explanation for ἴσθια on the ded., II² 3123 (450–440? cf. DAA p.207); ἴσμον occurs in a graffito of the mid-sixth century, Ἰθμόνικος in a cat. of ca. 150 B.C., cf. 47.013, p.573 *infra*.

But the following are probably just clerical omissions: σταθόν I² 248.217 (414/3) *inv.*; σταόν I² 253.272 (411/0) *inv.*; διογητ[ι] (for Διογνήτου?) *Hesperia* 23 (1954) p.242, no.15, line 8 (264/3) decree; λύχον II² 1365.18 (s. Ip.) regulations for the cult of Menes Tyrannos set up by Xanthus of Lycia (the correct λύχνον in the other copy, II² 1366.11). Cf. 46.04, p.569 *infra*.

For the simplification of -γν- via [nn] to [n] as in γίνομαι for γίγνομαι, cf. 46.033, p.562 *infra*.

The spelling ξυββάλλω belongs with the examples in the section on assimilation of nasals in composition, cf. 48.06, p.637 *infra*.

Latin -ns- is retained in Κηνωρεῖνος: II² 4200/01 (s. Ip.) ded.; II² 3189 (ante 150p.) ded. Elsewhere -n- is lost: Ὀρτήσιος: II² 1077.44 (209/10p.) decree; II² 1826.29 (post ca. 217p.) *pryt. cat.*; Κηνωρεῖνος: II² 4113 (42–40) ded. (L.); II² 3604.11 (ca. 150p.) ded. In spellings like Πραΐσης, cf. *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p.45, no.14, *pryt. cat.* of 148/9p.; Κρήσκης, cf. II² 1817.22 (paulo ante 220/1p.) *pryt. cat.* (L.); and other nominatives of the same type, the loss of -n- is due to a desire to Hellenize the Latin -ens, -entis to -ης, -εντος, cf. Κρήσκεντι in the sep. mon., II² 11909a (in text) (s. II/IIIp.). For Κω(ν)στιαντίνο, cf. 47.013, p.574 *infra*.

41.02 Parasitic nasals

41.021 Development of parasitic nasals before consonants

a) In extremely rare instances, an obtrusive nasal stop appears before another consonant, usually a stop. The examples not involving foreign words are few:

- 1) Ἀθῆνινπος II² 10589 (ante 350) sep. mon.;
- 2) γλῶντας IG III.3, no. 86.4 (s. IIIa.?) defixio;
- 3) θιασωντῶν II² 1273.20–21 (289/8?) decree (thiasotai) (L.);
- 4) εὐσενβείας II² 1327.19 (178/7) decree (orgeones) (L.);
- 5) Πανονδία II² 6085 (s. IIa.) sep. mon.; for Φανοδία? (L.);
- 6) Δειρανδειώτ[ου II² 4945 (s. II/III p.) ded.;
- 7) Ἀλκηνστιανός II² 2245.109 (262/3 aut 266/7 p.) eph. cat.

The peculiar spelling ἀργυρίου for ἀργυρίου on an archaic ded. may belong here, cf. *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p. 148, no. 1 (fin. s. VIa.).

Similar examples occur in dipinti: Ἀντιστοτέλης ARV² p. 365, Triptolemos painter no. 61 (= HRF 1, p. 287, no. 95); αἰνδεν ARV² p. 431, Douris no. 48 (= CVA, Germany 21, plate 77); H. R. Immerwahr, *Book Rolls* p. 19, note 1, has suggested that the missing nasal of the first line is the unwanted ny of αἰνδεν (cf. 41.011, p. 488 supra). Cf. also Θεονκτίστου on a late Roman sep. mon. (probably post 300 p.), IG III, no. 3545.

The inserted nasal seen in ἐπαναλημφθήσεται, καταλημφθῶσιν in the imperial letter, *Hesperia*, suppl. 13 (1970) pp. 3 ff., lines E 13, E 77 (ca. 175 p.), is an analogical extension from the present λαμβάνω. The spelling with the nasal is one of the ones standard in the Koine; it occurs in papyri from s. IIIa. on, cf. Schwyzler, GG 1, p. 761, note 4; Mayser-Schmoll p. 166, 6a. But Graindor read λῆψονται, not λημψονται, in II² 2773 (ca. 240 p.).

A peculiar case of a final nasal inserted may occur in περιδεγπρωριγκτετάνυσται (= περι δὲ πρῶρ' ἐκτετάνυσται?) on a sep. mon. of a Phoenician, II² 8388.4 (= GVI 1, p. 479, no. 1601), with other peculiarities (I for [ξ], cf. 7.012 b, no. 12, p. 143 supra; εἰχθρολέων for ἐχθρολέων, cf. 16.011, p. 302 supra). It is possible that an intrusive nasal occurs in ιγκ- for ἐκ- also, i.e. [iŋkt]? But others have taken δεγ as δ' ἐκ and ΙΓΚ could be a purely graphic mistake (EEK left unfinished and the correction forgotten or concealed by paint), cf. 48.0211, p. 580 infra. For κέκρυμαι, cf. 48.0411 b, p. 596 infra.

b) A tendency for the parasitic nasal to develop in Hellenized forms of certain foreign words can be recognized. Thus the Ἀνδραβυς, parent of a non-Athenian on a sep. mon., II² 9288 (aet. Rom.), is probably a variant with parasitic nasal of Ἀδραμυς, known as the founder of Adramyttion and a deity in Phrygia and elsewhere, cf. Schulze, Lit. infra, p. 367 (= KS² p. 281); elsewhere there is variation between Ἀδρα- and Ἀτρα- (cf. 46.0112) and between -μ- and -β- (cf. 41.04 infra). The anthroponym Συμφέλεις (man's name derived from Latin subsellius; for final -ις, cf. 28.01, no. 59) occurring on an eph. cat., II² 2243.183 (post 243/4 p.) (L.), may belong here, although the influence of σνν can also be suspected; there is even a back-form in Latin: sympselion, cf. *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* 3, p. 418.46. In other cases there is interchange of μβ and ββ: thus the name Σαμβατεῖς on the sep. mon. of a woman from Ankyra, II² 7931 (s. Ia./s. Ip.), is a variant of names in σαββ-, e.g. Σαββατώ of the late Roman sep. mon., IG III, no. 3460; Σαμβάτις occurs on another, IG III, no. 3525, and Σανβατίς is the name of a female slave in II² 10590 a (in add.) (s. II/III p.) sep. mon. A tendency to avoid ββ (at least in writing) may be seen in the Ἀρύμβας of codd., while the only Attic inscription with the word has Ἀρύββας, cf. II² 226.6, 26, 29, 33, 35, and 37 (ca. 343/2) decree.

Cases like ἔθυνον for ἔθιον in the decree, *Hesperia* 38 (1969) p.425, no.2, line 7 (220/19), are probably without phonetic significance (cf. Morphology).

For Ἀγγνούσιος, cf. 46.033 a infra.

Lit.: MS³ p.84, note 717; Lademann p.119; W. Schulze, *ZVS* 33 (1895) pp.366ff. (= *KS*² pp.281ff.); Schwyzler, *GG* 1, p.231γ.

41.022 Τλημπόλεμος

Dipinti and stone inscriptions agree in always having the nasal in Τλημπόλεμος: cf. *ABV* p.178, Tlempolemos potter no.1, Τλεμπολεμ- (twice); *ARV*² p.23, Phintias no.7, cf. p.1699 (= *FR* plate 71); *ARV*² p.1625, Euergides painter no.52 bis; *ARV*² p.1699, cup in Cervieto: Τλεμπόλενος. Stone texts: I² 50.2 (440/39) decree; I² 1076 (= *LSAG* p.371, no.46) (s. Va.); II² 12817 a (in add. nova) (ca. 350) sep. monuments. In Attic inscriptions on stone no instance without the -μ- occurs. The restoration Τληπό]λεμος in II² 1231.2–3 is not apt to be right; note that although this stoich. text has been restored with 25 letters in each line, lines four and five each have 26; thus line two may also have had 26 letters, enabling the restoration of Τλημπό]λεμος. The Τ[λ]ηπόλεμον given for a defixio, *IG* III.3, no.101.8 (init. s. IVa.), is subject to some uncertainty.

Lit.: cf. 41.021; Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* p.235.

41.023 Μυρρινοῦττα, Μυρρινοῦντα

The deme Μυρρινοῦς, Μυρρινοῦντος, in the tribe of Pandionis, has the demotic Μυρρινοῦσιος, e.g. II² 1753.41 (ca. 330) pryt. cat., etc.; the unusual demotic Μυρρινοντόθεν in the sep. mon., II² 6897 (ante 350), belongs here also; the first omicron is O for ου as in τός for τούς, etc. A dative/locative Μυρρινοῦντι is also attested. The other deme, Μυρρινοῦττα, Μυρρινοῦττης, in the tribe of Aigeis, has the demotic ἐγ or ἐκ Μυρρινοῦττης, e.g. II² 1749.66, 84 (341/0) pryt. cat. (L.), II² 1939.8 (130–120) cat., etc. From the first century B.C. there appears the spelling ἐκ Μυρρινοῦντης. This spelling may be the result of the development of a parasitic nasal, but influence of the other demotic is perhaps a more important factor. The spelling without the nasal is still found in the Roman Period, at least in the earlier part of it.

ἐκ Μυρ(ρ)ινοῦντης (for -ρ/ρρ- cf. 43.01352, p.521 infra):

- 1) II² 6912 (s. II/1a.) sep. mon.;
- 2) II² 1963.28 (13/2) eph. cat.;
- 3) II² 1967.14 (36/7 p.) eph. cat.;
- 4) II² 1765.34 (138/9 p.) pryt. cat.;
- 5) II² 6923 (s. II p.) sep. mon. (L.);
- 6) II² 6919 (s. II p.) sep. mon.;
- 7) II² 1815.4 (ca. 200 p.?) pryt. cat.;
- 8) II² 6915 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.;
- 9) II² 6925 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.;
- 10) II² 6914 (aet. Rom.?) sep. mon.

ἐκ Μυρ(ρ)ινούτης (Roman Period only):

- 11) IP² 2338.24 (27/6–18/7) cat.;
- 12) IP² 1722.10 (post 9/8) cat.;
- 13) IP² 6913 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.;
- 14) IP² 2273.2 (aet. Rom.?) cat.

For earlier examples of ἐκ Μυρ(ρ)ινούτης, cf. e.g. Indices to *IG II*, p.73.

Lit.: cf. 41.021.

41.03 Confusion of μ and ν

An interchange of μ and ν occurs very rarely at all periods. The early examples, on ostraca, etc. and sometimes doubtful (nos.1–4), could be due to inability of the semi-literate writers to distinguish the two nasals properly, but they are more likely to be true graphic errors, i.e. either insufficient knowledge of the alphabet or, when ν occurs for μ, careless omission of the final hasta of the μ. In nos.4 and 11, μ appears for ν as the first element in a consonant cluster, a place where the nasal was weak and perhaps realized as nasalization of the vowel (cf. 41.011 *supra*); the use of μ here might also be due to lack of standardization in cases like σύνπας/σύμπας (cf. especially no.11 and 48.042, pp.601ff. *infra*). It is also difficult to decide whether a few cases of μ for final ν before consonants might be due to variations like that between e.g. τόμ and τόν before labials (cf. nos.5, 9–10, 21 = 48.07, nos.1–3, 5, p.638 *infra*). Assimilation of one nasal to another in an adjacent syllable might be the explanation in some cases (viz. nos.3, 6, 8, 9, 13, 14), but in stone texts at least there is a high probability that the use of the wrong letter in these instances is a copying mistake: the mason's eye went to the wrong syllable on the text which he was copying or he carved the same letter twice by a kind of inertia. It is highly likely that nos.8–9a, 12–14, and 18 are just copying mistakes, and nos.7 and 15 are certainly that.

Lit.: MS³ p.85, note 721.

Examples:

- 1) P. Jacobsthal, *Winckelmannsprogramm* (Berlin) 93 (1933) p.19, no.4 (= *IGAA* p.145, no.59a; *SEG* 10.398) (fin. s. VIa.?) marble discus: EINI (for εἰμί?);
- 2) *ABV* p.39, no.15 (= *HBV* p.336, no.2) (ca. 575–550) dipinto on dinos by Sophilos: Νυσαι. Possibly for Μοῦσαι? cf. *AJP* 74 (1953) p.322; but cf. 13.04, p.260 *supra*. Cf. Τλεμπόλενος in 41.022 *supra*;
- 3) Νελ[άνθιος *Hesperia*, suppl. 8 (1949) p.401, no.14c (init. s. Va.) ostrakon;
- 4) Σ[πιμθάρω *Hesperia*, suppl. 8 (1949) p.402, no.15 (s. Va.) ostrakon; cf. 39.00 *supra*;
- 5) ἐπιδέμοι τρεῖς *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p.334, line 5 (paulo post 490) decree (deme) (= 48.07, no.1);
- 6) Ἀθονένως IP² 5338.1 (post 350) sep. mon.;
- 7) τῶμ αἰρ[ε]ῖθιμων IP² 1183.17–18 (post 340) decree (deme), εἶμαι, ὁπαμας *ib.* 20; these are certainly copying errors, cf. M = η in *ib.* 22;
- 8) καταελυνένου *Hesperia* 21 (1952) p.355, no.5, line 13 (337/6) law of the nomothetai;

- 9) Εὐκτῆμομος AE 1971, pp. 83ff., no. 4, lines 71, 74 (= Π² 1673.71) (333/2? cf. AE 1971, p. 112) inv.; the correct Εὐκτῆμονος in *ib.* 77 (L.), ἡμωβελίωμ τὸν *ib.* 52 (= 48.07, no. 2);
- 9a) συμδῶμ *Hesperia* 47 (1978) p. 196 (post 328/7) inv.;
- 10) [-- τὸν γρα][μ]ατέα τὸμ κ[ατὰ Π² 521.4–5 (fin. s. IV a.) decree (= 48.07, no. 3) (L.);
- 11) Π[αμδιονίδος Π² 654.2 (285/4) decree (L.);
- 12) Νικογέμην *Deltion* 18 (1963) p. 103, no. 1, line 26 (= SEG 21.525) (282/1) decree (hippeis);
- 13) ἐλ[άβονεν Π² 1544.45 (333/2) inv.;
- 14) Ἀρτέωνος Π² 12471 (250–200) sep. mon. (L.);
- 15) βοῦμ ἄρρε[ν *Hesperia* 39 (1970) pp. 47ff., line 13 (s. III a.) lex sacra; certainly a copying error, of which this text has a great many;
- 16) Ἀφιδμαῖος Π² 2636.4 (date?) horos;
- 17) δημοφείμονος Π² 3606.21 (ca. 175 p.) ded.;
- 18) τῆμ ἀφ[έστι]ας Π² 3693.7–8 (ante 250 p.) ded.

Doubtful:

- 19) ANEIAI (= ἀμελικτος?) Π² 8955.14–15 (ca. 200 p.) sep. mon. (L.);
- 20) Νυριναία Π² 9974 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.; now only Νυ[ριν]αία is preserved (L.);
- 21) τοξευμ[άτωμ [δ]ύ[ο] Π² 1422.8 (post 371/0) inv. (= 48.07, no. 5).

Cf. the defixiones: IG III.3, no. 64.9 (s. IV/III a.): Μημόφιλος; IG III.3, no. 70.2–3 (400–350): Μελαμβίο.

Notes and Corrections: Π² 1641 a (in add.).11 (ca. 350) inv.: Διονυ[σίωι] (the mark taken by Kirchner as part of a my is probably not part of any letter, cf. CSCA 6 [1973] pp. 297–299) (L.); Π² 8374 (s. II a.) sep. mon.: Τιμάνδρον, there is a false stroke between the ny and the delta, but it is not connected to the ny (L.); *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p. 231, no. 31, fr. a, line 12 (= *Hesperia*, suppl. 6 [1941] p. 120, no. 25) one of a series of imp. letters dated ca. 176–180 p. (cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 6, p. 108, no. 24 [= Π² 1108 + new fr.]): Ἀντωνίνο[υ], where stray marks not part of the lettering create the optical illusion of my for ny in the photograph, *Hesperia* 30, plate 40 (L.); *Hesperia* 25 (1956) pp. 375–377, lines 43, 45 (ca. 465) cas. list: this text is known only from a copy of Wheeler which contains other anomalies that cannot have been on the stone, and Νύρτον, Φρύμον should be rejected.

The graffito published *Hesperia*, suppl. 8 (1949) p. 398, no. 10a (= LSAG p. 76, no. 9 c; *Agora* 21, p. 12, no. C8) (fin. s. VI a.) is probably not boustrophedon, and line 2 should not read *χαισιμομ[ι]* (= Αισμίων[ι]), but *μοι μίσγ·εν*, cf. p. 55 supra.

41.04 Confusion of μ and β

This confusion is usually found only in foreign words. The βόλυβδος on a defixio, IG III.3, no. 107.a 4 (init. s. IV a.), could be a case of assimilation of m-b to b-b, if it is an accurate rendition of the writer's pronunciation; Wunsch had some doubt whether the text was even Attic or not. For the normal μολυβδ-, cf. e.g. *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p. 264, no. 5, line 35 (ca. 414) inv.; *ib.* p. 279, no. 7, line 58 (ca. 414) inv.; and frequently in the fourth century, e.g. Π² 1666 (356/5–353/2), Π² 1670 (ca. 330), Π² 1672.176, etc. (329/8) inventories; etc. A casualty list of 440/39 B.C. attests to the existence of βαρνάμενοι in Attic, cf. Π² 943.46, in an epigram. The nasality of the initial consonant was lost under the influence of the following dental nasal, i.e.

μαρναμ- changed to βαρναμ- by a kind of dissimilation (cf. Lejeune, *Phonétique* p.152 [= *Traité*² p.131]).

Characteristic difficulty in transliterating a foreign word is the explanation for 'Αδραβυτηνός (for the usual 'Αδραμυτην- or 'Ατραμυτην-, cf. 46.0112, p.557 *infra*) on the sep. mon., II² 7939 (s. Ip.) (L.), and 'Ανδραβυς on another, II² 9288 (aet. Rom.).

Similar is the variation between Σερμυλιές and Σερβυλιές in the tribute lists for the name of a town in Chalcidice; the only local coins (of ca. 500 B.C.) have only Σερμυλ-, cf. *HN*² p. 207.

Σερβυλιές: I² 196.40 (= *ATL* 2, no.7, col.4.34) (448/7), I² 198.29 (= *ATL* 2, no.8) (447/6). Σερμυλιές: I² 191.9 (= *ATL* 2, no.1) (454/3), *ATL* 2, no.2, col.9.6 (453/2), I² 200.20 (= *ATL* 2, no.10, col.2.25) (445/4), I² 201.11 (= *ATL* 2, no.11) (444/3), I² 202.28 (= *ATL* 2, no.12) (443/2), I² 203.27 (= *ATL* 2, no.13) (442/1), I² 205.58 (= *ATL* 2, no.15, col.2.61) (440/39), I² 210.26 (= *ATL* 2, no.20) (435/4), I² 211.9 (= *ATL* 2, no.21) (434/3). Cf. 'Εν Σερμυλίαι in the cas. list, I² 949.50 (423, cf. *SEG* 25.57).

Lit.: *MS*³ p.77, notes 663–665.

42.00 Spirants: [h], [s], and [z]

42.01 [h]

42.011 Peculiarities in the use of H = [h] in pre-403 texts in Attic script

42.0111 Sporadic omissions of H = [h]; misuse of H = [h]; χαλικαρνάσσιοι ~ 'Αλικαρνάσσιοι, etc. in the tribute lists

Although H is normally written for [h] in texts in Attic script, instances of its omission are not rare. In certain cases there may be a special explanation (cf. 42.0112–42.0113 *infra*), but a sporadic omission of H = [h] is also certainly attested. The earliest examples of omitted H on stone texts are δς for hός on two archaic sep. monuments, *IGAA* p.127, no.19 (= *GVI* 1, p.25, no.72; I² 983) (ca. 525?); I² 982 (= *IGAA* p.147, no.67) (ca. 500?) and ός (= ώς) on a fragmentary text from Marathon, probably a deme decree, *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p.334, line 7 (paulo post 490); ιε[ρo- in the decree, I² 4.8 (485/4), where the παρ' έκάστοις in *ib.* 2 might be due to elision, cf. 42.0112 *infra* (for έμέρας in *ib.* 19, cf. 42.0113 *infra*); 'Αλιεϋσιν in the cas. list, I² 929.3 (ca. 460, cf. *SEG* 14.19), but χαλι- in the later decree, I² 87.5, 26 (424/3). In I² 6.103 (ante 460) decree, read not]ανε ε ότοι, but τέος άνέδοτο E[ϋ]μ[ολπίδ]ας, cf. *Hesperia* 14 (1945) p.77, Face C, line 20. The very small amount of text preserved makes it impossible to say whether the following decrees belong here or with those texts in Attic script which avoid H = [h] altogether (cf. *infra*):

ὄν I² 28.9 (ca. 450/49, cf. SEG 23.6); ὄν I² 29.4, 5 (ante 446); δπος I² 32.6 (451/0, cf. SEG 21.9).

After 450 B.C. occasional omission of H = [h] is certainly not unusual in state decrees, e.g. εὐρ[ίσκεται I² 40.10 (ca. 446/5); Ἑστιάας I² 41.3 (ca. 446/5); ὑέ[σιν I² 54.14 (ca. 435/4, cf. SEG 21.33); H = [h] is frequently omitted in I² 57 (inscribed 423); I² 74 (ante 430): οἰ in line 16, ἡο in *ib.* 15, 24, etc.; ὑγιᾶς in *ib.* 20, ἐτέρῃ in *ib.* 25, H = [h] written elsewhere; I² 78 (ca. 430): ἡὸς (= ὥς) in line 6, three cases of omission of H = [h]; I² 91/92 (434/3, cf. SEG 22.7; 24.3): H = [h] often omitted without any consistency; οἰ I² 76.3 (435–414, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.222), ἀπάσσει *ib.* 31, H = [h] elsewhere (L.); I² 110 (410/9): relative pronoun spelled both with and without H = [h]; the inventories known as Attic Stelai (cf. *Hesperia* 22 [1953] pp.240–291, nos.1–11 [= I² 325–334 + new frr.]; *Hesperia* 43 [1974] p.319, no.2) (ca. 414) often omit H = [h] (for ἡλλύοτος, cf. p.502 *infra*); etc.

A few texts, chiefly state decrees, consistently avoid H = [h], although they are otherwise entirely in Attic script, e.g. I² 14/15 (447/6?, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.121, no.47), decree with Ψ, but otherwise no Ionic letters (cf. 2.023, no.1, p.45 *supra*), has four cases of initial ὁ-, also δ' αἰρεθέντες, ἐμέρας, but no H = [h]; I² 49 (post 442/1), decree, has no case of H = [h] (lines 17–23 are part of I² 114, cf. SEG 24.15); the decree, I² 101 (412/1), and the inv., I² 310 (429/8), omit H = [h] throughout, although they are otherwise entirely in Attic script. In the decree, I² 22 (450/49, cf. SEG 23.7), many irregularities in the stoichedon are apparently due to a last minute decision to insert H = [h]; the change was made before actual carving, as no erasures are involved (cf. p.63 *supra*; Bradeen-McGregor pp.30–33) (L.). In I² 94 (418/7) decree, H = [h] is consistently avoided except in the word ἡερόν (lines 4, 7, 13, 30); cf. the retention of ἡερόν on boundary stones in Ionic script (cf. 1.021 *supra*). In the first decree (= lines 1–38) of I² 108 (410/9) H normally = η, E is rare = η, and H is never = [h], although there are no other Ionic letters, O = ω, ΦΣ, ΧΣ (cf. 2.021, no.13, p.43 *supra*).

Initial [h] is occasionally omitted in dipinti in Attic script, e.g. YΦSEITYΛE ARV² p.15, Euphronios no.6 (= FR plates 61–62); EΛENE ARV² p.53, Oltos no.1 (= CVA, France 8, plate 27.1–7); etc.

The sporadic omission of H = [h] in texts in Attic script probably indicates that the [h] in Attic was only gently sounded; later orthographic practice does not support the view that Attic became psilotic so early. The increase in the number of cases of omitted H = [h] after 450 and the appearance of a few texts in Attic script which avoid it altogether might be in part due to increasing familiarity with the Ionic writing system.

The opposite phenomenon, the writing of H = [h] before vowels without aspiration, is virtually unknown in fifth-century Attic texts, except in such cases as ἡωαιεύς, ἡαισιμίδης, etc. (cf. 42.0113, no.6; 42.0114), where H = [h] occurs often enough to indicate the existence of [h]; or where initial [h] is due to the presence of an aspirate stop elsewhere in the word, e.g. ἡέχω, ἡαριθμός, etc. (cf. 38.0211a, no.1; 38.0212a, no.18); or where the initial [h] is justified etymologically, e.g. ἡελπίς with [h] from *φ*, etc. (cf. 42.0114, nos.1, 3–7). Possible cases of misuse of initial H = [h], due either to

faintness of initial aspiration or even to unfamiliarity with the Old Attic alphabet, since by the later fifth century many Athenians probably used the Ionic script for their own purposes (cf. the remarks on pp. 33–34 *supra*), are:

1) *ἡεροιᾶδο* in I² 920 (= GVI 1, p. 660, no. 2042) (ca. 500) sep. mon., if it really is the demotic *Ἐεροιᾶδης*, and if that demotic really did not have [h]: it is not otherwise attested in texts which write H = [h]. The word might be a patronymic *Ἐερωιάδης* (?) (L.);

2) *ἡοπίσιον* I² 369.12 (post 426/5) inv.; but conceivably the interpretation should be *χευσίον* ἢ ὀπίσιον [έστιν], with a careless omission or an unusual crasis; *ἡοπισθοφανῆ* occurs in I² 374.165, but this may be discounted because of the wild use of h- in that text (cf. *infra*), and other cases of *ἡπισθεν*, *ὀπισθο*-, etc. are always without initial h- (cf. Indices to IG I², pp. 363–364);

3) *ἡεκοστῆ* (ἐν I² 297.15 (414/3) inv., has *ἡεκοστῆ* in *ib.* 6; initial [h] would not be expected from *ἔμκοστ*-, Lejeune, *Phonétique* p. 180;

4) *ἡικνωτέρως* in I² 313.110 (408/7) inv., although in other texts *ἡικνω*:- I² 94.28 (418/7) decree; I² 371.22, 23 (421/0–416/5) inv.; examples of *ἡικνω*:- in I² 374 are of no value because of indiscriminate use of H = [h] in that text (cf. *infra*);

5) *ἡακύλο*v I² 314.69 (407/6) inv., but h- of *ἡικνω* in *ib.* 42 is probably etymologically correct (cf. 42.0114, no. 7, p. 503 *infra*);

6) *ἡεν* (= ἐν) I² 255.303 (407/6) inv., cf. *ἡεν* in I² 254.283 (408/7) inv.;

7) *ἡάβατον* I² 870 (fin. s. V a.) *horos*.

ἡιλισός is attested once; there is no example of *Ἰλισός*. But it is better to place it with examples in which initial [h] appears justified (cf. 42.0114, no. 6). For *ἡόρκατοῦρος* (crasis), cf. 34.01, p. 427 *supra*.

A strange man's name *ἡόσβολος* on the François vase might belong here, cf. ABV p. 76, Kleitias no. 1 (= HBF p. 152); the same vase has *ἡενχισιράτ*-, which might belong here or be due to aspirate assimilation of a rare type (as in *Χουφεταίων*, cf. 38.0211 a, p. 460 *supra*).

Quite another matter is the misuse of H = [h] in the large inv. of work done on the Erechtheum, I² 374 (408–406) (L.), in which, although H = [h] may be omitted or written in cases where it is justified, e.g. *ἔχς* in line 135, *ἡέχς*, *al.*; *ἔι* in *ib.* 181, *ἔο* in *ib.* 195, etc., it appears very often where there was certainly no aspiration, e.g. *ἡοικῶν*- in *ib.* 62, 63, 65, and many other places; *οἰκων*- in *ib.* 56, 61; *ἡεπί* in *ib.* 185, 261, etc.; *ἡεις*, *ib.* 277, 282, etc.; *εἰς* in *ib.* 58, etc.; and many similar cases. There is an indiscriminate use of H = [h] before all initial vowels without regard to normal Attic practice. This unique misuse of H = [h] in I² 374 would be easiest to explain if the person responsible for it were himself psilotic and really did not know when to write initial [h]. This seems certain from the spelling *κατιστάειν* in line 57, since it shows a kind of psilosis quite foreign to Attic texts of any period (cf. 42.012, p. 504 *infra*). It is probable that the individual responsible for the peculiar treatment of aspiration in I² 374 did not in fact pronounce H = [h], although it can only be speculated why this occurred.

A number of toponyms in the tribute documents vary between spellings with and without initial H = [h]:

ἡβδεῖται: I² 191.5 (= *ATL* 2, no. 1) (454/3); I² 193.17 (= *ATL* 2, no. 3) (452/1); I² 195.33 (= *ATL* 2, no. 5, col. 3.21) (450/49); I² 196.20 (= *ATL* 2, no. 7, col. 2.27) (448/7); I² 198.94 (= *ATL* 2, no. 8, col. 1.105) (447/6); I² 200.17 (= *ATL* 2, no. 10, col. 2.22) (445/4); I² 210.8 (= *ATL* 2, no. 20) (435/4); I² 212.64 (= *ATL* 2, no. 22, col. 2.69) (433/2); I² 213.39 (= *ATL* 2, no. 23, col. 2.46) (432/1); I² 216/17.29 (= *ATL* 2, no. 26, col. 2.30) (429/8); παρὰ ἡβδερα: I² 210.19–20 (= *ATL* 2, no. 20) (435/4); I² 213.54 (= *ATL* 2, no. 23, col. 2.61) (432/1).

Ἀβδεῖται: I² 218.23 (= *ATL* 2, no. 25) (430/29); παρὰ Ἀβδερα: *ATL* 2, no. 5, col. 3.20 (improved text of I² 195, col. 3.32, cf. *ATL* 1, p. 28, fig. 29) (450/49); παρ' Ἀβδερα I² 193.16 (= *ATL* 2, no. 3) (452/1); I² 196.14 (= *ATL* 2, no. 7) (448/7); I² 200.19 (= *ATL* 2, no. 10, col. 2.24) (445/4).

It will be seen that in several texts ἡβδεγ- and Ἀβδεγ- are in close proximity; local coins of the fifth century are in Ionic letters, e.g. ΑΒΔΗΠΙ or ΑΒΔΗΠΙΤΕΩΝ, cf. *HN*² p. 254.

ἡραιῖοι, ἡραιεῖς: I² 197.6 (= *ATL* 2, no. 2, col. 9.2) (453/2); I² 195.5 (= *ATL* 2, no. 5) (450/49); *ATL* 2, no. 7, col. 3.22 (448/7); I² 198.53 (= *ATL* 2, no. 8) (447/6); I² 199.12 (= *ATL* 2, no. 9) (445/4); *ATL* 2, no. 22, col. 1.25 (433/2); I² 213.30 (= *ATL* 2, no. 23, col. 1.37) (432/1); I² 222.5 (= *ATL* 2, no. 28.5) (427/6 aut 426/5); I² 64.26 (= *ATL* 2, no. A 9, col. 1.136) (425/4).

Αἰραῖοι, etc.: I² 191.28 (= *ATL* 2, no. 1, col. 3.25) (454/3); I² 203.13 (= *ATL* 2, no. 13) (442/1); I² 205.7 (= *ATL* 2, no. 15) (440/39).

ἡαῖσον, ἡαισόνιοι, ἡαισονεῖς: *ATL* 2, no. 5, col. 3.32 (450/49); I² 204.35 (= *ATL* 2, no. 14, col. 2.48) (441/0); I² 205.49 (= *ATL* 2, no. 15) (440/39); I² 209.15, 16 (= *ATL* 2, no. 19, col. 6.27, 28) (436/5); I² 210.28 (= *ATL* 2, no. 20) (435/4); I² 212.61 (= *ATL* 2, no. 22, col. 2.66) (433/2); I² 213.55 (= *ATL* 2, no. 23, col. 2.62) (432/1).

Αἷσον, etc.: I² 194.27 (= *ATL* 2, no. 4) (451/0); I² 201.16 (= *ATL* 2, no. 11, col. 3.16) (444/3); I² 202.32 (= *ATL* 2, no. 12, col. 3.32) (443/2); I² 216/17, col. 1.53 (= *ATL* 2, no. 26, col. 2.54) (429/8).

The ἡαῖσα of I² 211.33 (= *ATL* 2, no. 21) (434/3) is a different locality; Αἷσα is not attested.

ἡαλικαρνάσσιοι, ἡαλικαρνασσεῖς: I² 191.12 (= *ATL* 2, no. 1) (454/3); I² 194.39 (= *ATL* 2, no. 4, col. 1.31) (451/0); I² 198.10 (= *ATL* 2, no. 8) (447/6); I² 200.21 (= *ATL* 2, no. 10, col. 5.26) (445/4); I² 204.61 (= *ATL* 2, no. 14, col. 1.78) (441/0); *ATL* 2, no. 22, col. 1.67 (= I² 212.62, corrected) (433/2); I² 213.58 (= *ATL* 2, no. 23, col. 1.65) (432/1); I² 64.34 (= *ATL* 2, no. A 9, col. 1.144) (425/4).

Ἀλικαρνάσσιοι, etc.: I² 193.8 (= *ATL* 2, no. 3) (452/1); I² 203.26 (= *ATL* 2, no. 13) (442/1).

ἡασσεῖται: I² 199.26 (= *ATL* 2, no. 9) (446/5).

Ἀσσεῖται: Everywhere else, e.g. I² 194.22 (= *ATL* 2, no. 4) (451/0); I² 196.13 (= *ATL* 2, no. 7) (448/7); I² 198.43 (= *ATL* 2, no. 8) (447/6); I² 203.16 (= *ATL* 2, no. 13) (442/1); etc.

ἡέσσιοι, ethnic for Assos: I² 195.56 (= *ATL* 2, no. 5, col. 2.29) (450/49); I² 214.8 (= *ATL* 2, no. 27, col. 3.16) (428/7).

Ἔσσιοι: I² 191.9 (= *ATL* 2, no. 1) (454/3); I² 222.20 (= *ATL* 2, no. 28.20) (427/6 aut 426/5).

ἡεφαιστιεῖς: I² 63.95 (= *ATL* 2, no. A 9, col. 1.95) (425/4): [h]εφ[αισ]ι[ε]ῖς.

Ἐφαιστιεῖς: I² 198.85 (= *ATL* 2, no. 8, col. 2.113) (447/6); I² 200.26 (= *ATL* 2, no. 10, col. 4.31) (445/4); I² 201.42 (= *ATL* 2, no. 11, col. 5.30) (444/3); I² 203.36 (= *ATL* 2, no. 13) (442/1); I² 220.40 (= *ATL* 2, no. 34.109) (421/0).

In most of these cases it is certain that the local pronunciation was without [h], and the wavering in the tribute documents is probably between an Atticized and the indigenous form. *ἡέσσιοι* is a particularly instructive example, as both the vocalism and the aspiration are at variance with local coins, which have *ΑΣΣΙΩΝ*, etc., cf. *HN*² p. 542; Schwyzler, *GG* 1, p. 219, note 1; cf. also 6.0421a, p. 133 *supra*. Note *ἡαλικαρνασσῶν* in the Attic proxeny decree, I² 56.25 (ca. 430?) with -ss- (cf. 43.04); *ἡέφαιστος* on a bf. vase of Nearchos of ca. 550 and on rf. vases, cf. p. 269 *supra*.

The variation between *Αλιεῦσιν* in the cas. list, I² 929, and *ἡαλι-* in a decree, I² 87, is probably not of this type (cf. p. 493 *supra*). Likewise two instances of *Εστίαια* in the decrees, I² 40.9, I² 41.3, alongside frequent *ἡεστίαια* are probably just casual omissions; the tribute documents have always *ἡεστιαεῖς* (for examples, cf. 15.0127e, p. 282 *supra*).

For *ἡοαιεύς*, etc., cf. 42.0114, no. 2. For *ἡόρος*, *ἡερόν* in texts in Ionic script and later instances of H for [h], cf. 1.021, p. 24 *supra*. For *ῥη*, *ῡη*, *ῡη*, cf. 1.022, p. 25 *supra*.

Lit.: *MS*³ p. 85, notes 723–726; p. 86, notes 727–729.

42.0112 Use of H = [h] after elision and in composition

Practice in writing H = [h] after elision and in composition merits further discussion. Where an elision or composition produces *ϑ* or *φ* before [h], H = [h] is not written, since aspiration is indicated by the aspirate stop. Exceptional are two instances of *καθηάπερ* in decrees (whether or not regarded by the writer as a single word):

I² 133.4 (post 446) (L.); I² 108.43 (410/9) (L.).

Elsewhere *καθάπερ* (all texts decrees): I² 91.28 (434/3, cf. *SEG* 22.7; 24.3) (L.); *CSCA* 5 (1972) p. 159, no. 1, line 13 (= new fr. of I² 85) (ante 420); I² 84.22, 34 (421/0) (L.); I² 82.14–15 (421/0) (L.); I² 150.5 (ca. 420, cf. *SEG* 10.97) (L.); I² 144.10 (= *ATL* 2, no. D 23) (416/5?); I² 101.18 (412/1) (L.); I² 105.23 (407/6) (L.); I² 113.40 (ca. 410) (L.); I² 94.11 (418/7) (L.). So also in I² 190.25, 36 (ca. 420) sacred law.

καθότι: I² 81.16 (421/0) (L.), I² 97.5 (416/5) (L.), I² 98.10 (416/5) decrees.

καθεῖται: I² 79.19 (ca. 425, cf. *SEG* 21.41) decree.

καθέλκον: I² 313.160 (408/7) inv.

κατίστημι: I² 29.7 (ante 446) decree; I² 63.16 (= *ATL* 2, no. A 9) (425/4) decree.

κατίζει: I² 22.45 (450/49, cf. *SEG* 23.7) decree (L.).

κατέχει: I² 987 (= *IGAA* p. 132, no. 31) (ca. 500?) sep. mon.

καθηρημένος: I² 81.7 (421/0) decree; I² 313.103, 109 (408/7), I² 314.113 (407/6) inventories.

καθήκω: I² 3.19 (485/4) decree; I² 188.34 (= Sokolowski, *Lois*² p. 18, no. 10) (ante 460) law (deme).

καθ' ὁδόν: I² 971 (= *IGAA* p. 132, no. 33) (550–540, cf. *AM* 78 [1963] p. 119) sep. mon.

καθ' ἱερὸν: *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p. 334, line 12 (= *SEG* 10.2) (paulo post 490) decree (deme); *ἡεῖρ* in *ib.* 8.

καθ' ἑκαστον: I² 91.22 (434/3, cf. *SEG* 22.7; 24.3) decree (L.); *Hesperia* 9 (1940) p. 309, no. 27, line 5 (ca. 430–425); I² 369.9 (post 426/5) inventories.

For καθ' ἡμέραν, cf. 42.0113, no. 3 *infra*.

ἀφαιρέσσαι: I² 39.8 (446/5) (L.); ἀφελῆν: I² 71.16 (ca. 436, cf. SEG 21.30) (L.) decrees.

ἀφικνόμενον: I² 82.10–11 (421/0) decree (L.).

ἀφισταμένω: I² 39.24 (446/5) decree; etc.

ἀφ' ἑς: I² 75.27 (430–420?) decree (L.); I² 63.9 (= ATL 2, no. A 9) (425/4) decree; ἀφ' ὅ: I² 75.15 (430–420?) decree (L.).

ἀφ' ἐ[σ]τίας: *Hesperia* 15 (1946) p. 253, line C25 (= improved reading of I² 6.108) (ante 460) decree (L.).

ἀνθαίρεισιν: ATL 2, no. D 11, line 6 (= I² 22.6) (450/49, cf. SEG 23.7) decree (L.).

ἐφέλκεν: I² 314.131 (407/6) inv.

ἐφ' ὄν: I² 371.19 (421/0–416/5) inv. (L.); ἐφ' ἐν I² 46.6 (ca. 440?) decree (L.).

ἐφ' ἱερῶν: I² 313.163 (408/7) inv.; ἐφ' ἱεροῖς: I² 844/845 A.3 (410–405, cf. SEG 21.94) *lex sacra*.

(h)υφ' ἐνός: I² 32.8 (451/0, cf. SEG 21.9) (L.), I² 113.14 (ca. 410) (L.) decrees.

θ' ἅμα: I² 920 (= GVI 1, p. 660, no. 2042) (ca. 500) sep. mon. (L.).

Also three cases involving crasis: θεκάται: I² 836 (fin. s. VIa.?) ded.; χύδι: IGAA p. 127, no. 19 (= GVI 1, p. 25, no. 72; I² 983) (ca. 525?) sep. mon.; θοίματιο: *Hesperia* 9 (1940) p. 309, no. 27, line 6 (ca. 430–425) inv. (for these crases, cf. 34.021 o, p. 432 *supra*; 34.022, p. 432 *supra*).

In composition H is only rarely written after ἀν- (← ἀνά), δι-, ἐν, παρ-, and προσ- (all examples are from decrees unless otherwise noted):

ἀνῆλ[εν]: I² 77.9 (ca. 435, cf. SEG 21.31), but ἀνεῦ[εν] I² 78.4 (ca. 430) (L.), ἀνέλχ[εν] I² 73.6 (ante 430?) (L.), ἀναλίσκοντες I² 81.9 (421/0) (L.), ἀνέλοσαν I² 304.1 (410/9) inv.

διηαρ[μύ]σαντι: I² 373.147 (409/8) inv. (L.); no other possible cases. διηέναι restored in I² 87.9 (424/3, cf. SEG 21.44).

ἐνῆιδρύεσθαι: I² 76.55 (435–414, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 222) (L.); no other possible cases, but the frequency of ἥχω (cf. 38.0211a, no. 1, p. 457 *supra*) perhaps makes ἐνέχω significant, cf. I² 139.12 (post 446).

πάρεδρος: I² 127.19 (post 433) (L.), I² 67.11–12 (ca. 424?) (L.); but πάρεδρος is frequent, cf. I² 302.3, *al.* (418–414, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 229, no. 77) (L.), I² 304.53 (407/6) inventories.

προσῆκετο: I² 57.15 (423) (L.), but προσέ[κεν] in *ib.* 45; προσηλόσθον: I² 84.38 (421/0) (L.), but προσελέσθω I² 56.27 (ca. 430), πρόσσος in I² 71.11 (ca. 436, cf. SEG 21.30), I² 59.17 (ca. 427/6), I² 70.15 (424/3?); etc.

No certain case of H = [h] after ἔχς in composition can be found, although [ἐχσ- he][γδ]νται has been restored in the decree, I² 76.36–37 (435–414, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 222); the restoration is not without difficulties because initial [h] is rare in ἡγοῦμαι (cf. 42.0113, no. 1, p. 499 *infra*). ἐχσαιρε- occurs in I² 45.10 (439/8, cf. SEG 21.29; 10.34), I² 84.18 (421/0) (L.), I² 108.54 (410/9) (L.) decrees; ἐχσελῆν I² 78.5 (ca. 430) decree; ἐ[χσ]ῆλον (stoich.) I² 379.3 (420/19) inv.; etc.

H = [h] is found after ἔχς, e.g. ἐχς ἡς I² 232.6 (434/3) inv. (L.); ἐχς ἡστιαίας I² 40.7 (ca. 446/5) decree; etc.

After the preposition σύν the only evidence is συνισταμ[εν-] in I² 111.6 (ca. 410/9) decree.

Other examples of internal H = [h]:

ἀθροῖον: I² 980 (= IGAA p.130, no.25) (ca. 500) sep. mon.; ἄ]θορος: I² 977 (= IGAA p.121, no.11) (ca. 525?) sep. mon.; ὁνέκ' ἀθο[ρος?: AM 78 (1963) p.110, no.2 (= SEG 22.68) (ca. 550) sep. mon.; εὐθορχῶ: I² 34.6 (ante 445) decree fr.(?) (L.); παλινῃαιρέτο: I² 313.131 (408/7) inv.; τριημι-: I² 842.D 2–5 (ante 446/5) sacred calendar; I² 372.12 (409/8) inv.; τριημι- in I² 373.108 (409/8) inv. (L.); ημεέκτεον in *Hesperia* 17 (1948) pp.86ff. (= I² 838–9; LSAG p.78, no.44) (500–480) sacred law: Block 2, Face B.h 1 (= *Hesperia* 17, p.97 = I² 838.1); Face C.q 7 (= *Hesperia* 17, p.101); Face C.s 3 (= *Hesperia* 17, p.101, line 3); but reject the [ηεμῆ]κτεο[v of I² 839.4–5 (cf. *Hesperia* 17, pp.95–96); ημεέκτεον I² 76.7 (435–414, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.222) decree.

In the fifth century elision is less frequent before [h] than before vowels, and H = [h] seems to have usually been dropped when elision does occur.

There are not enough examples to decide whether the παρ' ἐκάστ[οισιν] of I² 4.2 (485/4) decree is an early casual omission of the aspirate or due to a tendency to avoid writing H = [h] after παρ'; in the cas. list, I² 943.45 (440/39), παρ' ἡλλέσποντον occurs. A tendency to avoid H = [h] after an elided preposition is perhaps indicated by the occurrence of παρ' Ἀβδερα three times in the tribute lists, although ἡβδε-ρῖται is much more frequent than Ἀβδερῖται and occurs elsewhere in these same three texts (for examples, cf. 42.0111, p.496 supra). Furthermore, although παρὰ ἡβδερα is found, there is no sure case of παρ' ἡβδερα: it was restored in I² 191.32 and changed to πα[ρ] Ἀβδερα in ATL 2, no.1, col.4.29, where, however, there can be no certainty about the restoration.

The lack of any example of δ' h- could be accidental, as δέ is so rarely elided in fifth-century texts (except before ἄν), but perhaps it indicates a tendency to avoid H = [h] after δ', cf. δ' αἰρεθέντες: I² 14.10 (but probably avoids all H = [h], cf. p.494 supra) (447/6?, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.121, no.47) decree; δ' [ιερὸ]κέρυκα: I² 49.13 (post 442/1) decree; δ' ο: I² 114.33 (410/9, cf. SEG 24.15) decree. There may be an example of μηδ' + h- in the decree, I² 73 (ante 430?), where]μεδ'ηνί has been read in line 6; but the restoration [--μεδ'ῆς---] in I² 115.16 (409/8) decree is doubtful, as μεδὲ ἔς might also be possible.

Lit.: MS³ p.88, notes 752–763.

42.0113 Words showing [h] rarely or lacking it altogether

In the following words H = [h] is particularly infrequent or not attested at all:

- 1) Root Ἥγε-: except for two cases of (h)εγεμὼν all the examples are anthroponyms. Without H = [h]:

Ἑ]γέσαν[δρος I² 490 (= DAA p.68, no.65) (ca. 525–500) ded., broken, but spacing favors E]Λ, not HE]Λ; Ἑγέστρατος *Hesperia*, suppl. 8 (1949) p.398, no.10a (= LSAG p.76, no.9c; *Agora* 21, p.12, no. C8) (fin. s. VIa.) graffito; Ἑγέστατος *Hesperia*, suppl. 8 (1949) p.399, no.10b (= *Agora* 21, p.13, no. C9) (init. s. Va.) graffito; Ἑγίας I² 526 (= DAA p.101, no. 94) (490–480?) ded.; Ἑγέλοχος I² 530 (= DAA p.126, no.121) (ca. 475?) ded.; Ἑγ[εσ]ίας

I² 949.49 (423, cf. SEG 25.57), 'Εγεσίας I² 964.5 (= SEG 10.424) (ca. 409, cf. *Hesperia* 33 [1964] p.55), 'Εγεσίας I² 952.8 (ca. 412/1) (L.) all cas. lists, but cf. [heγ]έσιππος in I² 952.30; 'Εγέμαχος I² 951.36 (ca. 412/1) cas. list (L.); 'Εγέας I² 964.65 (= SEG 10.424) (ca. 409, cf. *Hesperia* 33 [1964] p.55) cas. list. Cf. 'Εγεσίβολος on a vase, ARV² p.175, Hegesiboulos painter. The small fragment of an epigram on a public sep. mon., I² 935, has ἐγεμόνον without H = [h], but the amount of text preserved is so tiny that it is not possible to tell whether H = [h] was used anywhere: although E and O are used for η and ω, gamma has the Ionic form, and οἶδ' is written without H = [h] in line 1.

Besides heγέσιππος in I² 952.30, spellings with H = [h] are as follows:

heγέσανδρος I² 56.12 (ca. 430?) decree (L.); [h]ε[γέσα]νδρος εἶπε I² 139.14 (post 446) decree, where the unscripted line above line 14 makes this restoration fairly certain (L.); heγ[εμόν] I² 41.1 (ca. 446/5) decree.

The avoidance of H = [h] in this word is puzzling. The simple verb ἡγοῦμαι is not attested. No H = [h] occurs in the compounds ἐχ[σ]εγόμε[νος] I² 77.9 and ἐχσεγετέν I² 78.4, but as H = [h] is not actually attested in composition with ἐχς, its absence here may not prove anything. But the restoration [ἐχσ]ε|[γδ]νται in I² 76.36–37 must remain suspect, cf. p.498 *supra*.

2) Attested twice, ἡλιαία has no H = [h]:

I² 39.75 (446/5) decree; I² 63.14 (= ATL 2, no. A.9.14) (425/4) decree.

3) Omission of H = [h] is the rule in ἡμέρα:

I² 4.19 (485/4) (L.); I² 39.13 (446/5); I² 44.13 (ca. 445) (L.); I² 45.28 (439/8, cf. SEG 21.29; 10.34) (L.); I² 63.10, 34–35 (425/4); I² 71.12 (ca. 436, cf. SEG 21.30) (L.); I² 76.18 (435–414, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.222) (L.); I² 88.7 (fin. s. Va.); I² 95.8 (ante 417) (L.); I² 101.10 (412/1) (L.); I² 114.40 (410/9, cf. SEG 24.15) (L.) all decrees; I² 295.11 (433/2) (L.); I² 324.4, 8, 13, 19, 22 (426/5–423/2) (L.) inventories; etc. Possibly also in the decree about Erythrai, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.89, no.40, line 15 (453/2): ἐμ[έ]ρας (for RMIAΣ of Fauvel's copy) (= I² 10.14, corrected).

Actual absence of [h] is proved by spellings like κατ' ἐμέραν in *Hesperia* 7 (1938) p.264, no.2, line 5 (= new fr. of I² 338) (ca. 465–455, cf. *Hesperia* 5 [1936] p.362) inv. and in I² 373.69 (409/8) inv. (L.); in the latter text also καθ' ἐμέραν in lines 54, 65, 70, 249; καθ'εμερσία in *ib.* 245–6; and ἡμέρα in *ib.* 69, 71, 249, 250 (L.); and -κ|οντ' ἐμερδν in I² 49.6 (post 446/5) decree (L.). The spelling in ἡ- survives into the 390s, cf. κατ'ἡ|μέραν in II² 1656.3–4 (part of II² 1656–II² 1664, a building inv. dated ca. 394–391, cf. SEG 19.136–144).

ἡμέρα is rare and not found before 450 B.C.: I² 46.21, 23, 25 (ca. 440?) decree, but *ib.* 4: ἐμερδν (L.); I² 98.15 (416/5) decree (L.); I² 302.4, 58, 68 (418–414, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.229, no.77) inv. (L., lines 4, 68 only); and καθ' ἐμέρ- in I² 373 cited *supra*.

The initial [h] is not original in the word and is a peculiarity (due to the influence of [h] in ἐσπέρα?) of Attic and related dialects, cf. Chantraine, *DEG* 2, p.412; Frisk, *GEW* 1, p.634. The epigraphical evidence indicates the establishment of [h] after the middle of the fifth century.

4) 'Εορτή has no H = [h]:

Thus: I² 5.5 (init. s. Va., cf. Sokolowski, *Lois*² p.6, no.4) decree (L.); *Hesperia* 1 (1932) p.43, no.1 (ante 446) ded.; I² 313.157 (408/7) inv.; the name 'Εόρτιος in I² 579 (= DAA p.43, no.41) (ca. 510–500) ded. (L.); cf. the graffito 'Εόρτιος, *Agora* 21, p.18, no. D 13 (600–550).

Attempts to explain the origin of this word and the presence or absence of [h] have been unsatisfactory, cf. Chantraine, *DEG* 2, p. 356.

5) Also written without H = [h] in contrast to later practice are ἴσος, ἴδιος, and ἐπέτειος:

ἴσος: I² 410.1 (fin. s. VIa. aut init. s. Va.) ded. (bronze): ἴσ(α); I² 40.4 (ca. 446/5) decree: ἐπὶ ἴσε[ι]; I² 71.28 (ca. 436, cf. *SEG* 21.30) decree: ἴσοις; I² 324.25 (426/5–423/2) inv.: ἐπὶ Ἰσά[ρχο]. Cf. Ἰσραχός (= Ἰσαρχος) on ARV² pp. 146–147, Epeleios painter no. 2 (= *FR* plate 155) and no. 18.

ἴδιος: I² 114.30 (410/9, cf. *SEG* 24.15) decree: μέτε [ἴδ]ο[ν]; I² 190.31 (ca. 420) sacred law.

ἰδιότης: I² 39.6, 11 (446/5), I² 110.47 (410/9), I² 108.44 (410/9) all decrees; I² 116.18 (409/8 aut ca. 407, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 267, no. 87) decree: ἰδιόταις; I² 211.19 (= *ATL* 2, no. 21) (434/3), I² 212.86 (= *ATL* 2, no. 22, col. 2.90) (433/2) tribute lists.

ἐπέτειος: I² 301.7, 8 (409/8, cf. *SEG* 23.35); I² 304.3 (410/9); I² 312.7 (before Peace of Nicias?); I² 313.144 (408/7) inventories.

Certain examples of the aspirated spellings in these words are not found until well into the Hellenistic Period. The phrase κατ' ἰδίαν first occurs in a decree of troops of ca. 266 B.C., II² 1281.10 (L.); also in the state decree, II² 891.6 (188/7). But κατ' ἰδίαν is still found in the second century in two decrees: II² 945.12 (168/7) (L.); *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p. 293, no. 58, line 6 (148/7). Perhaps even later is another decree with κατ' ἰδίαν, cf. *Hesperia* 33 (1964) p. 196, no. 47, line 4 (s. Ia?). For ἴσος, cf. οὐχ ἴσα in the decree, *Hesperia*, suppl. 6 (1941) p. 125, no. 31, line 22 (= new frr. of II² 1064) (ca. 230 p.); cf. also ἐφέτειος in a decree, II² 1036.2 (108/7).

6) There is hesitation between *ἡαισιμίδης* and *Αἰσιμίδης*. Thus *Αἰσιμίδης* on one rf. vase, ARV² pp. 1559–1560, no. 1 (Berlin inv. no. 2316), but *ἡαισιμίδης* on another, ARV² p. 1560, no. 2 (Adria bc 15). Elsewhere no H = [h]: *IGAA* p. 119, no. 7 (= *Kerameikos* 3, p. 22, no. 22b; *SEG* 10.439) (ca. 540–530) sep. mon.: Αἰσιμί[δο]; I² 950.187 (412/1, cf. *SEG* 21.127) cas. list: Αἰσιμίδης; *JHS* 69 (1949) p. 25, no. 1 (= *SEG* 12.59, improved reading of I² 806) (ca. 600–550?) ded.: Αἰσι[μίδης]. Possibly also (uncertain restoration) in the decree, I² 26.2–3 (cf. *Staatsverträge* 2, p. 45, no. 142) (ca. 448): Αἰ[σιμ][ί]δης. But reject an alleged *ἡαισιμο-ων* on an ostrakon, cf. p. 55 supra. Cf. also *ἡαίσσπος* on an Attic sep. mon. from Sigeion, *LSAG* p. 371, no. 44 (= *DGE* p. 356, no. 731) (ca. 550?); perhaps *ἡαίσων* ~ *Αἰσων* in the tribute lists (cf. 42.0111, p. 496 supra) is relevant here.

7) The relation between *ἡεκαδήμεια* and *Ἀκαδήμεια* remains obscure, cf. 6.015, p. 128 supra.

Lit.: MS³ p. 87, notes 749–751.

42.0114 *ἡιλλύριος*, *ἡοαιεύς*, *ἡαύριον*, etc.

In such cases where there is marked preference for H = [h] in contrast to absence of [h] in the literary tradition, there is usually linguistic justification for original [h].

1) Two examples of *ἡλλύριος* in an inv. of ca. 414, *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p.240, no.1, lines 39, 43 (= I² 329.20, 24), might be taken as confusion due to faintness of the aspirate, as this text sometimes omits H = [h] (cf. lines 10, 77), and such omissions are frequent in this group of texts (cf. p.494 supra), if there were not also evidence in early Latin texts for [h] here, cf. *hillyricus*, *hil(l)uricus*, cited by Kretschmer, *Einleitung* p.245, note 2. The word occurs without [h] in an inv. of 422/1, cf. I² 280.87: ἐγ' Ἀ]έσβο ἡλλυρικ[όν (cf. *IG* I, no. 170, fr. b.19).

2) In the demotic *ἡοαεύς* initial [h] is always present in texts in Attic script: I² 236.48 (430/29) (L.), I² 237.55 (429/8) (L.), I² 261.33 (429/8) (L.), I² 238.69 (428/7) all inventories of the *tamiai* of Athena; I² 370.8 (421/0–416/5) (L.) inv. of *epistatai* for statues of Athena and Hephaestus. But on at least two other texts of earlier date than these inventories the demotic of another form, **Ῥαθεν*, without initial [h], certainly occurs: I² 532 (= *DAA* p.177, no.160) (paulo post 477/6) ded.; *Hesperia* 29 (1960) p.64, no.113, line 14 (ca. 450?) (cf. S.Dow, *AJP* 84 [1963] p.170) cas. list(?).

The deme name is unattested in this period, but the [h] of *ἡοαεύς* makes it virtually certain that there was initial [h] in it, at least in the later fifth century. The later lexicographers know of no [h], but their testimony is not necessarily reliable for the earlier period. The post-403 spellings **Ῥαθεν*, etc. (cf. examples in 15.0127j, p.284 supra) are of course ambiguous. As it is impossible to say when **Ῥαεύς* might have become **Ῥαεύς*, the use here of **Ῥ*- and **Ῥ*- is purely conventional. The puzzling absence of [h] in **Ῥαθεν* might be due to aspirate dissimilation, but it would be of a rare and unexpected type (cf. spellings like *Κρυσόθεμις*, *Πωσφόρος*, in 38.011, no.1, p.449 and p.451 supra). Perhaps just an accidental omission or due to influence of other deme names like *Οἶον* or *Οἶη*.

The precise form of the deme name remains obscure, and its etymological connections are subject to dispute. Initial [h] could result from metathesis of internal [h] from [j] or [s], but not from internal [ɣ] (ß), cf. Lejeune, *Phonétique* p.180 (= *Traité*² p.153). Other evidence suggests that the name of the deme might have been **hōai* at this time (cf. p.285 supra). The ω (later becoming ο) might be some sort of lengthened grade (cf. 12.0111, pp.227–228 supra). If the initial [h] is from internal [j], possibilities for the parent form would be **oiāi* or **oiuai* (cf. Attic *πόα* alongside Ionic *ποιή* ← **ποιῖα*). If **oiuai* is accepted, plausible etymologies can be suggested. Semantically **oiuai* = 'service trees' (if *Ῥα* and Latin *ūva* both ← **oiuā*, cf. Frisk, *GEW* 2, p.343) seems best for a toponym, but most have preferred the connection with ω(ῖ)αι = 'fringes' (derivative of οἶς, cf. οἶαι in Hesychius cited Frisk, *loc. cit.*, p.367), a word which may occur in the spelling ωας in an epistle on a lead tablet of the early fourth century from Athens, cf. *SIG*³ no.1259.a6 (= *IG* III.3, p.ii [Praefatio]). The relationship of this deme and that known as *Οἶη* (there is a village on Ceos with the name *Οἶη*) or with Laconian ὠβα and various similar glosses which = 'village' remains uncertain (cf. Frisk, *loc. cit.*, p.359).

For the demotic of the other deme, *Oe*, the only evidence for the presence or absence of initial [h] is *ἡοθεν* in the inv., I² 302.20 (418–414, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.229, no.77) (L.). Cf. two certain instances of **Οἶθεν* in I² 374, although the indiscriminate use of H = [h] in that document (cf. 42.0111, p.495 supra) makes them of little use as evidence for the presence or absence of initial aspiration. The interpretation of the *Οἶ* in line 2 of the decree, I² 109 (410/9), as *Οἶ[θεν]* is quite doubtful; *Οἶ[νέδ]* is a better restoration, cf. *ATL* 2, no. D 9 (L.). The fourth-

century forms of this demotic are Οῦῖθεν and Οῦῖθεν. If certain posited etymological connections of Ο(ῖ)η point away from initial [h] (cf. 17.0213, p.332 supra), they remain uncertain, and it is thus with some hesitation that hoḗθεν is assigned to examples of aspirate assimilation like héχω, etc. (cf. 38.0211, no.3, p.458 supra), although influence of hoaeúōs (and *hōai?) might also be the cause of the unwarranted [h].

3) The spelling haúριον in the decree, I² 113.32 (ca. 410), and haúριον on a new fr. of I² 70 (424/3?) decree, cf. *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p.323, line 44, probably show preservation of the [h] whose absence has often puzzled scholars, cf. Lejeune, *Phonétique* p.122, note 2 (= *Traité*² p.103, note 2); Schwyzler, *GG* 1, p.282. haúριον would be from *ausri-on, cf. Lithuanian ausri, Sanskrit usri, cited Chantraine, *DEG* 1, p.142; Frisk, *GEW* 1, p.190, with the transfer of [h] into initial position. The de-aspirated αúριον is already establishing itself at this time, cf. I² 106.24 (409/8, cf. *SEG* 24.16), I² 116.36 (409/8 aut ca. 407, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.267, no.87) both decrees.

4) The demotic haγνούσιος has always the expected H = [h] (initial [h] is probably from [j] rather than from [s], cf. Chantraine, *DEG* 1, p.26): I² 242.113 (424/3), I² 370.3, 16 (416/5), I² 304 A.4 (410/9) all inventories; restorations in I² 243.123, 131 (423/2) inv. are virtually certain; cf. names like háγνῶν, haγνόδεμος, e.g. I² 929.123, 162 (ca. 460, cf. *SEG* 14.19) cas. list, etc.

5) A name hιλῖνος occurs on two vases of Psiax: ARV² p.7, nos.4, 5 (= *HRF* 2, p.396, no.1; p.402, no.4). The name is probably derived from Ἡλῖη, cf. Bechtel, *Personennamen* p.219, and the [h] is thus expected as the reflex of the digamma. Cf. also Frisk, *GEW* 1, p.722.

6) Less certainty is possible in the case of hιλιός, attested twice: in the inv., I² 324.89 (426/5–423/2); and in the lex sacra, *Deltion* 8 (1923) pp.96ff., no.3, line 6 (= *SEG* 3.18; 10.101; Sokolowski, *Supplément* p.19, no.4) (ca. 420). The only case of Ἰλιός, in another inv., I² 310.206, is of no value because that large text always omits H = [h]. Even if any original etymological connection with ειλέω/ἴλλω or ε(ι)λίττω (all with original *f*) is not certain, it is possible that Ἰλιός was later thought to be connected with these words and acquired initial [h] from them. But in Attic ειλίττω certainly had no [h] as early as the mid-fourth century, cf. κατειλίξα in II² 204.32 (352/1) decree (L.). It is quite possible that hιλιός belongs with the few cases of H = [h] misused (cf. 42.0111, p.495 supra).

7) Initial [h] is confirmed for: ἀκούσιος (← ἀέκ-), cf. I² 6.45 (ante 460) decree: haκῶσια; ἵπνος, cf. I² 4.15 (485/4) decree: hιπνε[ύεσθαι (L.); ἐλπίς ([h] from ἦ, cf. Chantraine, *DEG* 2, p.342), cf. I² 945.9 (432/1) cas. list: heλπίδ'; an example of ἐλπίς is subject to some doubt, cf. I² 127.32 (post 433) decree: je elπίς; ἔνος, cf. I² 218.35, 38 (= *ATL* 2, no.25, col.1.43,46) (430/29) trib. list; I² 324.26 (426/5–423/2) inv.; ἰξός (cf. Latin viscus), cf. I² 314.42 (407/6) inv. (but the erroneous haκύλον *ib.* 69, cf. p.495 supra).

8) Presumably due to aspirated stops in the word are the initial aspirates attested for ἔχω, Ἰσχυλος, ἰσθμός, ἀριθμός, etc. (cf. 38.0211–38.0212, pp.457ff. supra),

perhaps Εύξισράτ- (cf. p.460 supra), Ἰλείθνα (cf. 18.012, p.342 supra), εἴληφα (although εἴληφα is not attested in Attic) (cf. 38.0212 a, no.20, p.463 supra). *hoĩnos* on a rf. amphora in Munich, ARV² p.146, Epeleios painter no.2 (= FR plate 155) (L.), is due to crasis, if not merely a clerical omission (cf. 34.01, p.428 supra).

9) Although it occurs without initial [h] in some dialects, there is no question that in Attic *leṓs* and its derivatives began with an aspirated vowel. It has already been seen (cf. 42.0111, p.494 supra) that the large decree, I² 94 (418/7), in Attic script, but normally making no use of H = [h], does use H in the word *leṓn* each time it occurs (lines 4, 7, 13, 30); here the conservatism in the orthography is due to the religious associations of the word. A similar conservatism may be seen in certain boundary stones, some even as late as the fourth century, on which *hēro-* appears in conjunction with Ionic script (cf. 1.021, p.24 supra). The word is very frequent in fifth-century Attic texts, and H = [h] is omitted only in I² 4.8 (485/4), but *hēro-* twice in *ib.* 4, again in *ib.* 13 (L.); I² 49.13 (post 442/1) not due to elision? Cf. 42.0112, p.499 supra. In the later addition to I² 6 (lines 130ff.) H = [h] is consistently avoided; the body of the text has always *hēro-*.

The *thēra* inscribed on a fr. of a sixth-century bronze vase, I² 460.2, is probably just a scribal error and not worth anything as evidence for the etymology of *leṓs* (cf. Chantraine, *DEG* 2, p.458). If it has any phonological value it should probably be associated with *hūthūs* (cf. 38.0211 b, p.461 supra).

Lit.: MS³ p.86, notes 732–734; p.87, notes 742–747; S. Dow, “The Attic Demes Oa and Oe”, *AJP* 84 (1963) pp.166–181.

42.012 Evidence for initial [h] after 403/2; evidence for psilosis in Attic

While it is not unreasonable to suppose that the initial [h] was lost in Attic by Roman times or even in the Hellenistic Period, it must be admitted that inscriptions do not offer any of the spellings which normally provide evidence for the loss of initial [h] elsewhere. There is in fact so little evidence for psilosis in Attic inscriptions that one could hesitate in attributing this lack to the conservatism of inscriptions in orthography.

With loss of the [h] one would expect at least occasional examples of spellings like: *ἐπ’* *leṓá*, *ἀπίστημι*, etc. Such phenomena are not rare in the inscriptions of districts known to have been psilotic (e.g. Pergamum, cf. *Lit. infra*), but are virtually unknown in inscriptions from Athens. Two texts only may be cited as possible evidence:

1) A decree of the deme of Myrrhinous, II² 1183 (post 340), with a certain case of *ἐπ[ι]σ[τ]άναι* for *ἐπιστάναι* in line 29 (L.). Close examination of the writing of this text reveals that this is undoubtedly an error with no phonetic significance. The entire text is filled with the kind of mistakes which can only be made by a person copying a written text which he is reading with difficulty and is not trying to comprehend: cf. the frequent use of *my* for *ny*, e.g. *ib.* 17, 20(bis); *ΓΟΙ* for *ΜΟΙ* in *ib.* 12; *ΓΙΣΜΙ* for *ΤΙΣΗΙ* in *ib.* 26; *ΚΑΤΑΨΜ[ι]* for *ΚΑΤΑΨΗ[ΦΙΣ-]* in *ib.* 22; *Ο ΠΕΡΥΣΙΝΩΕ*

ΔΗΜΑΡΧΟΣ for ὁ περυσινὸς δῆμαρχος in *ib.* 26; etc. It is more likely that ἐπιστά-ναι is a clerical error of the same type than that it provides a practically unique indication of psilosis normally hidden by conservative orthography. This same text has in line 12 εὐορχοῦντι, which would be strong evidence against psilosis, for the aspirate χ would be the result of assimilation to the [h] of ὀρχέω, but it too is probably only a copying mistake, cf. 38.0211 b, no. 17. The ἐπιορχοίμην of line 12 is not an example of psilotic spelling because this was the normal spelling of the word at Athens, e.g. II² 1237.113 (396/5) decree (phratry), II² 687.56 (265/4, cf. SEG 21.373) decree; although the form in most dialects was ἐφιορχοῦμαι *vel. sim.*, cf. II² 1126.9 (380/79) amphiktyonic decree in Delphic; IG V.1, no. 1390, line 6 (s. Ia.) Messenia; etc. The ἐφ[ιορχοῦσι---] (for EO[---] of Fauvel's copy) sometimes read in the decree for Erythrai is quite doubtful, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 89, no. 40, line 17 (= I² 10.16) (453/2).

2) Two instances of κατάπαξ for καθάπαξ in the first of three decrees of the demesmen of Teithras, AM 49 (1924) pp. 1ff., lines 4, 28 (= SEG 24.151) (dated perhaps to the mid-fourth century), which also has [κ]αθάπερ in line 35; the second decree (in a different hand) has καθάπαξ in line 5 (all L.). While the writing of the first decree is somewhat careless, there can be no question of clerical error here. But it would be risky to assume any kind of general loss of [h] because of this one individual's spelling κατάπαξ. In the first place, this is probably not a case of κατ' ἅπαξ: καθάπαξ was doubtless regarded by this time as a single word. The opposition between πᾶς and ἅπας might have led some persons to misdivide καθάπαξ into κατα- and παξ (cf. πᾶς). That the segmentation κατα + παξ is correct is proved by ἀπόπαχς, attested in I² 338.46, 20 (ca. 465–455, cf. *Hesperia* 5 [1936] p. 362) and Hesychius. Probably κατάπαξ is a rare variant for καθάπαξ. It is doubtful if a variant κατάπαξ could have arisen out of dissimilation of aspirates, i.e. the reverse of the development seen in χυφεταιῶν from χυπεταιῶν, etc. (cf. 38.0211 b, p. 462 *supra*).

Other alleged instances of psilosis must be rejected. In II² 1321.11 (s. IIIa.) read not ἐπ' ἱερά, but την επιγρα (K. Clinton on the basis of examination of the stone and squeeze). In II² 9713.9 (s. IIp.) read not ἡγαγετ' εἰμερτοῦ, but ἡγάγετε ἱμερτοῦ with a common enough type of *scriptio plena* (cf. 33.012, pp. 424ff. *supra*). In II² 1469.47 (post 320/19) inv. (L.), several examinations of the stone and squeezes suggested that the best reading was οὐκ ὕγι[εῖς, but cf. Kirchner's apt description of the stone in IG II² as 'valde detritus est et difficilis lectu'. Chi and kappa are so similar in this text that the psilotic spelling could be regarded as a graphic mistake in any case. In II² 1328.24 read ἐπὶ Ἰπάκου (L.).

The κατελίξας of II² 204.32 (L.) is better taken as evidence for no [h] in ἐλίττω in Attic (it is not otherwise attested) than as evidence for psilosis; for κατιστῶσιν in I² 374, cf. 42.0111, p. 495 *supra*; for ἡμέρα, cf. 42.0113, no. 3, p. 500 *supra*.

Another feature of documents from psilotic districts, the writing of aspirates where they are unjustified (cf. Schwyzler, Lit. *infra*) is also foreign to Attic texts. The only sure case of this sort is κρίνανθ' ἡτρώων in the ded., II² 3783.3 (s. IIa.); but this text is written in a highly artificial Ionizing poetical language which has many non-Attic forms. Two examples of καθεῖληφα in decrees of the third century B. C. do not belong

here as they are probably due to aspirate assimilation (if the Attic form was not εἴληφα; εἴληφα happens not to occur, cf. 38.0212a, no. 20, p. 463 *supra*). μεθ' ἐννέα in the ded., *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p. 252, no. 51, line 5 (144/3?), has been influenced by ἐπτά, ἔνδεκα, etc.

The spellings οὐθεῖς, οὐθέν (normal in the Hellenistic Period and occurring sometimes even in Roman times, cf. 39.01, pp. 472 ff. *supra*) might be against psilosis, although the two elements of the compound had probably coalesced sufficiently to protect the aspiration in any case. Cases of Ἀρφοκρατίων for Ἀρποκρατίων are not evidence for initial [h], cf. 38.0211b, p. 462 *supra*.

It is naturally possible that the initial [h] had ceased to be pronounced, but that in cases of word fusion it reappeared in the aspiration of the preceding stop, where in fact such aspiration had never been dropped, e.g. something like the h aspiré of French: l'homme, but always le hameau, although no [h] is now sounded in hameau. Such a stage is indeed necessary to explain some of the developments in MG, but unfortunately the orthography of inscriptions is not able to distinguish between this stage and the earlier one in which initial [h] was always sounded. Papyri of the Roman Period, however, offer, in contrast to Attic inscriptions, many examples of the ἐπ' οἷς and ἐφ' ἑτη types (cf. Gignac, *Lit. infra*). For οὐχ ἴσα, καθ' ἰδίαν, etc., cf. 42.0113, no. 5, p. 501 *supra*.

Lit.: Schwyzler, *Gram. pergamenischen Inschriften*, pp. 117 ff.; MS³ p. 85, note 726; Sturtevant pp. 69–73; Gignac pp. 133–138; A. Thumb, *Untersuchungen über den Spiritus Asper im Griechischen* (Strassburg, 1888).

42.02 [s] and [z]

42.021 Omission, dissimilation of Σ

The presence of another Σ nearby may have caused the omission of Σ in -στ- in a few cases: ἐπισπατήρ[ες], II² 1672.123 (329/8) inv. (L.), but this text contains many careless omissions; Ὑψίτω for Ὑψίστω on a late Roman ded. (priv.), cf. *Hesperia* 29 (1960) p. 63, no. 108 (s. II/III p.), where there is some doubt as to the reading (I could not make out the last three letters of the first line of the text, L.); cf. the graffito ξέτης for ξέστης, *Agora* 21, p. 61, no. Ha 23 (fin. s. II p./init. s. III p.). Perhaps a few instances of -τρ- for -στρ- may be due to dissimilatory tendencies, cf. Λυσित्रάτο, Σωτράτου in 47.011, p. 572 *infra*.

But elsewhere -στ- appears as -τ- with no -σ- nearby: χρητή, II² 11079 (post 300) sep. mon. (L.), II² 11301 (probably late s. I p.) sep. mon.; χρητός II² 13048 (s. II/Ia.) sep. mon.; Ἀριτίων II² 9425 (s. II p.) sep. mon. Ἀριτόνυμος on one of the Kallixenos ostraca, *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p. 385, no. 17 (483 aut 482), although these contain many careless omissions. That true cluster simplification is involved in any of these cases rather than clerical error seems doubtful (cf. 46.04, p. 569 *infra*).

Attic texts have one example of θεμιτός, cf. II² 2498.16 (321/0) loc. θεμιστός is not attested, although the names Θεμιστοκλῆς (Θεμισθοκλῆς), Θεμιστιος (Θεμισθιος) are frequent (examples in 38.0212b, nos. 21–22, pp. 463 ff. *supra*).

For spellings involving final Σ before Σ/___C such as τηστήλης, τοῦστεφάνους, etc., cf. 48.012, pp. 576 ff. *infra*; for τὸλ λίθος, ταῖ νύμφαισιν, τὰ ναῦς, etc., cf. 48.08, pp. 638 ff. *infra*.

Assimilation of -σν- to -νν- is seen in Δυννίκητος, cf. *Hesperia* 29 (1960) p.25, no.33, line 1 (370/69) inv.; II² 1436.13 (349/8) inv.; note also Δυννικέτω (where N is for νν) on a bf. vase, ABV p.307, Swing painter no.59 (= CVA, England 1, plate 6.2). There may be an example of Δυσνίκητος in the decree, II² 964.6 (ca. 130): Δυσ[νικήτ?]ου.

No σ has been omitted in Πολυπέτρων, now attested in two texts: II² 387.8 (319/8) decree (L.); II² 1473.7–8 (ca. 319) inv. (L.). For the variation σπερχ- ~ περχ-, cf. Schwyzler, GG 1, p.334; initial σ- is avoided in composition, cf. στεγ- ~ όμοστεγ- in 42.0211 infra.

Lit.: MS³ p.91, notes 823, 825–826; Lademann p.120.

42.0211 (σ)τεγ-

Evidence in related languages shows that the variation between στεγ- and τεγ- goes back to the parent language, cf. Schwyzler, GG 1, p.334. In Attic texts occur: όμο-τεγών II² 1668.6 (347/6) inv. (L.); έπιτεγ[ίδ- I² 310.82 (429/8) inv.; Έπιτεγίου II² 5071 (act. Rom.) label on theatre-seat; but στέγων, στέγοντες II² 1541.13, 14, 16 (356/5) inv. (L.). The avoidance of σ/_C in composition, when no longer in initial position, is similar to that seen in Πολυπέτρων (cf. 42.021 supra).

Lit.: MS³ p.91, note 824.

42.0212 (σ)μικρός, μικός, μικρός, etc.

The variety of forms in σμικρός, μικρός, etc. is difficult to account for linguistically, especially as the etymology of the word is uncertain, cf. Frisk, *GEW* 2, p.237. The priority of σμ- to μ- is generally assumed; retention of σ/_μ in Attic and certain other dialects is difficult to explain. The -κκ- seen in certain anthroponyms is certainly an expressive geminate; the μκ- form of the root may be seen in the anthroponyms Μίκος, Μίκων, Μικίων and in μικός, a rare variant of μικρός. Not attested is σμικός, and anthroponyms in Σμικ- have always -ρ- except Σμίκυθος, Σμικυλίων, which perhaps lends credence to Bloomfield's view, cf. *Language* 1 (1925) p.94, that an ancient -ro-/-u- interchange is to be seen in this word. Otherwise the -ρ- has been explained as due to the influence of μακρός (so Güntert, *Reimwortbildung* p.160). One might cite the variation between spellings with and without -ρ- seen in άλάβαστ(ρ)ον, θέρμαστ(ρ)ις (cf. 40.023, nos.1–3, p.482 supra) as comparable to μικρός/μικός, although there the dissimilation of liquids has generally been invoked as the explanation.

a) Spelling of the adjective

The only spelling found before the last part of the fifth century is σμικρός (attested in the codd. of a number of Attic writers, e.g. Thucydides, Plato). There are the following attestations:

- 1) σμικρόν I² 825 (fin. s. VI aut init. s. V a.?) ded.;
- 2) σμικρά ηιερά I² 459 (= DGE p.384, no. 6) (init. s. V a.?) ded. (bronze).

σμιρκός is still found in inventories of the late fifth century:

- 3) σμι|ρκά IG IV, no.39, lines 8–9 (410) inv. of temple of Athena on Aegina, but μρκός, μκ(α)ρά in the same text, cf. no.13 infra;
- 4) σμιρκῶν I² 386.10 (ca. 406, cf. SEG 10.219); the other side of the stele has μρκός, cf. no.14 infra (L.);
- 5) σμι|ρκά I² 313.111 (408/7), also σ[μ]ρκό *ib.* 112;
- 6) σμιρκά I² 314.122 (407/6).

μρκός is attested eleven times in five texts of the first half of the fourth century, in one case alongside μρκός (no.10). There are too many examples for omission of -ρ- to be the explanation, and a variant μρκός must be recognized. In one inv. (no.11 infra, line 20) μκᾶ modifies ολνοχόη and is certainly feminine; the peculiar ā is presumably due to the influence of (σ)μικρά, cf. Μίκας, gen. of a feminine anthroponym in a third-century inv., p.509 infra. Cf. also 40.023, no.4, p.483 supra.

- 7) μκόν II² 47.12 (init. s. IV a.) decree (L.);
- 8) μκᾶ II² 1400.9 (390/89) inv. (L.);
- 9) μκᾶ II² 1407.10 (384/3) inv.;
- 10) μκόν II² 1424 a (in add.). 274 (369/8) inv., μκᾶ *ib.* 289, μκoi *ib.* 385; μρκός *ib.* 154, 393; but μρκ- in *ib.* 8, 11, 266, 268, 376, etc. (L.);
- 11) μκᾶ II² 1640.18, 20 (354/3) inv., μ|κai *ib.* 32 (L.).

μρκός is found in late fifth-century inventories:

- 12) μρκά I² 369.10 (post 426/5) inv. (L.);
- 13) μρκός IG IV, no.39, line 8 (410) inv. of temple of Athena on Aegina, μκ|{α}ρά *ib.* 10–11 (cf. 29.00 a, p.407 supra), but σμι|ρκά *ib.* 8–9, cf. no.3 supra;
- 14) μρκά I² 387.32 (ca. 406, cf. SEG 15.19) inv. (L.); σμιρκῶν on other side, cf. no.4 supra;
- 15) μρκῶ I² 373.195 (409/8) inv., μρκῶν *ib.* 231 (L.).

μρκός is also very well attested in fourth-century texts, e.g.:

II² 120.47, 48 (353/2, cf. *Hesperia* 7 [1938] p.286) decree; inventories: II² 1388.18 (398/7); II² 1396.19 (init. s. IV a.); II² 1401.28, 29 (bis) (ca. 390); II² 1425.352, 361, 366, 367, 369, 399 (368/7); II² 1427.6, 19 (ca. 365?); II² 1438 (352/1 aut 351/0, cf. *Hesperia* 7 [1938] p.288); II² 1440.63 (350/49); II² 1455.10 (340/39); II² 1456.10, 46 (post 341/0); II² 1460.4 (post 330); II² 1462.8 (post 329/8); II² 1464.29 (ca. 330?); II² 1465.6 (ca. 330?); II² 1466.14 (ca. 330); II² 1467.2 (ca. 330); II² 1469.92, 160 (post 320/19); II² 1471.49 (post 318/7); II² 1478.20 (post 315/4); II² 1479.27 (post 312/1); II² 1487.44 (fin. s. IV a.); II² 1489.27, 28, 29, 31, 35 (fin. s. IV a.); II² 1491.4 (307/6); etc.

b) Personal names

Those with initial Σμ- have always -ρ- or -υ- after the -κ-.

Σμῖρκος (with a shift in accent characteristic of names of this type, cf. Schwyzler, GG 1, p.420):

On several rf. vases: ARV² p.20, Smikros nos.1, 3; *Paralipomena* p.323, no.3 bis; ARV² p.63, Oltos no.90. Graffito on black-glazed sherd, cf. I² 644 (ca. 500).

In an archaic dedication (person not necessarily Athenian): I² 643 (init. s. V a., cf. DAA p.53, no.53); but the Σμῖ|ρκος of DAA p.71, no.68 (= I² 470 + I² 477 + I² 481) (ca. 500) ded., was certainly an Athenian citizen, as his name has a demotic after it.

As the name of Athenian citizens in fifth-century casualty lists: I² 928.17 (465/4); I² 929.181 (ca. 460, cf. SEG 14.19); I² 949.5 (423, cf. SEG 25.57); as the name of citizens in various texts of the fourth and third centuries, e.g. PA nos. 12753–12760.

As a name Σμῖκος is not otherwise known, the dipinto δοκεῖ : σμικοι : ναι on a rf. vase close to Euphronios, ARV² p. 18, no. 1, should be taken as a careless attempt at: δοκεῖ Σμίκῳ εἶναι.

Also attested as names of Athenians in the fifth and fourth centuries are Σμικρίων, Σμικρίας, and Σμικρωνίδης, e.g. PA nos. 12740–12748, 12761–12763. Some of these names also occur on vases: Σμικρίων ABV p. 674 (= p. 172), Athens, Acropolis frr. 1742; ABV p. 294, Psiax no. 25; ARV² p. 8, Psiax no. 13; Σμικρίας (spelled Σμικρας, cf. ARV² p. 1570 on Χαιρας for Χαιρίας) *Paralipomena* p. 185, Guide-line class no. 13ter (bf.).

The anthroponyms Σμικύθη, Σμικυθίων, Σμίκυθος, Σμικυλίων are well attested as the names of Athenians in the fifth and fourth centuries, e.g. PA nos. 12764–12799; Σμίκυθος occurs on several vases, viz. ABV p. 516, Philon no. 1 (= CVA, England 6, plate 21.1); ARV² p. 16, Euphronios no. 13; ARV² p. 23, Phintias no. 7; ARV² p. 28, Euthymides no. 12 (= CVA, Germany 1, plate 16.1–2): ἰκυθος; ARV² p. 54, Oltos no. 7; cf. ARV² p. 1608.

Anthroponyms in Σμ- are rarer after the end of the fourth century, but note: [Σ]μικύθου II² 678.23 (256/5, cf. SEG 21.377), Σμῖκρον II² 690.6 (ca. 275–260) decrees; Σμίκρον, Σμίκυθος II² 1534B.213, 220 (247/6, cf. SEG 16.118) inv.; Σμίκυθος II² 2331.8 (init. s. IIa.) cat.; [Σμ]ίκυθος II² 1039.81 (79/8, cf. SEG 22.110) decree; Σμικ{ι}|ρίου II² 4013.13–14 (aet. Rom.?) ded.

On the strength of the epigraphical evidence the Μίκυθος of the codd. of Diog. Laert. 7.12 should be emended to Σμίκυθος, cf. RM 39 (1884) p. 300. For Μικρίων, Σμίκκη, cf. infra.

The only anthroponym in Μικ- frequent at Athens is Μικίων, known as the name of Athenians throughout the Classical and Hellenistic Periods, e.g. PA nos. 10174–10190; it is attested on rf. vases (late enough that K is not for κκ): ARV² p. 1601, three vases (Athens 1226, London E548, Agora P10948); ARV² p. 1348, Painter of Ferrara T.412 no. 1. Other names in Μικ- include: Μῖκος *Hesperia* 15 (1946) p. 171, no. 20, line 12 (fin. s. Va.) cas. list, certainly an Athenian; II² 12136/7 (ante 350) sep. mon. (probably not an Athenian); Μίκων attested as the name of Athenians in the fifth and fourth centuries, e.g. PA nos. 10199–10204; Μίκα (ā?) the name of a woman in an Athenian family on the sep. mon., II² 6140 (ca. 350); probably not Athenians are the persons named Μίκα on the sep. monuments, II² 12126–II² 12131 (ca. 420–s. IIIa.), and in the inv., II² 1534B (247/6, cf. SEG 16.118), one cannot tell whether the person(s) named Μίκα (the genitive is Μίκαῶς, cf. p. 508 supra) is Athenian or not, cf. lines 199, 205, 208, etc. There are also Athenians named Μικαλίων, cf. PA nos. 10168–10169; Μικίνας, cf. II² 6141 (s. IIa.), II² 6679 (s. IVa.?) sep. monuments; the Μικκίνας of the cat., II² 2316.15 (ca. 166/5), is Κορκυραῖος; a Μικίας in the sep. mon., II² 12133 (post 350), is probably not Athenian.

Of the various names in Μικκ-, several are borne by Athenians, but generally not until the Hellenistic Period:

Μίκκος: cf. PA no.576 (father of a playwright of the first quarter of the fourth century); II² 1011.107, 110 (106/5) decree.

Μικκέας: II² 896.52 (186/5) decree.

Μίκκιον: II² 1034.27 (98/7) decree.

Μικκῶν: II² 6387 (s. III/II a.) sep. mon.

The woman with the peculiar name Σμίκκη mentioned in an inv., II² 1534.B.256 (247/6, cf. SEG 16.118), is probably not an Athenian (L.).

It is a general rule that native Athenians do not have names in Μικρ-, but there may be exceptions to this. In the sep. mon., II² 6999 (s. IV a.), a man has the name Ἐπιγένης Μικρίωνος Ἐλευσίνιος; as Μικρίωνος begins the line, it seems impossible to assume a haplographic spelling, i.e. ἘπιγένηΣμικρίωνος. The name Μικρίων is known from elsewhere, e.g. Thasos, cf. Bechtel, *Personennamen* p.486. The adjective μεικρός (with ει = [i]) occurs in the financial record, *Hesperia* 41 (1972) p.73, line 155 (aet. Trajani, cf. *Hesperia* 41 [1972] p.476); the text of II² 2776.155 takes μεικρός wrongly as a man's name.

Lit.: MS³ p.89, note 768.

42.022 Gemination, epenthesis of Σ

Before stops internally, especially before τ, κ, and χ, there was a strong tendency for σ to be geminated, producing spellings like Ἀρισστίων, Ἀσσχληπιός, etc., cf. 43.021, pp.527 ff. infra.

An assimilative tendency may have caused epenthesis of Σ in Ἀρριστοστέλης, on a sep. mon., II² 5895.3 (ante 150 p.). The same phenomenon is probably to be seen in the ἐπιστάξεων (= ἐπιτάξεων) of the decree, *Attische Urkunden* 3 (= *SB Vienna* 1925) p.61, no.18, line 15 (= SEG 3.226) (s. II p.). Cf. also ἐπιστοσλήν on a defixio, *IG* III.3, no.102.a 1 (400–350).

Lit.: MS³ p.91, note 826; Lademann p.120.

42.023 Σ = [z]

Σ was certainly voiced before β, δ, γ, and μ. Thus τοῖσζ(ε) on a text of the early fifth century represents [toizzd'] with a characteristic gemination of the sibilant before a dental, cf. 44.01, no.1, p.546 infra. By the later fourth century when the value of Ζ has become [zz] or [z], the voicing of σ before μ is occasionally indicated by spellings such as ψήφιζμα, etc.; ζμ continues to occur in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods, but is very rare except in Ζμύρνα, etc., and Ζμάραγδος. There is one possible instance of ζβ. Cf. 44.02, nos. 1–20, pp.547 ff. infra.

43.00–47.00 Consonant Clusters

43.00 Geminates

43.01 Geminates written simplex

43.011 Geminates written simplex in the Archaic Period

Geminate consonants are consistently written simplex in all types of Attic writing of the earliest period. The earliest examples of the writing out of geminate consonants on stone texts which can be precisely dated come from the last quarter of the sixth century, and there is no reason to suspect that any of the other early examples are prior to that time. Some texts with geminates written simplex are certainly after ca. 510 B.C., and one or two which are certainly the last may date to the period of the Persian Wars. The evidence suggests that the practice of writing geminates is established in the period ca. 520–480 B.C.

Avoidance of geminates includes cases in which the final consonant of one word and the initial of the following are the same, producing a kind of haplography, e.g. ἐὰμέ for ἐὰμ μέ, Φαίδιμοσοφός, etc. For further examples and a surprising exception from the seventh century, see the section on sep. monuments *infra*.

In the sep. mon. of Phanodikos from Sigeion, cf. *DGE* p.356, no.731 (ca. 550? cf. *AAG*² pp.165ff.; *LSAG* pp.366–367, p.371, nos.43–44), the Attic copy of the text has the geminate written simplex in Προκονεσίο, while in the Ionic copy appears Προκοννησίο with the writing out of the geminate normal in that dialect. It is clear from later orthographical practice that the simplex writing of geminates in early Attic is purely an orthographical convention without any foundation in the pronunciation (cf. the analogous conventional use of N in ἀνφι, ἐνκρίνω, etc.). *Lit.*: *MS*³ pp.93–94, notes 836–839; *DAA* pp.444–446.

a) *Decrees, large public documents:*

The earliest state decree, I² 1, shows the consistent avoidance of writing geminates characteristic of the earliest texts, viz.: ἐᾷΣαλαμῖνι for ἐᾷς Σαλαμῖνι; ἐὰμέ for ἐὰμ μέ. Unfortunately the date of this text cannot be fixed with precision, but it should probably be placed in the last decade of the sixth century (cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.27). The next large decree, I² 3/4, can be dated by the archon's name to 485/4 and has ἐσπερ[ά]ττε[v in I² 4.22–23; there are no actual examples on this stone of geminates written simplex, but Hiller restored ἐγβ[ά]λεν in I² 4.11. If this is right the text might belong to a transitional period. The last lines of I² 4 are very fragmentary, and the restoration τὸ π[ρύ]τανιν in line 24 is thus quite uncertain (the similar restoration in line 23 more so). But if the restoration is correct, it is best taken as a case of omitted final -v, not as a simplex writing of a geminate -π π- (τὸπ πρύτανιν), as there is so little evidence of development of geminate stops as a result of nasal assimilation or deletion (cf. 48.06, p.636 *infra*).

Other early documents write geminates as far as can be judged, cf. I² 5.5 (init. s. Va., cf. Sokolowski, *Lois*² p.6, no.4); *Hesperia* 36 (1967) pp.72ff., no.15 (= I² 7, I² 841)

(ca. 478–470); I² 16 (469–450, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.66, no.31); etc. The χουμαχ- of I² 10.40 (453/2, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.89, no.40) is probably just an omission or a mistake of the copyist: geminates are written out frequently elsewhere and χουνμαχ- occurs several times (cf. p.612 *infra*).

The earlier of two fragmentary texts, probably deme regulations, on a stele found at Marathon, published *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p.332, has τέταρας in line 13; this text may well have avoided writing geminates consistently and probably dates to about the same period as I² 1. A fragment of a *lex sacra* dated vaguely to the early fifth century, I² 840 (cf. SEG 25.7), has two examples of ρρ written simplex: Πυριχεῖα in line 6, ἀρὲν *ib.* 22. Geminates are written consistently in the early deme laws later than the Persian Wars, cf. I² 188 (= Sokolowski, *Lois*² p.18, no.10) (ante 460); I² 189 (ca. 460).

b) Dedications:

A few of these can be dated fairly precisely. Those containing demotics presumably date to the period after the reforms of Cleisthenes, i.e. cannot be earlier than the end of the sixth century. Four of these have geminates written simplex, viz.: I² 650, Κέτιος, ἄλο; I² 667, Παλενεύς; DAA p.234, no.201 (= I² 677), Φρε]αρίο; DAA p.71, no.68 (= I² 470), Φρ]εάρηιο[ς. Two have geminates written out: *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p.148, no.1, ηυποθερίδες (cf. I² 777 *infra*); I² 615, Κολλυτίδες. The ded., I² 609 (= Meiggs-Lewis p.33, no.18), probably dating to shortly after 490 B.C., has a sequence of letters]ελενον which is probably for h]ελλήνων, and is thus one of the latest examples of failure to write out geminates in this type of text which can be dated with any precision. Of the other dedications with geminates not written out some look quite early, viz.: I² 392 (558? cf. DAA p.357, no.328) (boustrophedon) ἐγ]ραμάτενε; I² 802 (ante 550, cf. IGAA p.118) (ded. on lost lead jumping weights from Eleusis) χαλόμενος; I² 433 (ca. 550, cf. LSAG p.68, note 1) (ded. on bronze) Νίκυλος. The remainder can be dated only on the basis of letter-forms, but usually appear to be of late sixth- or early fifth-century date: I² 493, I² 499, I² 536, I² 643, I² 674, I² 713, I² 820. The reading Καλαίσχρo is recorded for the lost ded., I² 829, which presumably is quite a bit later in date (it has four-bar sigma); it is either a vestige of the earlier practice or a careless omission. A remarkable case of survival of this practice is the ded., I² 772, with Σκελίo for Σκελλίδo; the stone has been refound, and there can be no doubt of the reading, cf. *Hesperia* 42 (1973) p.173, no.1. The text should probably be dated 420 or later. In addition to the single ν for λλ, note the late use of ς (cf. 43.012, p.514 *infra*).

The earliest securely dated example of a geminate written out is the Ἀπόλλωνος of the altar of Pisistratus, I² 761, whether dated ca. 521 (cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.19, no.11) or ca. 520–510 (LSAG p.78, no.37). Soon after it comes the híππος of the original copy of a ded. dated to ca. 506, I² 394 II (= LSAG p.78, no.43) (cf. Herodotus 5.77). In addition to the two post-Cleisthenic dedications mentioned *supra*, several others with geminates can be dated only on the basis of letter-forms to the end of the sixth

or the early fifth century B.C., viz.: I² 628; I² 692; I² 505; I² 500; DAA p.98, no.90; I² 777 (same man as in *Hesperia* 4 [1935] p.148, no.1 mentioned supra); I² 834; I² 821.

c) *Sepulchral monuments*:

None of these can be precisely dated on external grounds, but L.H. Jeffery has assigned approximate dates to most of them on the basis of stylistic considerations, letter-forms, etc. in her exhaustive study (= *IGAA*). The writing of geminates in such of these texts as can be confidently placed before the Persian Wars is rare. Probably from the last part of the sixth century are I² 1002 (= *IGAA* p.131, no.28) with Καλλονίδες, and *IGAA* p.136, no.43, Καλλιάδες. Unexpected is the avoidance of haplography in the earliest of these monuments, I² 997 (= *IGAA* p.129, no.22; *LSAG* p.76, no.8), tentatively assigned by Jeffery to the last quarter of the seventh century, although Κερραμὸς στέλε is written with two sigmas, in distinct contrast to examples of the sixth century such as *IGAA* p.139, no.48 (= *SEG* 10.452a) (ca. 540?) Φαίδιμοσοφός; *IGAA* p.136, no.42 (= *SEG* 3.56) (ca. 540?) ἄρχει τῶσε-μάτον; I² 971 (= *IGAA* p.132, no.33) (550–540, cf. *AM* 78 [1963] p.115) ἡὸστει-χεις, ἄλλα. Most of the remainder of these texts with geminates written simplex are probably earlier than 500 B.C., and Jeffery places most of them somewhat before that, viz.: I² 976 (= *IGAA* p.133, no.34) (ca. 560–550?) Τέτιχον, ἄλοθεν; I² 1021 (= *IGAA* p.143, no.56) (ca. 550–540?) ἡποστράτο; *IGAA* p.121, no.12 (ca. 525?) Μελίσσε; I² 1009 (= *IGAA* p.142, no.54) (ca. 525–500?) Μυρίνες; I² 985 (= *IGAA* p.121, no.13) (525–500?) Κάλαισχος; I² 1030 (text in Doric, = *LSAG* p.206, no.14) (ca. 500 or shortly thereafter?) Μεσάνιος.

For Μυρίνης on I² 1041, cf. 43.01352, p.522 (under Myrina) *infra*.

The writing of geminates begins in the dipinti in the last part of the sixth century B.C. Thus, of the vases of Epiktetos, cf. *ARV*² p.70ff., generally dated to the last decade of the sixth century, ἡίπαρχος on *ARV*² nos.13, 17, 21, 24, 25, 28, 29, 37, 64, and 72 is considerably more frequent than ἡίπαρχος, on *ARV*² nos.59, 60, 80; cf. Χαίριτος on *ARV*² no.61. Written geminates are the rule on ostraca of the 480s: Καλλίχσενος is about three times more frequent than Καλίχσενος; ἡιποκράτες is about five times more frequent than ἡποκράτες; Χοάνθυπος occurs on nine ostraca, Χοάνθυπος on two, etc. These statistics on unpublished ostraca from the Agora (1967) were made known to me by Prof. E. Vanderpool. In 1969 he found that there were 216 instances of the double consonant as against 121 cases of the simplex writing of geminates in the early fifth-century Agora ostraca as a group (cf. Vanderpool, *Ostracism* pp.14–15). The later ostraca of Menon (450–443) have a surprisingly large number of instances of Γαργέτιος, cf. *Kerameikos* 3, pp.62ff., nos.90–98, 113–4, 116, but Γαργέτιος is nonetheless more frequent, cf. *Kerameikos* 3, pp.62ff., nos.68, 77–88, 115, 118–120.

43.012 Geminate simplification

After the practice of writing out geminates is established in the first quarter of the fifth century it is unusual to find them simplified, except in certain cases where there seems to have been genuine hesitation (cf. 43.0131–43.0137, pp.517–527 *infra*).

Examples of simplification occur sporadically, however, at all periods and even in decrees, although the majority are on sep. monuments. Some examples may be just graphic mistakes, but certain tendencies may be isolated. There are probably enough instances of -λ- for -λλ- to justify the assumption that this geminate has been simplified by some elements of the population; -λλ- also occurs occasionally for -λ- (cf. examples in 43.022, no. 1, p. 532 *infra*). Likewise -ητιος is frequent for -ηττιος. The fairly large number of examples of -σ- for -σσ- consists almost entirely of ethnic adjectives, many of them having the suffix -ισσα; as -σσ- is normally absent from Attic, it is likely that there was a tendency to simplify it to -σ-.

The data for -ρρ- and -ρ- is quite complex and is discussed separately (cf. 43.01351–43.01352, pp. 519–523 *infra*).

Simplifications like σύμαχος involve also assimilation of σύν to μ- and internal composition; cf. also 48.06, p. 636 *infra*.

For Παρνήσιος/Παρνασός, cf. 43.01362, p. 525 *infra*.

For simplification of πφ, τθ, κχ, cf. 43.05, p. 541 *infra*.

Lit.: MS³ p. 96, note 844.

Examples:

1) -κ- for -κκ-:

ἐκλησίαν Π² 360.57 (325/4) decree.

ἐκλ[η]σίαν Π² 851.6 (ante 224/3) decree.

ἐκκλησία *Hesperia* 38 (1969) p. 425, no. 2, line 41 (220/19) decree, ἐκκλησιῶν *ib.* 7; has other crude copying errors (cf. *Hesperia* 38, p. 427).

ἐκκλησίαις *IG* II, no. 471, line 21 (= Π² 1006.21, which needs correction) (122/1) decree (L.). The spelling ἐκκλησία presumably due to simplification of the cluster -κκλ- to -κλ-, cf. 47.013, p. 574 *infra*.

[ἐκλ][ησ]ίαι is restored in Π² 243.11–12 (stoich.) (337/6) decree, which also has Καλιτέλης (cf. no. 2 *infra*) and Μυρινούσιος (cf. 43.01352 *infra*).

Cf. spellings like ἐΚοῖλης, ἐΚεραμέων, etc., cf. 48.012, nos. 51 ff., p. 578 *infra*.

2) -λ- for -λλ-:

Κάλαισχος Π² 829 (s. V a., probably after ca. 445) ded.

Κυλάντιοι Π² 198.21 (= *ATL* 2, no. 8) (447/6) tribute list (cf. 43.0132, p. 518 *infra*).

Σκελίο Π² 772 (cf. *Hesperia* 42 [1973] p. 173, no. 1) (ca. 420 or later) ded. (cf. p. 512 *supra*).

Κάλιππος Π² 11786 a (in text) (ca. 400) sep. mon.

Καλιστώ Π² 6996 (ca. 400) sep. mon. This text is crude; Σ is added incorrectly to every word in the text (L.).

Καλιστώ Π² 5971 (ante 350) sep. mon.

Καλισθένης Π² 2388.10 (ca. 350) cat.; has Ἀνάξιπος, perhaps [Καλ]ικλείδου *ib.* 1 (L.).

Καλίας Π² 2385.51 (ca. 350) cat.

Κεφαληγία Π² 236.b 12 (338/7) decree (cf. 43.0132, p. 517 *infra*).

Καλιτέλης Π² 243.8 (337/6) decree, has ἐκκλησίαν, Μυρινούσιος (cf. 43.01352 *infra*).

Καλίον Π² 2394.7 (340/39 aut 313/2) cat. (known only from Fourmont's copy).

Καλισ[θένης] *Hesperia* 2 (1933) p. 498, no. 14, line 11 (fin. s. IV a.) cat.

Ἀπωλώδωρος Π² 6347 (s. IV a.) sep. mon. (L.).

Τραλιανός II² 10456 (post 300) sep. mon.

Καλιστράτης II² 1534B.250 (247/6, cf. SEG 16.118) inv., has -π- for -ππ-, -τ- for -ττ-.

Καλίου II² 957.35 (157/6) decree, Καλλίου *ib.* 32 (L.).

Καλιστράτου II² 10818 (s. II a.) sep. mon.

Ἀπολωνιεύς II² 5688.3 (s. II a.) sep. mon.

Τραλιανός II² 10458 (s. II p.) sep. mon.

3) -μ- for -μμ-:

γραμματέα II² 41.15 (378/7) decree (L.).

σύμαχοι II² 42.5 (378/7) decree; but συμμαχ- 7 times *al.*; cf. 48.06, p. 636 *infra*.

ἐγγραμάτενε II² 96.4 (375/4) decree.

κατασκευομένον II² 1469.133 (post 320/19) inv., has -κοιμ- *ib.* 137.

ἐγγραμάτε[υεν II² 771.4 (fin. s. III a.?) decree, small fr. known only from Pittakes.

γραμματεύς *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p. 173, no. 105, line 5 (= II² 1059 [= II² 1758]) (ca. 40–30?) decree, ὑπογραμματεύς *ib.* 7 (L.).

Συμαχία II² 12674 (s. II/III p.) sep. mon.

γραμματεύς II² 1822.18 (init. s. III p.) pryt. cat.

γραμματέα in IG II, no. 329, line 48 (= II² 678.49, corrected) (256/5, cf. SEG 21.377) decree is doubtful: the text is known only from a corrupt copy of Pococke.

4) -π- for -ππ-:

Ἀνάξιππος II² 2388.11 (ca. 350) cat., has Καλι- (L.).

Σωσίπη II² 7639 (ca. 350) sep. mon.

Ποσειδίππος II² 1622.711 (ca. 342/1) inv.

Κάλλιππος II² 3105.47 (= Rheinmuth p. 51, no. 13) (329/8 aut 324/3) ded.

Εὐξενίπου II² 2679.1 (post 303/2) horos (mortgage).

ἱπεῖς *Deltion* 18 (1963) p. 103, no. 1, line 7 (= SEG 21.525) (282/1) decree (hippeis), has ἱππ- *passim al.*

Φειδίπη II² 1534B.203 (247/6, cf. SEG 16.118) inv., has -λ- for -λλ-, -τ- for -ττ-.

Πάπος II² 2235.46 (226/7–234/5 p.) eph. cat.

Cf. Ἀγονίπα (bis) *BCH* 96 (1972) p. 597, p. 596 (fig. 9) (= *Deltion* 25 [1970] *Chronika* p. 15) (date?) fr. of a tile. Cf. the graffiti: Φιλίπτης *Agora* 21, p. 37, no. F103 (fin. s. V a.); Φιλίτω, Φιλίπτης *Agora* 21, p. 10, no. B 17 (150–200 p.).

5) -σ- for -σσ-:

Ἀλικαρνάσιοι I² 194.39 (= *ATL* 2, no. 4, col. 1.31) (451/0) tribute list (cf. 43.01362, p. 524 *infra*).

Κυρβισῆς I² 198.22 (= *ATL* 2, no. 8) (447/6) tribute list (cf. 43.01362, p. 525 *infra*).

Ἀλικαρνασίς II² 8041 (365–340) sep. mon.

ΔΣΩ = δισώ II² 7195.4 (post 350) sep. mon., has crude copying errors.

λεύσων II² 7863.7 (paulo ante 317/6) sep. mon.

Λυκαόνισα II² 9219 a (in add.) (paulo post 300) sep. mon.

βασιλίσσης II² 776.9 (255/4) decree (L.).

Μήδισα II² 9354 (s. III/II a.) sep. mon.

Ἀλικαρνασεύς II² 8042 (s. III/II a.) sep. mon. (L.).

Μασαλιώτης II² 9296 a (in add.) (ca. s. II a.) sep. mon.

Λαοδίκισα II² 9166 (s. I a.) sep. mon.

Με]θάνισα II² 9329 (s. I a.) sep. mon.

Ἀντιόχια Π² 8150 (s. II p.) sep. mon. (L.).
 Ἀντιόχια Π² 8232 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon. (L.).
 Ἀντιόχια Π² 8239 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.
 θάλ]αα Π² 13222.4–5 (s. III p.) sep. mon. (L.).
 Μολοσίς Π² 9972 (date?) sep. mon.; known only from an early copy.

6) -τ- for -ττ-:

Γαργήτιος Π² 5932.4 (init. s. IV a.) sep. mon., alongside Γα[ργή]τιος *ib.* 7.
 Σφήτιος Π² 7515.2 (ante 350) sep. mon. (crude) (L.).
 Σφήτιος Π² 7513 (ca. 350) sep. mon.
 Θράϊτα Π² 12808 (ca. 350) sep. mon.
 τέταρες Π² 1673.21 (333/2? cf. AE 1971 p. 112) inv.
 πρ]άτει *Hesperia* 13 (1944) p. 231, no. 5, line 7 (paulo ante 321/0) decree.
 Κίτος *Deltion* 23 (1968) p. 6, no. 2, line 5 (= SEG 24.223) (fin. s. IV a.) ded.
 πρ]άτων Π² 655.7 (285/4) decree (L.).
 Θράϊτα Π² 8906.2 (post 300) sep. mon.
 Θράϊτα Π² 8925.2 (post 300) sep. mon.
 τέταρες Π² 1534B.193 (247/6, cf. SEG 16.118) inv., has -λ- for -λλ-, -π- for -ππ-.
 Σφητίου Π² 1034 d (not part of Π² 1034 abc).14, 20 (s. Ia.?) cat. fr. (L.).
 Γαργητίων (bis) Π² 5929 (s. II p.) sep. mon. (L.).
 ἐξευβαλητίων Π² 7498 (ante 150 p.) sep. mon. (L.).
 Σφήτιον Π² 3680.11 (init. s. III p.) ded.
 Σφήτιος Π² 7509.2 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.
 Μολοτός Π² 12170 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.

The Μελίτα of the sep. mon., Π² 12066 (s. IV a.), could be for Μελίτᾱ, cf. the common Μελίτη at Athens, or for Μέλιττα.

The spelling ἔνατον (scanned as a dactyl) in the sep. mon., Π² 12794.5 (= GVI 1, p. 552, no. 1836) (fin. s. II p.), might be an intended ἔνατον, if it is not for εἵνατον, or a *contra metrum* spelling (cf. 7.0111 c, p. 139 supra; 25.00, p. 386 supra).

The failure to write geminates correctly is characteristic of the careless orthography of the defixiones, cf. Φυλίδα IG III.3, no. 22.7; πάλακα no. 68.b 14; Σιμίαν no. 86.2; Σύρυλα no. 8.4; Ποσειδίπους no. 30.5; Λύσιπον no. 111.1; Ν[ό]μπος no. 117.2; etc. There are many examples of γλῶτα: IG III.3, no. 52.2; no. 56.4; no. 88.a 4; etc. There is no precise indication of date for any of these defixiones within the limits ca. 400–ca. 200 B.C.; γλῶτα occurs thrice in another, *Kerameikos* 3, p. 91, no. 3, said to date from about 450 B.C. (but cf. Introduction, p. 8 supra). Cf. γλῶτα (three times) in another, *Kerameikos* 3, p. 97, no. 9 (ca. 350). False geminates also occur occasionally in these texts, e.g.: χθόννιος IG III.3, no. 101 (init. s. IV a.); ἀνύσσαί no. 94.14 (ca. 400?); Ἀριστόννυμος no. 102. b 4–5 (400–350); ὄλλου[ς] no. 77. b 5 (s. IV/III a.); –ΕΙΤΤΙΣ– (= εἴ τις?) no. 158.11 (init. s. IV a.).

Simplex writing of geminates is also not infrequent on the lead pinakia identifying horses of the hippeis, although the normal spellings are a great deal more frequent: cf. Καλαΐδου AM 85 (1970) p. 217, no. 249; Καλενίκου p. 217, no. 250; Καλίου p. 218, no. 261; Μενίπου p. 223, no. 368; πυρός p. 226, nos. 412, 417, 419; p. 228, no. 446; p. 229, no. 465; p. 231, nos. 502, 499; p. 234, nos. 552 a, 553. All the foregoing are of the third century B.C. Cf. also πυρός on two of these pinakia of the fourth century B.C., *Hesperia* 46 (1977) p. 109, nos. 10, 11. False geminates are rare on these texts, e.g. Σθεννίδου AM 85 (1970) p. 229, no. 467 (s. III a.).

Corrections: Π² 2237.105 (= IG III, no. 1193): Ἀττικώς (L.); Π² 2167.15 (= IG III, no. 1248):

Κάλλιπτος; Π² 10063 (= IG II, no. 3262): Καλλιππίδης; Π² 5986 (= IG II, no. 1986): Φιλίνος (not Φίλιππος) (cf. Conze, Textband 3, p. 350, no. 1651); Π² 6543 (= IG II, no. 2221): Κορυδαλλεύς.

43.013 Fluctuation in the writing of geminates

In certain lexical items there seems to have been genuine hesitation between a simplex and a geminate consonant.

Lit.: MS³ p. 95, notes 840–843; Lademann pp. 120–121.

43.0131 κ~κκ

The large building inv., Π² 1672 (329/8), has σάκος three times, in lines 73, 74, 108, and σάκκος once in line 198; σακχυρά(ντης) occurs in Π² 2403.5 (part of Π² 10, cf. SEG 21.218; 24.75) (401/400) decree. The fluctuation is paralleled by Aristophanes' use of the word: σακκ- in *Ach.* 745, *Lys.* 1209, σακ- in *Ach.* 822, *Ecc.* 502 (1907 Oxford ed. of Hall and Geldart).

The -κκ- seen in anthroponyms like Μίκκος, Μικκίων, etc. is an expressive geminate typical of hypocoristic forms, cf. 42.0212, p. 507, p. 510 *supra*.

For earlier Λακιάδης, both Λακκιάδης (influence of λάκκος?) and Λακιάδης are found in Roman times:

Λακκιάδης: cf. e.g. Π² 3112.15, 16 (75/6–87/8p.) ded.; Π² 1733.3 (init. s. Ip.) cat.; Π² 2023.3 (ca. 112p.) eph. cat.; Π² 2776.31 (aet. Trajani? cf. *Hesperia* 41 [1972] p. 476) financial records; Π² 2068.88 (155/6p.) eph. cat. (L.).

Λακιάδης: cf. e.g. Π² 6634 (s. Ip.), Π² 6627 (s. Ip.), Π² 6633 (aet. Rom.), Π² 6618 (aet. Rom.) sep. monuments; etc.

In Attic texts -κ- is never geminate in πελεκῆσαι: Π² 1666.A 10, A 14, A 33, A 47, A 96 (356/5–353/2) inv.; cf. also ἀτελέκιστα: Π² 1678 b.A 7 (ca. 350, cf. SEG 13.49) inv.

For the epic πελεκκῶ (← πελεκῶ), πέλεκκον, cf. Schwyzler, GG 1, p. 314; πέλεκκον, Schwyzler, GG 1, p. 472.

43.0132 λ~λλ

The lambda is geminate in Κεφαλληνία and its ethnic Κεφαλλήν, cf. Π² 43.B 11 (378/7), Π² 96.6–7, 8 (375/4), Π² 98.22 (375/4), all decrees. Κεφαλληνία in a later decree, Π² 236.b 12 (338/7) (L.). But only -λλ- in the Attic deme Κεφαλή and in the demotics Κεφαλήθεν and Κεφαλεύς, e.g. I² 220.4 (= ATL 2, no. 34.4) (421/0) tribute list; I² 302.28 (418–414, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 229, no. 77) inv. (L.); I² 370.7 (421/0–416/5) inv.; Π² 1407.3 (384/3) inv.; Π² 1436.2 (349/8) inv.; etc.

Lambda is geminate in Κόλλυτος and the demotic Κόλλυτεύς: I² 374.29, 180 (408–406) inv. (L.); I² 373.65, 255 (409/8) inv.; I² 264.58 (422/1) inv.; Π² 1747.40 (343/2?) pryt. cat.; Π² 1749.38 (341/0) pryt. cat. (L.); Π² 2024.19 (112/3 p.) eph. cat.; the sep. monuments Π² 6498–Π² 6510; etc.

The anthroponym Δερκύλος has only one -λ-: II² 1187.1, 7, 13 (ca. 350) decree (deme); II² 1623.179 (333/2) inv.

For Κρατύλ{λ}ος, cf. 43.022, no. 1, p. 533 *infra*.

A single example of -λ- in Κυλάντιοι probably belongs with other simplified geminates in 43.012 *supra*; Κυλλαν- occurs three times (examples in 46.035, p. 566 *infra*).

There is uncertainty about the spelling of ὁ ναῦλος versus τὸ ναῦλλον in codd. ναῦλος occurs in II² 1672.126, 159 (329/8) inv.; but ναῦλλον in II² 1128.13 (ante 350) decree (of Cean cities) is ambiguous (masc. or neuter acc.?).; so also ναῦλλο[in the very fragmentary II² 1674.6 (post 350) inv. (?) fr.

43.0133 v ~ vv

Ny is geminate in:

γεννητής: II² 1229.5 (post 350) decree (genos).

Κικκυννεύς: II² 1654.32 (post 395/4) inv.; II² 3834.3 (post 350) ded.; II² 766.23 (246/5) decree; II² 1706.17 (fin. s. IIIa.) cat.; II² 901.9 (ca. 185/4) decree; II² 2983.12 (111/0) ded.; II² 4468.2 (s. Ia.) ded.; II² 1774.36 (167/8 p.) pryt. cat. (L.); the sep. monuments, II² 6457–II² 6469; etc.

Πρῶννος: II² 43.B 12 (378/7) decree.

Ny is invariably geminate in anthroponyms in Μυνν-, e.g.:

Μυννίων: I² 374.171 (408–406) inv. (L.); II² 1654.7 (post 395/4) inv.; II² 2315.30 (post 180) cat.; etc.

Μυννίων: II² 12255 (init. s. IVa.), II² 5273 (ca. 360–350), II² 12192 (ca. 350) sep. monuments; II² 1533.7 (post 338/7) inv.

Μυννώ: II² 12193 (ca. 420), II² 12194 (ca. 400), II² 6740 (ca. 350) sep. monuments; II² 1534.B.245 (247/6, cf. SEG 16.118) inv.

Μυννίσκος: II² 2318.119 (fin. s. IVa.) cat.; II² 665.6 (266/5, cf. SEG 15.103) decree; II² 1299.86 (post 236/5) decree (troops and Eleusinians); etc.

Μυννάκη: II² 12593 (fin. s. Va.) sep. mon.

Μυννίνη: II² 1534.B.214 (247/6, cf. SEG 16.118) inv.

Μύννιχος: II² 6004.1 (390–365) sep. mon.

The N stands for -vv- in Μύνιχος on a bf. vase, cf. ABV p. 331, Priam painter no. 5 (= CVA, England 9, plates 8.5–6; 7.9; 9.3 and text pp. 99–100) (fin. s. VIa.).

Ny is invariably geminate in Ἀλωπεκοννήσιος, Πελοποννήσιος, Προκοννήσιος, where it derives from *sn (Πελοποσ-νησος, etc.):

Ἀλωπεκοννήσιος: Cf. examples in 11.015, p. 217 *supra*.

Πελοποννήσ-: I² 50.12 (440/39) decree; I² 324.18 (426/5–423/2) inv.; I² 101.4 (412/1) decree; I² 301.4, 9 (409/8, cf. SEG 23.35) inv.; II² 112.38 (362/1) decree; II² 9112 (ca. 350) sep. mon.; AM 66 (1941) p. 221, no. 3, line 10 (post 304/3) decree (ethelontai).

Προκοννήσιος: I² 199.24 (= ATL 2, no. 9, col. 5.17) (446/5); I² 201.21 (= ATL 2, no. 11, col. 2.3) (444/3); I² 202.22 (= ATL 2, no. 12) (443/2); I² 213.28 (= ATL 2, no. 23, col. 2.35)

(432/1); *Hesperia* 41 (1972) p. 419, line 14 (418/7) all tribute lists; sep. monuments: Π² 10114/5 (ca. 400), Π² 10111 (ante 350), Π² 10112 (s. IV a.), Π² 10113 (s. IV a.) (Προκόνησος).

But in Χερρόνησος always -v-, cf. examples in 43.03, pp. 536–537 *infra*.

43.0134 π ~ ππ

Πι is always geminate in στυππεῖον: Π² 1631.336 (323/2) *inv.*, where the printed text of *IG* Π² is wrong (L.); Π² 1673.41 (333/2? cf. *AE* 1971 p. 112); and στύππινοσ: Π² 1414.26 (post 385/4), Π² 1641.50 (ca. 350), Π² 1517.127, 178 (353/2–341/0), Π² 1518.66 (post 341/0), Π² 1523.12, 17, 27 (350–336), Π² 1524.184, 185, 190, 202, 222 (post 334/3), Π² 1525.15 (337/6), Π² 1527.34, 46 (post 327/6), Π² 1529.15 (post 350) all inventories.

43.01351 ρ ~ ρρ (after prefixes, in composition)

When words with initial ρ- are compounded with prefixes ending in vowels there is considerable variation between -ρ- and -ρρ-, but in several cases there is a pronounced preference for -ρρ-. The tendency for geminated -ρρ- after vowels may be seen even in external combination in examples like τὸ ρρε[τ]ῷ in a decree, I² 81.15 (421/0), with τὸν ῥετόν in line 5 (L.); ἀρτέματα ρρυμοῖς in an *inv.*, I² 314.40 (407/6) (L.). But elsewhere in the latter text and in its companion of the year before there occurs the same spelling ρρυμός, but at the beginning of a sentence; these spellings may be late cases of the original form in ρρ- (from sr-); if not, they must be due to some sort of extension of ρρ- from cases like ἀρτέματα ρρυμοῖς or be due to the preservation of ρρ- in παράρρυμα, cf. I² 313.21, 22, 28; I² 314.27, 28. ῥρι[στα καὶ ρρᾶ]στα has been restored in a decree (stoich.), cf. *AJP* 88 (1967) pp. 29ff., line 28 (= new fr. of *ATL* 2, no. D 8; I² 65) (426/5). Cf. Lejeune, *Phonétique* p. 303.

After augment and reduplication the gemination of ρ is normal; exceptions are rare (cf. *Morphology*).

Examples (all texts are inventories unless otherwise noted):

1) ῥαίνομαι:

ἀπορραίνονται: I² 244.138 (418/7); I² 247.196 (415/4).

ἀπορραίνονται: I² 235.39 (431/0); I² 236.49 (430/29); I² 241.104 (425/4); I² 242.115 (424/3); I² 243.125 (423/2).

ἀπορραντήριον: I² 256.5 (434/3); I² 269.121 (417/6); I² 270.136 (416/5); Π² 1424 a (in add.). 361 (369/8).

ἀπορραντήριον: I² 257.12 (433/2); I² 267.93 (419/8); I² 274.171 (409/8, cf. *SEG* 10.198); Π² 1424.10 (374/3, cf. *SEG* 21.549); Π² 1425.306 (368/7); Π² 1429.40 (ca. 367/6).

περραντήριον (-ρρ- is avoided, at least in Attic texts): Π² 1640.26 (354/3) (L.); Π² 1641.38 (ca. 350); Π² 1500.26 (340–330); Π² 1544.66 (333/2).

2) ἀρ(ρ)άβδωτος: I² 372.55, 66 (409/8) ἀράβδωτ-; *ib.* 65: ἀρράβδωτ-. For ἑρραβδωμένους Π² 1685.B.6 (init. s. III a.) *inv.*, cf. *Morphology*.

3) ῥάπτ- (-ρρ- is not attested, except in verb forms like ἔρραμένος, cf. Π² 1517.133, cf. Morphology):

ὑπέραπται: Π² 1542.22 (ca. 350).

νευρορά(φος): *Hesperia* 28 (1959) pp. 208 ff., line 456 (= Π² 1558.14) (ca. 330–320) inv. (L.).

περιρ[ά]πτρια: Π² 2361.12 (init. s. III p.) cat.

4) διαρρήδην: Π² 1013.32 (fin. s. II a.) decree.

5) -ρητος, -ρηθείς:

ἄρρητος: *Hesperia* 9 (1940) p. 97, no. 18 (= SEG 10.321) (ca. 455) ded. (in verse): ἀ]ρρήτο; *Annuario* n.s. 21/22 (1959/60) p. 421 (= SEG 22.156) (ca. 176 p.) ded. (in verse); Π² 3752.7 (s. II p.) ded. (in verse); Π² 3639.6 (ca. 170 p.) ded. (in verse).

ἀπόρρητος: I² 34.2 (ante 446/5) decree; *Hesperia* 17 (1948) p. 25, no. 12, line 60 (95/4) decree; *Kerameikos* 3, p. 4, no. 5, line 30 (ca. 100) decree; Π² 1110.8 (180–192 p.) letter of Commodus.

Εὐθύρητος: I² 933.4 (ante 446) cas. list.

Ἀντίρητος: Π² 1742.103 (370/69?) pryt. cat.

ἀναρηθέντες: Π² 1468.12 (321/0).

παρησίας: *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p. 525, no. 39, line 20 (226/5) decree. Here, of course, -ρρ- is expected and normal (← πᾶς + ῥήσ-) and -ρ- is due to geminate simplification.

A similar simplification may possibly be posited for Παράσιος, although all the certain examples of this anthroponym date from Roman times; Παρ[ρ]ασ[ί]ας has been tentatively restored in a fifth-century cas. list, cf. I² 928.56 (465/4).

Παρράσιος: Π² 2223.33 (ca. 218/9 p.) (L.); Π² 2225.9 (ca. 218/9 p.) both eph. catalogs; cf. Παρρησία, Π² 8263 (aet. Rom., cf. note in add. to IG II²) sep. mon.

Παράσιος: Π² 1996.60 (84/5–92/3 p.) (L.), Π² 2052.82 (145/6 p.) eph. catalogs; Π² 4949.1 (ca. 200 p.) ded.; Π² 2221.75 (217/8 p. aut paulo post) eph. cat. (L.).

Πολύρητος: Π² 1558.16 (= *Hesperia* 28 [1959] pp. 208 ff., line 458) (ca. 330–320) inv. (L.).

6) ῥήγνυμι:

ἄρρηκτος: Π² 11952.7 (s. V p.) sep. mon. (L.).

ἀπορρ[ή]ξας: I² 1085.3 (446, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 137, no. 51) sep. mon. (set up by three Athenian tribes for Pythion of Megara) (L.).

καταρρακτός: Π² 2500.55 (fin. s. IV a.) loc. (deme): κα]ταρρακτοί.

καταρακτός: Π² 463.76 (307/6) decree: κα[τ]αρα[κτ]ούς.

7) Πολύρην:

In Attic inscriptions only -ρ- is attested:

Πολύ[ρ]ηνα: Π² 844.16–17 (181/0, cf. TAPA 95 [1964] p. 239) decree (L.).

Πολυρήνιος: Π² 10105 (ca. 200), Π² 10103 (s. II a.), Π² 10104 (s. I a.) all sep. monuments.

For the existence of -ρρ-, cf. Steph. Byz. s. v. Πολύρην.

8) διαρροάς: I² 81.15 (421/0) decree.

9) -ροπος:

ἀντίρροπα: I² 945.12 (432/1) cas. list.

ἰσ]ορρόπου: Π² 1013.34 (fin. s. II a.) decree.

10) ῥυθμ-:

διαρρυ[θμίσαντι: I² 373.70 (409/8).

πανεύρυσθος: I² 2221.45 (217/8 p. aut paulo post) eph. cat. (L.).

11) παράρ(ρ)υμα:

Although many of the naval inventories contain many examples of the word, each is consistent in its spelling of it. The only exception is I² 1631 (323/2) with παραρρύματα in lines 263, 275, but παραρρύματα in 262–263; probably the latter is an accidental omission caused by moving to the new line.

παράρυμα: I² 1610.18 (ca. 370); I² 1611.244, 249, 301, 302, 310, 338, 339, 388, 389, 396, 405, 407, 412, 413, 425 (357/6); I² 1612.73, 76, 270, 299, 309, 321, 339, 350, 355, 377 (356/5); I² 1471.65 (post 318/7); I² 1627.91, 93, 96, 98–99, 101, 103, 161, 163, 181, 346, 348, 445, 446, 467, 468 (330/29); I² 1628.267, 270, 273, 278, 283, 328, 330, 584, 585, 603, 604 (326/5); I² 1629.389, 391, 394, 396, 399, 401, 404, 406, 451, 452–453, 1079, 1080 (325/4); I² 1631.262–263 (323/2); I² 1479.55 (post 312/1).

παράρρυμα: I² 1609.48, 64, 85, 86, 113, 121 (ante 370/69); I² 1613.177, 178, 222, 235 (353/2); I² 1620.29, 30 + I² 1621.11, 12, 104, 105 (348/7? cf. SEG 24.160); I² 1668.86 (347/6); I² 1622.153, 161, 162, 180, 194, 195, 208, 209, 223, 224, 242, 256, 259, 268, 290, 291, 307, 308, 325, 326, 337, 340, 428, 429, 465, 467, 641, 642, 716, 717 (ca. 342/1); I² 1624.115, 116 (336–330); I² 1625.7, 24 (ca. 330); I² 1631.263, 275 (323/2).

43.01352 ρ~ρρ (not after prefixes)

In the Classical and earlier Hellenistic Periods the rho is always geminate in the name of the deme Μυρρινοῦττα, and in Μυρρινοῦσιος, the demotic of the other deme Μυρρινοῦς. A single exception, analogous to examples of simplification of geminates in 43.012 supra, occurs in a decree of 337/6, I² 243.7: Μυρριν[οῦσιος, has also Καλιτέλης (cf. 43.012, no. 2, p. 514 supra). The next examples of -ρ- in these words are from the second century, e.g.: I² 2333.11 (ca. 180) cat.; I² 3478.2, 3, 4 (post 150) ded.; I² 6912 (s. II/1a.) sep. mon.

In the Roman Period the spelling with -ρρ- is less frequent than that with -ρ-, a clear indication that -ρρ- in these words has been simplified to -ρ-.

Examples from the Roman Period:

-ρ- (Μυρρινοῦσιος, Μυρρινοῦττης, Μυρρινούνης): I² 1963.28 (13/2), I² 1967.14 (36/7p.), I² 1996.41, 128 (84/5–92/3p.) (L.) eph. catalogs; I² 6899 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.; I² 2020.17 (ca. 110p. aut paulo post), I² 2028.14 (110–120p.) eph. catalogs; I² 1765.34 (138/9p.) pryt. cat.; I² 2054.11 (145/6p.), I² 2052.37, 38 (145/6p.) (L.), I² 2090.51 (165/6p.) eph. catalogs; I² 6923 (s. IIp.) (L.), I² 6919 (s. IIp.), I² 6891, I² 6917, I² 6925 (all act. Rom.), I² 6903 (date?), I² 6914 (date?) sep. monuments; etc.

-ρρ- (Μυρρινοῦσιος, etc.): I² 2338.24 (27/6–18/7) cat.; I² 1722.10 (post 9/8) cat.; I² 2086.64 (163/4p.) eph. cat.; I² 6918 (s. IIp.) sep. mon.; I² 2087.50 (163/4p.) eph. cat.; I² 6885, I² 6904, I² 6915, I² 6916, I² 6922, I² 6924 (all act. Rom.) sep. monuments; etc.

-ρρ- is virtually universal in Attic texts in the woman's name Μυρρίνη and in the name of the plant μυρρίνη. In the archaic sep. mon., I² 1009 (= IGAA p. 142, no. 54)

(ca. 525–500?), the spelling Μυρῖνε represents Μυρρῖνε (cf. similar spellings in 43.011, p.513 *supra*). The name already occurs twice (once dipinto, once graffito) spelled Μυρρῖνες on a painted terracotta ball dated ca. 500 B.C., cf. GRBS 8 (1967) pp.255–266, plates 1–2.

Μυρρῖνη: II² 1529.19 (post 350), II² 1531.8 (post 350), II² 1523.25 (350–336); II² 1534 A.78 (291/0, cf. SEG 16.118) all inventories; AE 1948–49, pp.146 ff. (= SEG 12.80) (fin. s. V a. aut init. s. IV a.), II² 12200 (init. s. IV a.), II² 6335 (400–350), II² 7071 (ca. 350), II² 5492 (ca. 350), II² 12196–II² 12203 (s. V a.–aet. Rom.), etc. all sep. monuments; etc.

μυρρῖνη: I² 313.150 (408/7) inv.; II² 1231.8 (fin. s. IV a.), II² 1235.14 (ca. 248/7) decrees (genos); II² 949.18 (165/4) decree; etc.

Exceptional are the sep. monuments, II² 12204 (ca. 360), II² 12204 a (in add. nova) (ca. 300) with: [M]υρῖν[η]. The spelling with -ρ- is also found in the Roman Period, where it may indicate a simplification of -ρρ- → -ρ- comparable to that seen in Μυρρινούσιος, etc., cf. II² 6154 (s. II p.) sep. mon. Cf. also Παράσιος, see p.520 *supra*.

But -ρ- is universal in Μύρινα, the name of two towns, one on Lemnos, the other near Kyme in Asia Minor, and the ethnic Μυριναῖος. Numerous examples in the tribute lists never have a geminate -ρρ-:

Lemnian Myrina: I² 198.100 (= ATL 2, no.8, col.2.111) (447/6); I² 200.25 (= ATL 2, no.10, col.4.30) (445/4); I² 201.43 (= ATL 2, no.11, col.5.31) (444/3); I² 202.32 (= ATL 2, no.12) (443/2); I² 204.82 (= ATL 2, no.14, col.2.100) (441/0); I² 231.17 (= ATL 2, no.26, col.1.18) (429/8); I² 220.10 (= ATL 2, no.34, col.2.9) (421/0).

Myrina near Kyme: I² 193.7 (= ATL 2, no.3) (452/1); I² 195.55 (= ATL 2, no.5, col.2.28) (450/49); I² 198.11 (= ATL 2, no.8) (447/6); I² 199.14 (= ATL 2, no.9) (446/5); I² 201.29 (= ATL 2, no.11, col.2.28) (444/3); I² 203.15 (= ATL 2, no.13) (442/1); I² 205.18–19 (= ATL 2, no.15, col.1.18–19) (440/39); I² 212.45 (= ATL 2, no.22, col.1.33) (433/2); I² 213.34 (= ATL 2, no.23, col.1.41) (432/1); I² 218.44 (= ATL 2, no.25, col.1.52) (430/29); I² 214.9 (= ATL 2, no.27, col.3.17) (428/7).

Note also: I² 947.1 (date unknown, perhaps ca. 431?) cas. list of Lemnian cleruchs; I² 1041 (s. V a., has four-bar sigma) sep. mon.; II² 1224 ab.6, 15, 21, 24 (ca. 166) decree (Athenian cleruchs); II² 9975 (ca. 150), II² 9974 (aet. Rom.) both sep. monuments; etc.

In Μύρων and Μυρωνίδης the rho is always written simplex: e.g.: Μύρων: I² 400 Ia.3 (paulo post 457), also *ib.* Ib.3 (copy of Roman times), ded.; I² 537 (late fifth century? has four-bar sigma) ded.; II² 3829.1, 2, 4 (ca. 350) ded.; II² 2336.117 (102/1–97/6) cat.; etc. Μυρωνίδης: II² 1747.31 (343/2?) pryt. cat.; II² 1622.578 (ca. 342/1) inv.; II² 6392 (ante 350) sep. mon.; etc.

The anthroponym Ἀριφρων has -ρ-, not -ρρ-, cf. II² 3092.6 (init. s. IV a.) ded.; II² 1782.20 (177/8 p.) pryt. cat.; etc. Cf. also Ἀριφράδης, II² 5732 (365–340) sep. mon. Two ostraca with Ἀρριφρονος belong with examples of false gemination like Ἀρριστάννυμος, cf. 43.022, p.533 *infra*. But always -ρρ- in Ἀρρενήδης (frequent, examples in 23.011 o, p.373 *supra*); and Ἀρρίλεως, e.g. II² 1747.11 (343/2?) pryt. cat., an Athenian.

In the adjective βόρε(ι)ος the -ρ- is simplex: I² 373.29 (409/8) inv.; II² 463.120 (307/6) decree. But in the noun only -ρρ- is found, viz.: βορρῶθεν: II² 1241.9 (300/299) decree (phratry); II² 1579.11 (init. s. IV a.), II² 1582.17, 47, etc. (342/1) inventories; and many other examples in these poletai lists dealing with mines, cf. *Hesperia* 19 (1950) pp.189 ff. Spellings like βορρ- in

Π² 1582.21 are due to abbreviatory shortening. The BOPΑΣ on two rf. vases, ARV² p. 496, Oreithia painter nos. 1 (= FR 2, Textband p. 186, fig. 66, FR plate 94) and 2 (= CVA, Germany 12, plate 205.1–2), belongs with other early dipinti in which geminate consonants are written simplex, cf. 43.011, p. 513 supra.

The rho is always geminate in the Attic demotic Κυθήριος, e.g.: Π² 1138.29 (390–380, cf. SEG 16.105) decree (tribe); Π² 1929.20 (init. s. IV a.) cat.; Π² 2828.2 (ca. 350) ded.; Π² 1622.628 (ca. 342/1) inv.; Π² 1627.205 (330/29) inv.; Π² 1629.553 (325/4) inv.; *Hesperia* 35 (1966) pp. 205 ff., line 58 (= Π² 2413.3) (304/3) cat.; Π² 901.2 (ca. 185/4) decree; Π² 2447.5 (s. II a.) cat.; Π² 2336.191 (102/1–97/6) cat.; Π² 1008.112 (118/7) decree; etc. But a single -ρ- in Κυθήριος, ethnic of the island of Κύθηρα: Π² 2496.8 (post 350) loc., and in the sep. monuments, Π² 9110 (init. s. IV a.), Π² 9112 (ca. 350), Π² 9113 (s. II a.), Π² 9111 (date?). Cf. the anthroponym Κύθηρος, Π² 2086.102 (163/4 p.) eph. cat. Likewise only -ρ- in the ship's name derived from that of the island, Κυθηρία: Π² 1611.126, 139, 169 (357/6); Π² 1627.206, 225 (330/29); Π² 1631.623 (323/2) inventories. But in the Roman Period -ρ- is found in the demotic, cf. Π² 2086.67 (163/4 p.) eph. cat.

So also -ρρ- in Φρεάριος, for which Φρεάριος is a very rare variant, cf. Π² 787.9 (236/5) decree (L.); Π² 2199.53 (ca. 200 p.) eph. cat.; Δήμητρ[ος] Φρεαρό[υ] Π² 5155 (aet. Rom.) label on a theatre-seat, perhaps Φρεαροφου? In Π² 7723 (= IG II, no. 2652) read Φρεάριος (L.).

Rho is geminate in Περαμβός: Π² 236.b 11 (338/7) decree (L.); Π² 1132.66 (130/29) decree of Delphic amphiktyons (this part in Attic); Π² 10074 (date?) sep. mon.

One -ρ- in πυρήν, cf. Π² 1013.21 (fin. s. II a.) decree: πυρήνας (this word is said to be Attic, cf. Pollux 6.45).

Fairly frequent cases of πυρός for πυρρός (but only a small portion of the total number of cases of the word) on lead pinakia of the third and fourth centuries B.C. identifying horses of the hippeis cannot be separated from other cases of simplex writing of geminates on those texts, e.g. Καλίου, Μενίτου, etc. (cf. p. 516 supra).

43.01361 σ ~ σσ (Attic toponyms)

Sigma is never geminate in the Attic toponyms:

Βῆσαι, demotic Βησαιεύς: cf. I² 302.10 (418–414, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 229, no. 77) inv. (L.); Π² 1585.10 (post 350) inv.; Π² 1750.18 (334/3) pryt. cat.; Π² 2452.40 (ca. 125/4) cat.; Π² 2033.34 (ca. 150 p.) (now part of Π² 2064 and joined to it) (L.) eph. cat.; etc.

Ἰλιός: I² 324.89 (426/5–423/2) inv.; probably also I² 310.206 (429/8) inv.: Ἰλιό[δ]; *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p. 179, no. 3.4 (s. III p.) eph. cat.: Εἰλεισοῦ (cf. 9.024, no. 42, p. 201 supra) here a masc. anthroponym.

Κηφισός, cf. the demotic Κηφισιεύς: I² 313.3 (408/7), I² 372.2 (409/8), Π² 1615.26 (post 358/7) all inventories; etc.; Ἐπικηφίσιος: Π² 6067 (s. IV a.) sep. mon.; Π² 783.2 (ca. 244) decree; cf. names like Κηφισόδωρος, Κηφισογένης, etc., cf. PA nos. 8285–8419.

The following non-Attic toponyms and ethnics also normally have only -σ-:

Ἀρκάσεια: I² 202.22 (= ATL 2, no. 12) (443/2), I² 204.50 (= ATL 2, no. 14, col. 1.67) (441/0), I² 213.39 (= ATL 2, no. 23, col. 1.46) (432/1), I² 214.3 (= ATL 2, no. 27) (428/7) all tribute lists. But one such text has presumably a false gemination: I² 205.74 (= ATL 2, no. 15, col. 1.77) (440/39).

Ἀρνασός: I² 22.70 (450/49, cf. SEG 23.7) decree (L.).

Ἐρέσιος: I² 100.5 (ca. 415) decree fr.; II² 43.B21 (378/7) decree; II² 107.29 (368/7) decree; II² 8491 (fin. s. V a./init. s. IV a.), II² 8490 (s. II a.) sep. monuments.

Ἰασεύς: I² 195.33 (= ATL 2, no. 5, col. 5.21) (450/49), I² 198.101 (= ATL 2, no. 8, col. 1.112) (447/6), I² 200.17 (= ATL 2, no. 10, col. 5.22) (445/4), I² 203.29 (= ATL 2, no. 13) (442/1), I² 212.64 (= ATL 2, no. 22, col. 1.69) (433/2), I² 222.4 (= ATL 2, no. 28.4) (427/6 aut 426/5), I² 220.21 (= ATL 2, no. 34, col. 1.91) (421/0), ATL 2, no. 40, col. 1.12 (415/4) all tribute lists; II² 1956.145 (fin. s. IV a.) cat.; II² 8931 (post 350) sep. mon.

Κορήσιος: I² 194.29 (= ATL 2, no. 4, col. 1.21) (451/0) tribute list; II² 43.B26 (378/7) decree; II² 1128.12 (ante 350) decree (of Cean cities).

Κνώσος (name), Κνωσός, Κνώσιος: II² 1956.105 (fin. s. IV a.) cat.; II² 844.15 (181/0, cf. TAPA 95 [1964] p.239) decree; II² 9044 (400–350), II² 9045 (s. II p.) sep. monuments.

Λεριο[αίος]: I² 64.42 (= ATL 2, no. A9.152) (425/4) trib. list (after decree). This town is in Ionia (cf. p. 133 supra).

Λαρισάιοι (probably in Thessaly, cf. p. 133 supra): II² 1956.61 (fin. s. IV a.) cat.; II² 9201 (s. III a.), II² 9199 (s. III/II a.), II² 9200 (init. s. I p.) sep. monuments.

Μυλασεύς: I² 198.94 (= ATL 2, no. 8, col. 2.105) (447/6), I² 199.17 (= ATL 2, no. 9, col. 5.10) (446/5), I² 200.26 (= ATL 2, no. 10, col. 5.31) (445/4) all tribute lists.

Πίστασος: I² 211.27 (= ATL 2, no. 21) (434/3) tribute list; Ἰστασος (cf. p. 439 supra): I² 64.106 (= ATL 2, no. A 10, col. 5.16) (422/1) trib. list (after decree).

Συρακάσιος: I² 1081 (= II² 10389) (ca. 450? cf. LSAG p.275, no.10) sep. mon.; II² 101.2 (373/2) decree; II² 105.36 (368/7) decree; sep. monuments, II² 10390–II² 10399 (init. s. IV a.–s. II/1a.). The Συρακούσας of II² 584.6 (fin. s. IV a.) decree shows a variant in -σσ- also found in codd., cf. *Glotta* 14 (1925) p.98; the expected Συράκουσαι not attested in Attic inscriptions.

Υβλισεύς: ATL 2, no. 4, col. 5.26 (451/0) tribute list: ἡ[υ]βλισεύς.

Cf. also Μασσαννασα- (examples in 6.02c, p. 129 supra).

43.01362 σ ~ σσ (non-Attic toponyms, names)

Sigma is normally geminate in the following non-Attic toponyms and ethnic adjectives:

Ἀλικαρνασός, Ἀλικαρνασσεύς, -σιος: The ethnic is very frequent in the tribute lists (cf. 42.0111, p.496 supra). Also: I² 56.25 (ca. 430?), I² 110a.9 (= II² 142.9) (410/9?), II² 136.4 (354/3) decrees; II² 3073.3 (307/6), II² 2794 (ca. 307) dedications; II² 1956.147 (fin. s. IV a.), II² 2313.22 (194–189) catalogs; II² 8044 (post 350), II² 8043 (s. IV a.), II² 8039 (s. II/1a.), II² 8040 (date?), II² 8045 (date?) sep. monuments. But one tribute list and two sep. monuments have -σ-, cf. 43.012, no. 5, p. 515 supra.

Ἀμφισσαῖος: II² 8088 (post 317) sep. mon.

Ἀντισσαῖος: II² 43.B20 (378/7) decree; II² 107.29 (368/7) decree.

Ἀρλισσός: I² 200.26 (= ATL 2, no. 10, col.3.31) (445/4) tribute list.

Ἀσσηρίτης: Frequent in the tribute lists, cf. 42.0111, p.496 supra.

Ἠσσιος (ethnic of Ἠσσοῦς): Frequent in the tribute lists, cf. 42.0111, p.496 supra.

Θύσσιος: Found only in the tribute lists, e.g. I² 193.7 (= ATL 2, no.3) (452/1); I² 195.35 (= ATL 2, no.5, col.3.23) (450/49); I² 200.4 (= ATL 2, no.10) (445/4); etc.

Κασσαναεῖς: II² 5227 (ca. 300) public sep. mon., erected by the Κασσαναεῖς themselves, inhabitants of the Magnesian town known as Κασθαναία or Κασταναία, cf. Kirchner's note in IG II².

Κασσανδρεῖς: II² 1956.111 (fin. s. IV a.) cat.; sep. monuments: II² 8997–II² 9002 (s. IV a.–s. II a.). For Κατάνδρα on vases, cf. 43.04, p.540 *infra*; Καξανδρεῖς, cf. 44.02, no.36, p.549 *infra*. Cf. also the anthroponym Κάσσανδρος, the Macedonian ruler in II² 469.9 (306/5), II² 470.b 13 (306/5), II² 641.14 (299/8), II² 682.13–14 (post 256/5), II² 774. a 11 (ca. 250) decrees; a later person with this name, cf. II² 2026.11 (116/7 p.) eph. cat.

Κοσσι(αῖοι): I² 63.185 (= ATL 2, no. A9.172) (425/4) trib. list (after decree).

Κυρβισσός, Κυρβισσεύς: Frequent in the tribute lists, e.g. I² 191.16 (= ATL 2, no. 1) (454/3); I² 194.41 (= ATL 2, no. 4, col. 1.33) (451/0); I² 195.9 (= ATL 2, no. 5) (450/49); I² 199.27 (= ATL 2, no. 9, col. 3.25) (446/5); I² 200.23 (= ATL 2, no. 10, col. 5.28) (445/4); and in the list after a decree, I² 63.116 (= ATL 2, no. A9.106) (425/4). A single tribute list has Κυρβισσῆς, I² 198.22 (= ATL 2, no. 8) (447/6), presumably a simplification of a geminate like those in 43.012, p.515 *supra*.

Μασσαλιώτης: Sep. monuments, II² 9295 (s. II a.), II² 9297 (s. II/1 a.), II² 9294 (s. II/1 a.), II² 9296 (aet. Rom.). But one instance of geminate simplification, cf. 43.012, no. 5, p.515 *supra*.

Μεσσήνη, Μεσσήνιος: I² 37 b (ante 446) decree fr.: Μεσσή[νε]; *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p.287, no. 10, line 9 (= I² 328.9) (ca. 414) inv.: Μεσσήνιος; II² 1956.63 (fin. s. IV a.) cat.: Μεσσήνιοι; II² 986.5 (ca. 150) decree: Μεσσηνίων; sep. monuments, II² 9340–II² 9347 (s. IV a.–s. I p.); etc. The Μεσάνιος in I² 1030 (= LSAG p.206, no. 14) sep. mon. of a Messenian, is early enough for the -σ- to be for -σσ- (dated ca. 500 aut paulo post?), cf. p.513 *supra*.

Μυήσιοι: Frequent in the tribute lists, e.g.: I² 193.30 (= ATL 2, no. 3, col. 2.30) (452/1); I² 199.32 (= ATL 2, no. 9, col. 5.7) (446/5); I² 203.28 (= ATL 2, no. 13) (442/1); etc.

Πράσιλος: I² 220.11 (= ATL 2, no. 34, col. 3.10) (421/0) tribute list.

Ποιήσιοι: II² 43.82 (378/7) decree.

Συράκουσσαι: cf. 43.01361, p.524 *supra*; -σσ- also a variant in codd.; Συράκουσαι not attested.

Τειχιούσσα: I² 191.22 (= ATL 2, no. 1) (454/3); I² 222.17 (= ATL 2, no. 28.17) (427/6 aut 426/5) tribute lists; I² 64.12 (= ATL 2, no. A9.122) (425/4) trib. list (after decree).

Τελεμήσιος: I² 199.33 (= ATL 2, no. 9) (446/5) tribute list; I² 64.20 (= ATL 2, no. A9.130) (425/4) trib. list (after decree).

Τερμεσεύς: Three Attic examples, cf. 8.01, Notes and Corrections, p.164 *supra*. Τερμες in the decree, II² 1028.146 (101/100, cf. SEG 24.188), is probably for Τερμεσ(σεύς).

*Υμεσεύς: I² 64.51 (= ATL 2, no. A9.143) (425/4) trib. list (after decree).

Some of the words in the two preceding lists are attested only once, and their assignment to the group in -σ- or -σσ- is arbitrary. In the case of Παρνασσός it is impossible to make any decision: an ethnic adjective Παρνησσίου occurs in a decree of the Eikadeis, II² 1258.24–25 (324/3), but a name Παρνασσός is attested in a cat., II² 2358.27 (ca. 150), perhaps not an Athenian, and in a sep. mon., II² 10215 (aet. Rom.), definitely not an Athenian.

43.0137 Μακετα

T is always simplex in Μακετα (= Μακέτα or Μάκετα?), cf. 6.0421c, p.135 *supra*, for examples.

43.0138 Geminate ~ simple consonants in Roman names

In the transcription of Roman names into Greek there is often interchange between spellings with and without geminates, but usually both spellings are also attested in Latin inscriptions. In general the practices of Attic texts are not divergent from those of other parts of the Greek world.

Κάσ(σ)ιος: There is a pronounced preference for Κάσιος, probably because it resembles native Greek words; Casius is found in Roman texts, cf. Forcellini *LTL* 5 (= *Onomasticon* 1) p.341, but is rare in comparison with Cassius.

Κάσιος: II² 2037.3 (125/6 p.) eph. cat.; II² 3012.2 (158/9 p.) ded.; II² 2085.53 (161/2 p.), II² 2086.46 (bis) (163/4 p.), II² 2107.25 (paulo ante 180 p.), II² 2125.23 (190–200 p.), II² 1999.41 (init. s. II p., cf. *SEG* 24.200), II² 2199.45, 71 (ca. 200 p.) all eph. catalogs; II² 3647.7 (fin. s. II p.) ded.; II² 1077.43 (209/10 p.) decree; II² 1826.24 (post ca. 217 p.) pryt. cat.; II² 2245.334 (262/3 aut 266/7 p.) eph. cat.; etc.

Κάσσιος: II² 2050.52 (143/4 p., cf. *SEG* 24.191) eph. cat.; II² 10150 (s. I a.) sep. mon.; etc.

Κασσανός: II² 2079.3 (158/9 p.), II² 2085.2 (161/2 p.) eph. catalog; II² 1772.16 (162/3 p.), II² 1817.13 (paulo ante 220/1 p.) (L.), II² 1826.15, 16, 19 (post ca. 217 p.), II² 1832.1 (ca. 231/2 p.) pryt. catalogs; II² 2235.89 (226/7–234/5 p.), II² 2241.1–2 (238/9 aut 242/3 p.) eph. catalogs; etc.

Λικίν(ν)ιος: There is a pronounced preference for the geminate ny; Licinnius is found occasionally in Latin texts, cf. Forcellini *LTL* 6 (= *Onomasticon* 2) p. 118.

Λικίννιος: II² 3952.4 (fin. s. Ip./init. s. II p.), II² 4163.2 (init. s. Ip.), II² 3563.3 (s. I/II p.) dedications; II² 11331 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.; II² 2037.16 (125/6 p.) eph. cat.; II² 3733.12 (bis) (126/7 p.) ded.; II² 1765.9–11, 27 (138/9 p.) pryt. cat.; II² 2044.127 (139/40 p.) eph. cat.; II² 1828.46 (post ca. 218 p.) pryt. cat.; II² 2245.145 (262/3 aut 266/7 p.) eph. cat.; II² 7505 (aet. Rom.), II² 11971 (aet. Rom.) sep. monuments; etc.

Λικίνιος: II² 4104.2 (ca. 71), II² 4105.2 (ca. 71), II² 4233.2, 3 (post 50), II² 4118.2 (ca. 27) dedications; II² 2337.14 (init. s. Ip.), II² 2128.120, 121, 122 (190–200 p.) eph. catalogs; II² 11939 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.: Λ[ικίν]ιος?

[Λ]οῦπος: II² 4511.10 (ante 114–116 p.) ded. (priv.).

Λοῦπτος: II² 4826.5 (s. III/IV p.) ded. (priv.).

Σενέκας: II² 3795.4 (s. I/II p.) ded.

Σενέκκας: II² 2120.2 (fin. s. II p.) eph. cat.

The following are rare, but only attested with a geminate in Attic texts:

Δέκκιος: II² 2113.64 (183/4–191/2 p.), II² 2132.55, 56 (ca. 192/3 p.) eph. catalogs.

Σέπτιος: II² 1043.c4 (38/7) decree; II² 1722.9 (post 9/8) cat.; II² 10930 (s. II p.) sep. mon. (L.).

Σοσσιανός: I² 2049.27 (142/3 p.) eph. cat. (L.).

Ουολούσσιος: I² 2897.2 (s. I/II p.) ded.

Βράκκιος: I² 1754.14 (ca. 50) pryt. cat.; I² 7803 (s. I p.) sep. mon. of the same man.

For Paul(l)us, Παῦλλος with geminate λ is normal in dedications of the early Roman Period referring to Romans bearing this name, but Παῦλος is the spelling found for the name of Athenians mentioned in eph. catalogs after 150 A.D.; λλ is usual in Παῦλλα, Πῶλλα, and Πόλλα. For the examples, cf. 12.04, p. 237 *supra*.

43.02 False gemination of simple consonants

43.021 Gemination of consonants forming the first element of a cluster

Consonants forming the first element of a cluster are not infrequently doubled out of a confusion as to whether they go with the following syllable or the preceding. Such geminations are very well attested in the case of the sibilant, but -κκ-, -γγ-, and others are also occasionally found.

Lit.: MS³ pp. 89–90, notes 777–805; p. 106, note 952; Lademann p. 120; Hermann, *Silbenbildung* pp. 110 ff.

Sibilants:

The gemination of [s] is very frequent, especially before τ, κ, and θ. The great majority of the examples are on private texts, especially sep. monuments, but examples are occasionally found even in decrees of the state (e.g. nos. 4, 23, 27, 71, 74, 77, 78, 81).

The gemination of [z] is much less frequent. It is variously indicated graphically. An early fifth-century example of οζ indicates [zzd] in τοῖςζ' (cf. 44.01, no. 1, p. 546 *infra*). Early vases with Κάσσιμος, Κασσμία, Πολυφράσσιμων have a [zzm] comparable to that of no. 90 *infra* (cf. 46.036, p. 567 *infra*); after the phonetic value of Z passed from [zd] to [zz], there are rare instances of -σζμ- for [zzm] (cf. 44.02, nos. 21–22, p. 549 *infra*).

Normally the geminated sibilant is internal, but there are a few examples where it is the last letter in the word, normally a proclitic, as in nos. 3, 17, 18, 23 (εἰς), 71 (ὥς), but rarely where not (cf. nos. 58, 70, 90); initial σστ- (not after a proclitic) occurs twice (nos. 5, 20).

The sibilant element of ξ is geminated before [t] in the spelling Σέξιστος (examples in 47.022, p. 574 *infra*) and in ὑπεξιστησόμενος (no. 45 *infra*).

Examples:

Before τ:

1) Πισστο[I² 544 (fin. s. VI a.) ded.;

2) Καρῦσ[σ]τ[ι]οι ATL 2, no. 5, col. 4.26 (= I² 195.38) (450/49) tribute list; probably [hεσσ]τιαῖ[ς] in ATL 2, no. 5, col. 4.34;

- 3) Ἀσσι[υπα]λαιῆς I² 198, col.2.28 (= ATL 2, no.8) (447/6) tribute list; Ἐφαισσι[τι]εῖς *ib.*, col.1.85 (= *ib.*, col.1.96); ἑσς Τένεδον *ib.*, col.2.97, 98 (= *ib.*, col.2.108, 109);
- 4) μέ]τεσσιν I² 26.8 (ca. 448) decree (L.);
- 5) Κυζικενῶ σστα[τέρες] I² 313.10 (408/7) *inv.*;
- 6) Ἀρίστων, Ἀρίστουλλα I² 1058 (ca. fin. s. Va.?) sep. mon.;
- 7) Νικοσστράτη I² 1059 (ca. fin. s. Va.?) sep. mon.;
- 8) μάλισσα I² 924.4–5 (paulo post 450?) erotic text;
- 9) Ἀρίστων I² 1070.2 (fin. s. Va.?) sep. mon.;
- 10) Λυσαρίσση AA 1963 p.473, no.5 (= SEG 21.1047) (fin. s. Va./init. s. IV a.) sep. mon.;
- 11) Καλλιισσιῶ Corrected reading of I² 6476.1 (init. s. IV a.) sep. mon. (L.);
- 12) Ἀριστοφάνης I² 6566.1, 4 (cf. add. nova) (init. s. IV a.) sep. mon., Ἡφαισσιτοκρά-
τους *ib.* 5;
- 13) Νικοσστράτη I² 12300 (init. s. IV a.) sep. mon.;
- 14) Ἀλκισσις I² 4023 (400–350) ded. (L.);
- 15) Καλλιισστράτη AM 66 (1941) pp.54 ff., plate 37.2 (= corrected reading of I² 5552 a,
in add. nova) (ca. 360) sep. mon. (L.);
- 16) Τιμοσστράτο *Hesperia*, suppl. 7 (1943) p.3, no.2, line 5 (ante 350) horos;
- 17) εἰς τό I² 1177.15 (ca. 350) decree (deme);
- 18) εἰς τόν I² 1184.20 (= Sokolowski, *Supplément* p.208, no.124; SEG 21.518) (post
334/3) decree (deme); but εἰς | τήν in *ib.* 4–5;
- 19) Ἑσσι[ιαι]όθεν I² 1699.6 (343/2) cat.;
- 20) δημάρχου σσιῆσαι I² 2492.22 (346/5, cf. SEG 24.202) loc.;
- 21) Σήσσιος I² 10263 (post 350) sep. mon.;
- 22) Ἀκεσσιτοθέμιδος I² 1933.12 (ca. 330–320) cat.;
- 23) εἰς τήν I² 508.8 (fin. s. IV a.) decree (L.);
- 24) Περιστερά AE 1961, *Chronika* p.14, no.37 (350–300) sep. mon.;
- 25) χρηστή I² 12816.2 (s. IV a.) sep. mon. (L.);
- 26) ἐρανισσιταῖς *Hesperia*, suppl. 9 (1951) p.13, no.26 (s. IV a.?) horos;
- 27) ἑσσιτεφά[ν]ωσαν I² 656.8–9 (284/3) decree;
- 28) Ἑσσιταίου BCH 87 (1963) p.700 (s. III a.) sep. mon.;
- 29) Ἰσσιτορία I² 11751 (s. III a.) sep. mon. (L.);
- 30) Ἀρίσσιωνος SEG 21.841 (= *Ta Athenaika* 21 [1962] p.31, no.2) (s. III a.) sep. mon.;
- 31) Χαιρεσσιτράτη I² 8036 (s. III/II a.) sep. mon.;
- 32) Ἀρι]σσιτολάου *Hesperia* 29 (1960) p.72, no.138, line 2 (s. II/I a.) sep. mon.;
- 33) [Ν]ικόσσι[τ]ρατος I² 5706 (init. s. II a.) sep. mon.;
- 34) Ἀρισσιῶ I² 8079 (s. II a.) sep. mon.;
- 35) Ἀρίσσιωνος I² 8482.5 (s. II a.) sep. mon. (L.);
- 36) χαρισσιτήριον I² 4710.3 (s. Ia.) ded.; 36 a) Μενέσσιτρατος I² 8337 (s. Ia.) sep. mon.;
- 37) Προσσιτασία I² 9232 (s. Ia.) sep. mon.;
- 38) χρηστή I² 10844.3 (s. Ia./s. Ip.) sep. mon.;
- 39) Καλλιισσιτράτου I² 7454 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.;
- 40) Μεγίσση I² 9278 (s. Ip.) sep. mon. (stone now broken away, reads: Μεγ[-, L.);
- 41) Καρυσσιτία I² 8987 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.;
- 42) Ἀρισσιτολόχου *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p.69, no.36 (= correct text of I² 7313) (s. I/II p.)
sep. mon.;
- 43) Μενέσσιτρατος I² 9070 (s. I/II p.) sep. mon.;
- 44) σεβασσιῶ *Hesperia* 15 (1946) p.233, no.64, line 1 (ca. 100 p.) ded. (L.);

- 45) ὑπεξισθησόμενος *Hesperia*, suppl. 13 (1970) pp.3ff., line E71 (ca. 175 p.) imp. letter;
 46) Εὐχαριστήριον Π² 4782.5 (s. IIp.) ded. (priv.);
 47) χρησστή SEG 21.1057 (= *Ta Athenaike* 21 [1962] p.37, no.27) (s. II/IIIp.) sep. mon.;
 48) Πίσστος Π² 2255.1 (s. IIIp.) eph. cat.;
 49) Καρύσσιος Π² 8981 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.

Doubtful:

- ἀ[σ]τεῖον Π² 189.11–12 (ca. 460) law (deme);
 αισσ[] = ἄρισσ[τα καὶ] Π² 10.20 (453/2, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.89, no.40) decree.

There are several similar examples on ostraca and vases, viz.: 'Ἀριστονύμο: *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p.383, no.11 (one of the Kallixenos ostraca, 483 or 482 B.C.); 'Ἀριστέιδες: *ib.* p.337 (482). Graffiti on sherds: Φαισσίτιο *Agora* 21, p.35, no. F77 (= *Hesperia* 22 [1953] plate 38, no.134) (475–450); ὀσσεράκου *Agora* 21, p.80, no. He 31 (init. s. IVp.). Dipinti: Κάσσοτος ARV² p.619, Villa Giulia painter no.15 (= CVA, Germany 7, plate 20); Νέσσοτος, 'Ἀσσυόχε ARV² p.785, Euaichme painter no.2 (cf. *Jahrbuch* 17 [1902] plate 2); 'Ἀσσ[], σστος ARV² p.1174, Aison no.2 (cf. Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* p.175); 'Ἀρυσσομά[χ]ε ARV² p.1174, Aison no.6 (= HRF 1, p.17, no.5); Νέσσοτος ARV² p.1251, Eretria painter no.41 (= HRF 1, p.298, no.1); Κάσσωτος, 'Ἀσσερόπη ARV² p.1313, Meidias no.5 (= CVA, England 8, plate 91.1a–d); 'Ορέσσοτες ARV² p.257, Copenhagen painter no.6 (= HRF 1, p.200, no.3); 'Ἀσσοτεῖος ARV² p.1254, Eretria painter no.80 (= Immerwahr, *Book Rolls*, p.20, no.3); 'Ἀρυσσαγόρας ARV² p.1566, Louvre G131; etc. Cf. πρὸς τὸς κάτω *Hesperia* 20 (1951) pp.223ff., line 2 (s. IVa.) curse-text (defixio); Νικο[]στράτο[] AM 85 (1970) p.226, no.421 (s. IIIa.) lead pinakion identifying horses of the hippeis.

Before κ:

- 50) 'Ἀσκληπιῖ Π² 4966 (400–350) ded.;
 51) 'Ἀσκληπιῖ Π² 4961.4 (init. s. IVa.) ded.; 'Ἀσκληπιῖ *ib.* 5;
 52) 'Ἀσκληπιῖδωρος Π² 10019 (365–340) sep. mon.;
 53) 'Ἀσκληπιῖ Π² 4355 (ante 350) ded. (priv.) (L.);
 54) ἀνδριαντίσσο[] *Hesperia* 7 (1938) p.281, no.16, line B11 (= Π² 1438 + new fr.) (352/1 aut 351/0, cf. *Hesperia* 7, p.288) inv.;
 55) [Ἀ]σκληπιῖ Π² 4377.1 (ca. 350) ded. (priv.);
 56) 'Ἀσκληπιῖ Π² 4412.2 (fin. s. IVa.) ded. (priv.);
 57) 'Ἀσκληπιῖ Π² 4439.2 (init. s. IIIa.) ded. (priv.);
 58) φιλοτίμως καὶ Π² 1247.8–9 (ca. 250) decree (mesogeioi) (second σ not erased, L.);
 59) 'Ἀσκληπιῖδης Π² 9969 (s. IIIa.) sep. mon. (L.);
 60) Φρυνίσσου Π² 2452.8 (ca. 125/4) cat.;
 61) Διοσσκουρίδου Π² 8342 (s. II/Ia.) sep. mon.;
 62) 'Ἀρέσσκουσα Π² 6764 (s. Ia.) sep. mon.;
 63) 'Ἀσκληπιῖ Π² 4465.5–6 (ca. 26/5) ded.;
 64) 'Ἀσκληπιῖδης Π² 2159.27 (s. IIp.) eph. cat.;
 65) 'Ἀσκληπιῖ Π² 4521a (in add.) 7–8 (s. IIp.) ded. (priv.);
 66) 'Ἀσκληπιῖ Π² 4524a (in add.) (s. II/IIIp.) ded. (priv.);
 67) κατεσσεύσαμεν Π² 9087a (in add.) (s. II/IIIp.) sep. mon. (L.);
 68) Ἀ[β]ασσ[κ]άντο Π² 1822.9 (init. s. IIIp.) pryt. cat., but Ἀβάσσαντο[] *ib.* 11;
 69) Ἀβάσσαντος Π² 2240.4 (ca. 250p.) eph. cat., Ἀσκληπιῖ *ib.* 7 (L.).

Before π:

- 70) [Π]ερεος π[αρά] [Πέρ]γαμο[ν] *ATL* 2, no. A 9, col. 4.62–63 (= I² 63.167–8, corrected) (425/4) tribute list;
 71) ὥς πλείστα II² 47.33 (init. s. IV a.) decree (L.);
 72) Θεσπιική II² 8834 (s. IV a.?) sep. mon.

Cf. δέσποινα, *Agora* inv. no. IL 493, line 17 (= *Hesperia* 6 [1937] p. 389, no. 3, where the text needs correction; the new reading is that of D. Jordan) (found in a deposit of s. Ip. material, but orthography and writing look like s. IIIp.) defixio.

Before θ:

- 73) Θασθ[αῖς] *Hesperia* 43 (1974) p. 314, no. 1, line 6 (453/2) trib. list;
 74) ἰεσθα[ι] A/A 38 (1934) p. 67, no. 1 (= new fr. of I² 8; cf. *SEG* 10.12) (452/1) decree;
 75) μισσθός II² 1672.11 (329/8) inv. (L.);
 76) ἐψηφίσθαι II² 1631.351–352 (323/2) inv.;
 77) ἔμπροσθεν *Hesperia* 6 (1937) p. 442, no. 1, line 14 (321/0) decree;
 78) ἔμπροσθεν *Hesperia* 8 (1939) p. 30, no. 8, line 12 (= II² 535 + new fr.) (318/7) decree (L.);
 79) [Π]ολ[υ]σθ[έ]νη[ς] *Hesperia* 31 (1962) p. 54, no. 138, line 8 (350–300) lease record, [Π]ολ[υ]σθ[έ]νη[ς] *ib.* 15, [Π]ο[λ]υ[σθ[έ]νη[ς]] *ib.* 18. The erasures and the -σθ- have nothing to do with each other, cf. *Hesperia* 31, p. 56;
 80) πορεύεσθαι II² 1283.16 (263/2, cf. *SEG* 24.155) decree (Thracians), δέχεσθαι *ib.* 17; but κατασκευάσασθαι *ib.* 8 (L.);
 81) γράψασθα[ι] II² 808.19 (239–229) decree (L.);
 82) ἱπποσθενίδος II² 4126.12 (non ante 14) ded. (L.);
 83) Ἀνδροσθένους II² 10197 (ca. 150 p.) sep. mon.

Compare Θεμισθοῦλε- on several ostraca (480 s): *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p. 369, fig. 25; *Hesperia* 5 (1936) p. 40, fig. 39; *Hesperia* 7 (1938) pp. 228 ff., two ostraca of Group L (A.O. 86 and A.O. 117 illustrated p. 240, fig. 69); *AM* 80 (1965) p. 105. Dipinto on a bf. vase, ε[...].εσθε CVA, France 3, pl. 13.9–10; on a rf. vase: Λεοσθένες καλός ARV² p. 446, Douris no. 260; etc. Graffito on a sherd in the *Agora*: Ἀλκισθέ[ν]ος, *Agora* 21, p. 31, no. F26 (init. s. Va.).

Before χ:

- 84) Αἰσχύλο I² 571 (= *DAA* p. 47, no. 46) (460–450?) ded. (L.);
 85) Ἐσχατίονος I² 905.5–6 (s. Va.) private horos (L.);
 86) [Α]ἰσχύλος II² 2387.1 (ca. 350) cat. (L.);
 87) ἔσχον II² 13164.2 (s. IIIp.) sep. mon. (L.).

Before β:

- 88) Λέσβον II² 107.32 (368/7) decree (L.);
 89) Πρεσβίας II² 11840 a (in text).2 (ca. 350) sep. mon.

Before μ:

- 90) τὰς μὲν II² 2496.14 (post 350) loc. (L.).

Cf. Πολυφράσμον, Κάσμος, Κασμ[ί]α, Ἄσμετος on vases, cf. 46.036, p. 567 *infra*; for Ἀρχέβιος | Μιστόδικος on a defixio, cf. p. 533 *infra*. The unlikely τοῖς[μ] of I² 60.15 has been plausibly corrected to τοῖς σ[μ] in *ATL* 2, no. D 22. The interpretation of ---σαμενοσ--- in II² 2493.21 (ca. 340) loc., as]σαμενοσ ν[is quite doubtful.

The doubling of σ before Σ/___V in Ἐφοδίωσος | Σονιῶς is probably a dittography, possibly due to starting the new line, cf. II² 7425.2 (ca. 350? cf. p. 258 *supra*) sep. mon.

Correction:

Read μισθοσάμενον in I² 94.34 (= IG I, suppl. no. 53 a).

-κκ- for -κ-, -γγ- for -γ-:

With the exception of Καλλικκράτου, ἔκκτει, ἔγγ (cf. nos. 98–9, 101), the examples involve the gemination of the final consonant of the preposition ἐκ, which because of its proclitic character tends to function like a syllable of the following word. For similar examples of ἐκκ in Ptolemaic papyri, cf. Mayser-Schmoll p. 194, 4c. The spelling ἐκκ occurs in state decrees, cf. nos. 94–96 and 100.

For Θρῶκξ, -χχσ-, cf. 45.012, p. 555 *infra*.

Examples:

-κκ- for -κ-:

- 91) ἐκκ Πρo---ω *Kerameikos* 3, p. 71, no. 121 (ca. 450–443) ostrakon;
- 92) ἐκκ Πηλῆγων II² 4911 (ca. 350) ded. (priv.) (L.);
- 93) ἐκκ τ[ο]ῦ II² 2491.7–8 (ca. 335–325) pactionis formulae (L.);
- 94) ἐκκπεπ[ολιόρκηται] II² 211.3 (348/7?) decree (L.);
- 95) ἐκκ τ[ῶν] II² 533.2 (fin. s. IV a.) decree (L.);
- 96) ἐκκ τῶν ἰδίων II² 657.40 (283/2) decree (L.);
- 97) ἐκκ τοῦ II² 1283.7 (263/2, cf. SEG 24.155) decree (Thracians) (L.);
- 98) ἔκκτει *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p. 73, no. 29, line 4 (228/7) decree;
- 99) Καλλικκράτου II² 5487 (s. III/II a.) sep. mon. (cf. IG II, no. 1788);
- 100) ἐκκ τοῦ II² 1037.5 (init. s. I a.) decree (L.).

Note that Νικοκκλῆς has been corrected to Νικοκλῆς by erasure of the second kappa in a fifth-century *cas. list*, *Hesperia* 17 (1948) p. 45, no. 37, line 11 (= I² 941, corrected) (ca. 450).

-γγ- for -γ-:

- 101) ἔγγ δακτύλων II² 1672.147 (329/8) inv. (L.); cf. 48.022, p. 587 *infra*;
 - 102) ἔγγ Μυρρινούτης *Geras Keramopoullou* p. 514, no. 13 (= SEG 13.92) (s. II/I a.) sep. mon.; here it is uncertain whether the pronunciation was [eg m-], [eɣ m-], or [eɣɣ m-], and either of the last two would belong with the geminate nasals in the following section. Cf. 48.0217, p. 587 *infra*; 48.0214 a, p. 584 *infra*.
- Cf. also ἐξξυβαλιτών, with ἐξξυ- for ἐξ Συ-, 48.0216, p. 586 *infra*.

Geminate nasals:

The spelling Ἀγγνούσιος, occurring only in the sep. mon., II² 5260 (post 300), might be mentioned here, although the -γγ- is more likely just an attempt to indicate [ɣ], cf. 46.033 a, p. 561 *infra*. For the peculiar ἐκγ, cf. 48.0217, p. 586 *infra*; ξυνγ-γράφη, cf. 48.04243 a, p. 612 *infra*.

The ἐποιήσανντο on the inv., II² 1480.8 (314/3?), is without parallel in Attic stone inscriptions (L.); it is probably a careless dittography.

On the vases of Olto (cf. ARV² pp.53ff.) Μέμνον occurs several times: ARV² nos.40, 43 (not Μίμνον, cf. 7.012e, p.144 supra), 63 ([M]έμ[ν]ον), 90 (Μέ[μ]νον), 99, Appendix p.1601. But the expected Μεν- is far more frequent, cf. ARV² nos.25 (Μέμ[ν]ον), 26 (MEMEMNON), 27, 41, 56, 58, 68, 72, 74 (Μέ[μ]νον), 75 (bis), 79 ([Μέ]μνον), 80 (bis), 83, 85, 86, 87, 92 (MEMNOMOSKALOS), 95, 97, 103 (Μέμ[ν]ον), 104, 118, 123; ARV² p.68, cup; ARV² p.69, Louvre C 10783 (bis). Rarely Μέμον: ARV² nos.98, 128; this probably does not represent Μέμνον (cf. 46.038, p.569 infra).

To Μέμνον cf. the spelling έμέδιμνον in an inv., *Hesperia* 43 (1974) p.319, no.2, line 14 (ca. 414).

Other gemination in clusters:

Cf. Σίπνιος (= Σίφνιος) II² 10362 (post 350) sep. mon. (cf. 38.012, no.3, p.454 supra).

Probably just a graphic mistake: Δήμητρος on the deme decree, II² 1187.26 (ca. 350).

Cf. among the dipinti: Τριπτόλεμος, Εὐμόλλπος on a vase of Makron, ARV² p.459, no.3 (= CVA, England 5, plate 28.2); Νεοπτόλομος on another of the Antimenes painter, *Paralipomena* p.119, no.35 bis; etc.; cf. a graffito Ἀλλκαῖος, *Agora* 21, p.13, no. C19 (= *Hesperia* 5 [1936] p.348, no.3b; Lang, *Graffiti* no.31) (475–450). These show the same tendency to geminate consonants in clusters seen in -οστ- etc. Note also ηερακλῆς, CVA, England 9, plate 8.5–6.

43.022 Gemination of simple consonants in intervocalic position

Examples of geminated consonants of this type are fairly rare. Some may be just careless dittography (e.g. Ἀρριστοστέλης, ἀνάθεσιν,]ετταττον). Others might again be due to a tendency to hear an intervocalic consonant with both the preceding and following vowel. Late examples of -λλ- and -ρρ- might be due to simplification of -λλ- and -ρρ- in the pronunciation of some elements of the population and a resultant uncertainty about the correct writing of geminate liquids (cf. 43.0132, p.517 supra; 43.01351–43.01352, pp.519–523 supra). Note that in ὥς αὐτως, ἕως ἄν sigma is geminated in what seems to be external combination, but these expressions clearly functioned like single words.

For Βυζζάντιοι, etc., cf. 44.011, p.546 infra; Δόξξα, cf. 45.012, p.555 infra. For Παρνασός/ Παρνήσσιος, cf. 43.01362, p.525 supra. For Δέκκιος, Λικίννιος, etc., cf. 43.0138, p.526 supra.

Lit.: MS³ p.96, notes 840, 849; Lademann p.121.

1) -λλ- for -λ-:

e.g.: τὴν ἄλλήν *Hesperia* 7 (1938) pp.1ff., no.1, line 17 (363/2) decree (genos), cf. συμβαλλομένον in *ib.* 55 (συμβαλλομένον *ib.* 26); Φαλλλνθο (= Φαλάνθο) *Hesperia* 23 (1954) p.262, no.65 (ca. 350) sep. mon.; Ἐπιθᾶλλον *Hesperia* 23 (1954) p.277, no.147 (post 350) sep. mon., due to the influence of θάλλος?; Χ[ο]λλαργέα II² 1576.28 (ca. 330–320) inv.; καλλῶς II² 1159.9 (= Reinmuth p.119, no.19) (303/2) decree (tribe); εἰς στήλλην II² 660.44 (281/0,

cf. SEG 24.115) decree; φιλάλιον Π² 1512.6 (ca. 250) inv., φιάλη, φιάλιον *ib.* 2, 3, 8; στήλην Π² 12418.1 (ca. 150 p.) sep. mon.; στήλη Π² 10385.4 (s. II/III p.) sep. mon. Κηρατύλος is probably for Κρατύλος in Π² 929.45 (ca. 460, cf. SEG 14.19) cas. list.

2) -ρε- for -ρ-:

Χα[ι]ρριπ[ι] *Hesperia* 36 (1967) pp. 321 ff., line 4 (new fr. of Π² 928) (465/4) cas. list; Ἀρριστο-στέλης Π² 5895 (ante 150 p.) sep. mon.; Ἀρ[ρ]ουντιανόν *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p. 254, no. 59 (s. I/II p.) ded.

3) -σσ- for -σ-:

e.g.: Ἀρκέσσεια Π² 205.74 (= *ATL* 2, no. 15, col. 1.77) (440/39) tribute list (cf. 43.01361, p. 523 *supra*); ἀν[ι]θέσσιν Π² 1635.72 (post 374/3) inv.; λιθολογήσαντι Π² 1672.189 (329/8) inv.; Ἀρκέσσας Π² 6160 (s. IV a.) sep. mon. (cf. 43.04, p. 539 *infra*); δι[κ]α[ι]οσ[σ]ύ[ν]ης Π² 488.15 (304/3) decree, unless δι[κ]α[ι]οσ[σ]ύ[ν]ης was the reading; ὥς αὐτως Π² 847.21 (215/4) decree (L.); ἔως ἂν Π² 1328.18 (183/2) decree (orgeones). ἐργάσατο in Π² 529.3 (= *DAA* p. 144, no. 133) (fin. s. Va., cf. SEG 13.29) ded., probably Ionic, not Attic. For Συρά-κουσαι cf. 43.01361, p. 524 *supra*.

4) -νν- for -ν-:

σαννιδίω Π² 1534A.69 (291/0, cf. SEG 16.118). Σονν(ιεύς) in *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p. 14, no. 1, line 69 (367/6) inv. is probably a copying error of the mason for Σοννι(εύς) (cf. *ib.* 63, 70, 80, etc.). Κλειννίππου in Π² 678.28 (= *IG* II, no. 329.27) is known only from a very poor copy of Pococke.

5) -μμ- for -μ-:

ἀλομμῶ Π² 1663.3 (part of Π² 1656–Π² 1664, building inv. dated ca. 394–391, cf. SEG 19.136–144); for ἀλομῶς, cf. Π² 463.85 (307/6) decree.

6) -ττ- for -τ-:

Ἰετταπτον Π² 776.13 (255/4) decree (L.).

For Παῦλ(λ)ος, Λοῦππος, etc., cf. 43.0138, p. 526 *supra*.

Note the peculiar dittography of final -ς in Μυσός, with no word following, cf. Π² 9980 (ca. 350) sep. mon. Ἀρχέβιος | Μιστόδικος in the defixio, *JG* III.3, no. 29.8–9 (s. IV/III a.?), shows either the same dittography or [zz] before initial μ- of the next line (as in τὰς μέν, no. 90, p. 530 *supra*). Copying errors of the stone-cutter: ΦΜΥΕΣΣ (ΛΥ was read as ΜΥ, ΥΣ as ΣΣ) (= Φλυεύς) Π² 7662 (s. III a.) sep. mon. and ΔΙΟΜΕΕΣΣ (= Διομεεύς) Π² 5992.3 (s. III a.?) sep. mon.

Correction:

Correct καλλῶς Καλλίας (in Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* p. 175) to καλὸς Καλλίας, cf. ARV² p. 647, Ainokles no. 14 (= CVA, England 7, plate 50.1).

False geminates of this type occur occasionally on ostraca: cf. Ἀρριστόνυμος on an ostrakon of the 480s, *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p. 383, no. 10. Ἀρρίφρωνος on two ostraca of 485/4, Π² 909; dipinti sometimes also have false geminates: ἐπποίεσεν ARV² p. 91, Euergides painter no. 51; Ἀππλόδορος, cf. ARV² p. 1565; Τηρίτοννος on a rf. vase in Berlin (no. 1906), cf. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* p. 394; Φυλλιάδες,

καλλός (bis), but καλός (bis), ARV² p.15, Euphronios no.6 (= FR plates 61–62; HRF 1, p.406, no.16); καλλός ARV² p.651, Nikon painter no.29; καλλός (bis), καλός ARV² p.1588, no.8; etc. Cf. the graffito εἰμ[ι] *Hesperia*, suppl. 7 (1943) p.31, no.1 (ca. 375–350). The frequency of λ{λ} and ρ{ρ} perhaps has phonetic significance, but the remainder of such spellings should be interpreted in the light of numerous other spelling anomalies on ostraca and vases, where simplification of geminates is also frequent in the period in which the practice of writing geminates is being established (cf. p.513 supra). Certainly just a graphic mistake is the geminate aspirate in Ὀρεΐμαχος on a vase by the Berlin painter, ARV² p.196, no.1 (read by Furtwängler, cf. FR, Textband 3, p.255).

For a few examples of false geminates in the defixiones, cf. p.516 supra.

The type of gemination seen in ἐνι μμεγάροις, occurring twice on a metrical sep. mon., Π² 11157.1,7 (s. IIIp.), is not usual in inscriptions from Athens (ῥθυμός in fifth-century prose texts is somewhat different, cf. 43.01351, p.519 supra), but is the same sort of thing found in codd. of poetry (cf. Kühner-Blass 1, p.311; Schulze, *Quaestiones epicae* pp.43–4, note 4) and papyri (e.g. S. West, *The Ptolemaic Papyri of the Iliad* [Cologne, 1965] p.113). On a sep. mon. of ca. 350 B.C. it is hard to choose between [γῆρα]ι ὑπὸ λλιπαρῶι, cf. Π² 13102 a (in text).4, and [γῆρα]ι ὑπολ-λιπαρ-, cf. GVI 1, p.370, no.1251. Probably the latter because the practice of writing geminates internally for metrical purposes is frequent in texts in artificial poetical diction, e.g. πολὺλλιτος Π² 4509.9 (s. I/IIp.) ded. (priv.); δππως Π² 4514.10 (ca. 150p.) ded. (priv.); οἶμμοι Π² 9898.6 (fin. s. IIp.) sep. mon.; etc. Spellings of the ἐνι μμεγάροις type are inventions of the Alexandrian grammarians, cf. A. Dihle, *Glotta* 48 (1970) p.4.

Notes and Corrections:

In Π² 956.74 (= IG II, no.444), read: Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλωνίου, although the stone is very worn here and the pi must be dotted (L.); Π² 1813.12 (= IG III, no.1025): Μελάνχραιν[ος] (L.); Π² 2174.15 (= IG III, no.1247): Ἀπολλώνιος (L.); Π² 2120.31 (= IG III, no.1223): πάλη[ν]; Π² 2022.6 (= IG III, no.1094): Ἀπολλωνίου (L.).

43.03 ρρ and ρσ

In texts in the Attic dialect -ρσ- occurs only in certain special cases:

1) Where protected by analogy, as in the dative plural of r-stems, e.g. φράτεροι(ν): Π² 1237.81, 114 (396/5), Π² 1238.1 (ca. 350) phratry decrees; τέταρτοι(ν): Π² 1672.177 (329/8) inv.; στρωτήραιν: Π² 463.62 (307/6) decree; etc.; in the formation of -σις nouns, cf. ἀνακάθαρσις: Π² 1673.3 (333/2? cf. AE 1971, p.112), Π² 1672.19 (329/8) both inventories.

2) In a number of anthroponyms, ultimately of non-Attic origin:

Ἀρσινόη: Π² 5590 (init. s. IIa.) sep. mon.; Π² 1034.27 (98/7) decree. Anthroponyms such as Θεοσίλογος, Θέρσων, etc., which are derived from θέρσος (= θάρσος, in Lesbian, etc., cf. Buck, *GD*² p.45). Athenians frequently bear such names by the fourth century, cf. PA nos.7189–7203. But Θεορκλειδαί, name of an Athenian

phratry, II² 4973 (s. IV a.) horos; perhaps from the same root as θάρρος/θάρος with a different ablaut grade.

Πέρσης and derivatives: Περώων I² 763 II (= Meiggs-Lewis p.54, no.26 II) (post 480) ded.; II² 356.34 (327/6) decree; Περωαῖος II² 901 (ca. 185/4) decree, II² 4457.1 (post 150) ded., both these persons Athenians; Περω(ίς) II² 1553.7 (ca. 330–320) inv., Πέρουδος (man?) II² 11568 (init. s. IV a.) sep.mon., both these persons slaves; περωκάς II² 1013.18 (fin. s. II a.) decree; Περωκῶν II² 2776.91, 113 (aet. Trajani, cf. *Hesperia* 41 [1972] p.476) financial record, uncertain whether he was Athenian; etc. But even here the native Attic tendency towards -qq- may be seen in the spelling Περεὺς on vases depicting the gorgon-slayer, cf. ABV p.5, Nettos painter no.4 (= LSAG p.76, no.6b, cf. plate 1); ABV p.77, Kleitias no.2 (= J.D. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-Figure* [Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951] plate 12.3); ABV p.106, Vienna 3614 (= K. Schauenburg, *Perseus in der Kunst des Altertums* [Bonn, 1960] plate 10.1). Cf. the name of the Attic hero recorded by Hesychius s.v. Περρεὺς, perhaps associated with the deme of Περρῖδαι (cf. RE s.v. Perreus, col.906). J.S. Traill (cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 14 [1975] p.119, no.28; pp.88ff.), who points out that Περρῖδαι was a locality, not a true deme, assembles the literary references to it, and suggests reading [Πε]ρρῖδ[αι] in line 53 of the deme catalog of about 200 B.C., II² 2362 (cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 14, p.132, no.2). His rejection of [Π]ερρεῖδαι in the pryt. cat., *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p.36, no.3, line 11 (= *Agora* 15, p.79, no.68) (ca. 290–280), in favor of [Τ]υρρῖδαι, i.e. Περρεῖδαι carved in error for intended Τυρρεῖδαι, seems not entirely convincing (cf. 9.024, Notes and Corrections c), p.202 supra).

On later vases Περσ- occurs, cf. e.g. Περσες, ARV² p.1060, Polygnotos group no.136.

Μαρσῦας: Μαρσῦας Μαρσῦου II² 2336.241 (102/1–97/6) cat., an Athenian; Μαρσῦου II² 5286 (s. I p.) sep. mon. of Athenians.

Κάρσις: II² 1956.27 (fin. s. IV a.) cat., not an Athenian; Καρσίχαο[ς] II² 8456 (s. III/II a.) sep. mon. of a Galatian.

For Ἐρσιγένης, etc., cf. no.6 infra.

3) In a few other words, originally non-Greek, e.g. βύρσα: I² 314.137 (407/6), II² 1641.5 (ca. 350), II² 1576.5 (ca. 330–320) inventories; *Deltion* 8 (1923) pp.96ff., no.3, line 8 (= SEG 3.18; 10.101; Sokolowski, *Supplément* p.10, no.4) (ca. 420) lex sacra; θύρσος II² 1368.138, 139 (ca. 162/3 p.) Iobacchi regulations.

4) In the name Ὀρσιμένης, -ρσ- seems to have been normal, cf. II² 1623.1 (333/2) inv., a native Athenian; also on a rf. vase by Euthymides, cf. ARV² p.26, no.2 (= CVA, Germany 12, plate 169). But on two bf. vases the spelling Ὀρσιππος = Ὀρριππος, cf. Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* p.177, with -ρ- = -ρρ-, cf. ABV p.184, Xenokles no.4; CVA, Italy 42, plates 3.1–2, 5.1–2, Florence no.70994 (Zurich painter?). Cf. also ὀρροπύγιο[ν] in II² 1498.27 (340–330) inv. (from a different root, but ὀρσο- in Ionic).

5) The spelling Φερσεφώνη (or Περσεφώνη) has always -ρσ- on stone inscriptions; both Φερσεφώνη and Φρεσ(σ)εφώνη occur on defixiones. But -ρρ- is universal on stone inscriptions in Φερρέφαττα, cited as the Attic name for this goddess by Moeris s.v. Φερρέφαττα. This is also the spelling on defixiones (once Περρέφαττα). The dipinti offer a wide variety of spellings (Φερρέφαττα, Φερέφασα, Φερόφαττα, Περόφατα; -ρ- probably for -ρρ- in all these); but there is only one occurrence with -ρσ-, cf. Περσώφατα, ARV² p.1012, Persephone painter no.1 (= Richter-Hall plates 124, 171.124). For the attestations of these names, cf. 38.011b, p.450 supra.

6) Alongside numerous examples of έρρηφορῶ (three times άρρηφορῶ) there are two examples of έρρηφόρος on theatre-seats, perhaps of Augustan date (for examples, cf. 6.014, nos.16–7, p.128 supra). The -ρσ- here is probably related to learned attempts to explain the word with reference to Herse, the daughter of Cecrops. The sep. mon. of Έρσής, Π² 11345.1 (ca.400), describes her Attic grave as τηλοῦ πατρίδος, and the -ρσ- is thus not surprising in the name of this foreign person. The short ded., Π² 783 (450–400, cf. LSAG p.323, no.17), reads: Ἀπόλλωνος : ΕΡΣΟ. The text remains obscure, but it should presumably be assigned to the non-Athenian Archedamos of Thera. Perhaps ΕΡΣΟ = Έρσου, with a foreign -ρσ- and psilosis.

But prosopographical considerations make it virtually certain that the Έρσιγένης listed as a prytanis in a decree of the third century is really Έρξιγένης, cf. 45.01, no.4, p.552 infra.

Under other circumstances, -ρρ- is virtually universal in texts in the Attic dialect, e.g. άρρην: Π² 1425.390 (368/7) inv.; Π² 1361.7 (post 350), sacred law (orgeones); *Hesperia* 39 (1970) pp.47ff., line 13 (s. IIIa.) sacred law; δερρίσκος: Π² 1425.408 (368/7) inv.; ταρρός: Π² 1604.23, *et al.* (ca. 376?) inv., many examples in the naval inventories Π² 1604–Π² 1631; Τυρρηνός, Τυρρηνικός: Π² 1648.36 (ca. 350), Π² 1629.223 (325/4) both inventories; Π² 2332.129 (183/2) cat.; χέρρος: Π² 2492.16 (346/5, cf. SEG 24.202); etc. Also the numerous examples of Ἀρρηνίδης (for examples, cf. 23.011o, p.373 supra) and of Πύρρος, Πύρραιθος, etc., e.g. PA nos. 12494–12524.

The tribute list of 452/1, Π² 193.9, 31 (= ATL 2, no.3, col.2.31, col.4.9), is very unusual in having -ρσ- in both Χερσονήσιοι and Χερσονησίται. Elsewhere in the fifth and fourth centuries -ρρ- is universal in both words, viz.:

Tribute lists:

Χερρονέσιοι: Π² 195.2 (= ATL 2, no.5) (450/49); Π² 198.18 (= ATL 2, no.8) (447/6); Π² 213.50 (= ATL 2, no.23, col.1.57) (432/1); Π² 214.23 (= ATL 2, no.27, col.3.31) (428/7); ATL 2, no.A9, col.1.137 (425/4), Χερρονέσοι *ib.* col.3.79, 106 (= Π² 63.123, 143, Π² 64.27).

Χερρονεσίται: Π² 197.10 (= ATL 2, no.2, col.10.6) (453/2); Π² 194.24 (= ATL 2, no.4) (451/0); Π² 201.25 (= ATL 2, no.11, col.2.7) (444/3); Π² 210.9 (= ATL 2, no.20) (435/4); ATL 2, no.26, col.1.14 (= Π² 231.14), *ib.* col.3.52 (= Π² 216/217.50), Χερρονήσοι *ib.* col.1.13 (= Π² 231.13) (429/8).

Other examples of *Χερρονησ-* from the fifth and fourth centuries:

Ι² 375.3, 4, 5, *et al.* (448/7) inv.; Ι² 943.1 (440/39) cas. list; Ι² 1006 (s. Va.) sep. mon.; Ι² 10505 (ante 350) sep. mon.; Ι² 1613.298 (353/2) inv.; Ι² 1443.117 (344/3) inv.; Ι² 228.10 (341/0) decree; Ι² 275.10 (ante 336/5) decree.

The *-ρσ-* reappears in the Hellenistic Period, cf. Ι² 2332.163 (183/2) cat. (Panathenaic victors): Χ[ερ]σονησίτης; Ι² 9093 (s. II/Ia.) sep. mon.: Χαιρίας Κρής | Χερσονάσιος.

The existence of *θάρρσ* can be inferred from the numerous anthroponyms in *Θαρρ-*, viz.:

Θαρράς: Ι² 847.17 (fin. s. Va.?) cat.; Ι² 964.3, 29 (= SEG 10.424) (ca. 409, cf. *Hesperia* 33 [1964] p.55) cas. list; Ι² 1749.5, 79 (son of a *Θαρριάδης*, cf. *infra*) (341/0) pryt. cat. (L.).

Θάρρηξ: Ι² 137.4 (354/3) decree; *Θαρρ*ελείδες: Ι² 596 (ca. 520) ded.

Θαρράπτη: Ι² 12988 (ca. 350) sep. mon.; *Θαρριάδης* (father of *Θαρράς*, cf. *supra*): Ι² 1749.5, 79 (341/0) pryt. cat.; Ι² 9087 (s. IIIa.) sep. mon.: *Θαρριάδας Κρής*; Ι² 5369 (s. IVa.) sep. mon. (Athenian).

Θαρρύνων: Ι² 681.16 (275/4) decree; Ι² 835.15 (paulo post 229/8) decree; Ι² 2068.102 (155/6) eph. cat. (L.).

Cf. *θαρραλής* in a third-century B.C. metrical sep. mon., Ι² 11960.2 (ca. 250). Names in *Θρασσ-* are even more frequent, cf. PA nos. 7290–7374. Names in *Θαρσν-* are rare and post-classical: *Θαρσύας*: Ι² 6325.5 (s. IIa.) sep. mon., an Athenian; *Θάρσυτος*: Ι² 896.48 (186/5) decree, the man an Athenian; *Θαρσύτας*: Ι² 6757.1 (s. Ip.) sep. mon., has the demotic *Λουσιεύς*.

The only certain examples of names in *Θαρσν-* are: *Θαρσών*, a slave, cf. Ι² 11622 (s. II/Ia.) sep. mon.; and the Theban *Θαρσάας* appearing on a sep. mon. of the third century B.C., cf. *Deltion* 25 (1970) p.83, no.6 (= Ι² 8869 corrected) (cf. 7.0121 *supra*); but a name *Θαρσάας* might lie behind the *Θαρσείας* recorded by Spon on a sep. mon., Ι² 6037 (date?), of an Athenian, if Spon misread a sigma of the form *Σ* as epsilon. Quite exceptional is the appearance of *Θαρσ-*, the beginning of a name, probably that of an Athenian, in the cat., Ι² 2345.86 (ante 350); the name could of course have begun *Θαρσν-* or *Θαρσν-*.

Lit.: MS³ pp.99–100, notes 881–893; Lademann p.121.

43.04 σσ and ττ

On stone texts in the Attic dialect *-ττ-* is virtually universal in all except foreign words from the earliest occurrences until the beginning of the Roman Period, viz.:

Τέτιχος (τ=ττ): Ι² 976 (= LSAG p.77, no.19; IGAA p.133, no.34) (ca. 560–550?) sep. mon.

τέταρας (τ=ττ) *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p.332, line 13 (fin. s. VIa.) decree (deme); *τέτταρες*, cf. Ι² 10.11 (453/2, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.89, no.40), Ι² 22.13 (450/49, cf. SEG 23.7), Ι² 99.4, 8 (416/5), Ι² 97.16 (416), Ι² 179.c10 (ca. 350, cf. *Staatsverträge* 2, p.298, no.321; SEG 21.260) (cf. *infra*) all decrees; Ι² 1666.A16, A24, *et al.* (356/5–353/2), Ι² 1668.6, 42, *et al.* (347/6) inventories; etc.

τρίτο(ι)α: I² 5.5 (init. s. Va., cf. Sokolowski, *Lois*² p. 6, no. 4) decree; I² 76.37 (435–414, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 222) decree; I² 844/845 B.6, 12 (= Sokolowski, *Lois*² p. 32, no. 16) (fin. s. Va. aut init. s. IVa.) lex sacra.

τρίττος: I² 190.7 (ca. 420) sacred law; I² 883–I² 885, I² 897–I² 901 (12 instances) (s. Va.) horoi.

πράττω: I² 4.22 (485/4), I² 7.11 (478–470, cf. *Hesperia* 36 [1967] pp. 72ff., no. 15) decrees; I² 186/7 B.37 (ca. 450) decree (deme); etc.

θάλαττα: I² 375.10 (448/7), I² 377.24 (in Ionic script) (434–432), I² 301.62 (409/8) inventories; I² 57.19 (423), I² 63.47 (= *ATL* 2, no. A9) (425/4), I² 43.48, 50 (378/7), I² 105.17 (368/7), I² 682.13 (post 256/5) decrees; etc.

Υμήτιος: I² 1668.33 (347/6), I² 1669.13 (post 350), I² 1627.350 (330/29) inventories; *Hesperia* 46 (1977) p. 259, lines 40, 41 (175–150) inv.; etc.

Here the decree recording a treaty with Corcyra, I² 97 (375/4), is instructive: θάλασσαν occurs in line 29, in the Corcyrean version of the oath, but θάλατταν in the Attic version, line 18.

The most puzzling exception is a fragment of a decree recording an alliance with Naxos, I² 179 a (ca. 350, cf. *Staatsverträge* 2, p. 298, no. 321; *SEG* 21.260), which has διαλάσσοντας in line 6 and ἡσσηθῆι in *ib.* 13, especially if the association of I² 179 c with it (with τέτταρας, cf. *supra*) is correct; it is clear that the text of I² 179 a was otherwise in Attic, as it has εἰάν, διαφορά. Another decree, containing the oath which Philip of Macedon required members of the League of Corinth to take after Chaeronea, I² 236 (338/7), has [θ]άλασ[σαν] in line 7 a, Θεσ[σαλῶν] in line b 2, no examples of -ττ-, perhaps because of the international character of the document (L.).

In verse texts in artificial poetical diction the occurrence of -σσ- is common, cf. κισσοφοροῦντι I² 3101 (post 350) ded.; ἡσσονα, etc. I² 4968 (350–300) oracular text in epic diction; τέσσαρα in I² 3453.3, 4 (ca. 360) ded. (priv.); τεσσαράκοντ' I² 2640 (ca. 400? cf. p. 51 *supra*) public horos; etc.

The Θεσάλος on a sep. mon. of the fifth century, I² 1042, is not an exception to the avoidance of -σσ-, as non-Attic spellings are common enough on the tombstones of foreigners, cf. Μεσάνιος on the similar text, I² 1030. One expects -σσ- in Θεσ-σάλος, but the text may be early enough to have geminates written simplex; otherwise it belongs with examples of geminate simplification in 43.012, p. 515 *supra*. It is clear that the Attic form was Θετταλός, cf. I² 109.16 (363/2), I² 175.2, 5 (361/0, cf. *SEG* 21.244), I² 545.5, 7, *et al.* (321/0? cf. *SEG* 24.106), I² 850.13 (init. s. IIa.) all decrees; I² 1424 a (in add.) 296 (369/8) inv.; I² 1956.51 (fin. s. IVa.) cat.; I² 8850 (ca. 350), I² 8846 (ca. 350), I² 8853/54 (post 350), I² 8851 (s. IV/IIIa.), I² 8847 (post 317/6), I² 8845 (ca. s. IIIa.), I² 8848 (s. IIa.) all sep. monuments; etc.

Two amphiktyonic decrees of the later second century contain spellings in -σσ-: Θεσσαλῶν I² 1132.4 (decree of 248/7, but inscribed on this text in 130/29), probably not surprising as this section of the text (lines 1–39) is in Phocian; but Θεσ[σαλῶν] in *ib.* 54 occurs in a part in the Attic dialect (130/29). In the other amphiktyonic decree there are no other non-Attic spellings: cf. διαφυλάσσειν I² 1134.100 (117/6). The international character of these amphiktyonic

documents may have played a part in these early incursions of -σσ- from the Koine, similar to those frequent in Attic texts of the Roman Period.

There are a number of words which are an exception to the avoidance of -σσ-, all of them non-Attic. These include numerous foreign toponyms and ethnic adjectives, such as Τειχιούσσα (contrast Attic Μυρρινοῦττα), Ἀλικαρνασσεύς, -σσιος, Μυήσσιος (contrast Attic Ὑμήτιος, Ὑμητός), Ποιήσσιος, Μεσσήνιος, Μασσαλιώτης, Ἀσσηρίτης, etc. A list of these words is given in 43.01362, pp.524–525 *supra*; it should be noted that there was a certain tendency to simplify the non-Attic -σσ- to -σ-, cf. 43.012, p.514, p.515 *supra*. Some non-Attic names, such as Νάρκισσος or Latin names like Βάσσος, Κράσος, etc. retain their -σσ-, but Κάσιος is much more common than Κάσσιος, cf. 43.0138, p.526 *supra*.

Likewise always -σσ- in βασίλισσα, first introduced into Attic from the Koine, cf. II² 1299.11 (post 236/5) decree (troops and Eleusinians); II² 1330.69 (post 163) decree (synodos of technitai); *HSCP*, suppl. 1 (1940) pp.521 ff., line 31 (= II² 1076.31, reading improved) (196–217 p.) decree, reading β|ασι|λισσαν; etc. The βασίλισσα of the decree, II² 776.9 (255/4), is an example of simplification of geminates, cf. 43.012, no.5, p.515 *supra*. Other feminines in -σσ- include ethnics in -ισσα, e.g. Ἀκαρνάνισσα: II² 2332.97 (183/2) cat.; Ἀπάμισσα: II² 8339 (s. Ia.) sep. mon.; *BCH* 96 (1972) p.609, fig.46 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.; Ἀντιόχισσα: II² 8143 (s. III/IIa.), II² 8130 (s. III/IIa.), II² 8101 (post 317/6), II² 8129 (s. IIa.) sep. monuments; etc.; Γαλάτισσα: II² 8452 a (in add. nova) (s. II/Ia.) sep. mon.; Ἐρμιόνησσα: II² 8497 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.; Εὐμένισσα: II² 8503 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.; Λαοδίκισσα: II² 9167 (s. II/Ia.), II² 9173 (s. II/Ia.), II² 9170 (s. I/IIp.) sep. monuments, etc.; Μακρώνισσα: II² 9275 (post 300) sep. mon.; Μήδισσα: II² 9355 (s. IIa.) sep. mon.; Νικομήδισσα: II² 10016 (post 300), II² 10006 (s. Ip.), II² 10012 (aet. Rom.) sep. monuments, etc.; Παιώνισσα: II² 10040 (s. IIa.) sep. mon.; Τιβαράνησσα: II² 10451 (s. IIa.) sep. mon. The Μεθάνισσα of the sep. mon., II² 9329 (s. Ia.), has probably another case of geminate simplification (cf. 43.012, no.5, p.515 *supra*), and that Μεθάνισσα was normal may probably be assumed. Cf. also Κρησσα: II² 9092 (s. II/Ia.) sep. mon. Anthroponyms in -ασσα: Ἐρατώνασσα: II² 5284 (s. IIa.), Ἀρχιάνασσα: II² 7721 (s. Ia.) both sep. monuments of Athenians; Ἀρχιάνασσα: II² 8581 (s. IIa.) sep. mon. But normally -αττα in the Attic Φερεφάττα, cf. *infra*.

In II² 3827.2–3 (ca. 350) ded. of the boule of the Areopagus, an anthroponym Μολοσσός occurs, but the family concerned is Elean, not Athenian. Otherwise only Μολοττός in pre-Roman texts, e.g. II² 1927.129 (post 350) cat.; II² 5260 (post 300) sep. mon. (persons in both texts Athenians).

The -σσ- in Ἀρκέσσας, the name of an Athenian in the sep. mon., II² 6160 (s. IV a.), is a false geminate like the examples in 43.022, no.3, p.533 *supra*. An Athenian with the name Ἀρκέσας is known from the decree, II² 957.56 (157/6), cf. *PA* nos.2206–2208.

The usage of the dipinti and defixiones is much less strict. Both -σσ- and -ττ- occur in dipinti, usually written simplex because of the early date. While it is certain that some of the painters were not Athenian, the mere presence of -σσ- in names from myth would not necessarily indicate

that the author of the dipinto was non-Athenian, as epic and other poetic traditions doubtless played some part in the retention of -σ(σ)- in names not in common use outside myth. It is significant that -τ(τ)- and -σ(σ)- occur in 'Ολυττεύς/'Ολυσσεύς but only -σ(σ)- in 'Οδυσσεύς (examples in 40.04, p.484 supra); some instances of 'Ολυσεύς are on quite early vases, and the lambda is usually of the Attic type. The -τ- of Νέτος on an early bf. amphora may have been painted over an erased sampi (cf. 1.014, p.24 supra), although this painter was probably Athenian (Περεύς for Περεσεύς on another of his vases). On another Tyrrhenian vase Νέσος is found, cf. ABV p.96, no.13 (= CVA, France 1, plates 5.6, 14; 7.5). Cf. the names Κίσος, e.g. three times on ARV² p.1253, Eretria painter no.57 (= CVA, Germany 22, plate 112.1), Κισσό (i.e. Κισσώ), e.g. ARV² p.1247, Eretria painter no.1 (= Pfuhl, *Malerei* no.560). But Κίττος on a fourth-century Panathenaic vase, cf. ABV p.413, Kittos, Potter. But the Attic -τ(τ)- may be extended to names from saga where -σ(σ)- might be expected, e.g. Κατάνδρα on a bf. vase, cf. ABV p.136, Group E no.54 (= Pfuhl, *Malerei* no.277); Κατάδρα (for the omitted nasal, cf. 41.011, p.488 supra) on a rf. vase, ARV² p.163, Paseas no.4 (= J. Davreux, *La Légende de la Prophétisse Cassandre* [Paris, 1942] plate 24, fig.45; *HRF* 1, p.144, no.4); but elsewhere Κασσάνδρα, cf. ARV² p.1270, Kodros painter no.11 (= E. Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre* Troisième Série [Paris, 1922] p.269, no. G458); ARV² pp.805–806, Followers of Douris no.89 (= Smith, *Catalogue* 3, p.365, no. E773); cf. Κασσανδρεύς on stone texts (cf. 43.01362, p.525 supra). But the opposite phenomenon, the extension of non-Attic -σ(σ)- to the native Attic name Φερεφέαττα, can be seen in Φερέφασα on a rf. vase, cf. ARV² p.496, Oreithyia painter no.5 (= CVA, Italy 14, plates 35–36; 37.1–3) (for examples of Φερεφέαττα, etc., cf. 38.011 b, p.451 supra). But one may doubt that the presence of -σ- in τέσσαρα on the famous Vatican vase of Exekias, cf. ABV p.145, no.13 (= *FR* plate 131; *HBG* p.106), can have been due to the influence of epic -σσ-, and Kretschmer thought he saw other indications of non-Athenian origin in the dipinti on vases of this painter (cf. *Vaseninschriften* p.80).

In the defixiones too -σσ- occurs occasionally, and there is of course no reason to suppose that all of these texts are from Athenian hands. But proportionately -σσ- occurs only on a few texts. Thus of those published in *IG* III.3 γλώσσα or γλώσα occurs only on nos.60, 96, and 97 (many times); γλώττα or γλώτα occurs on more than twenty. On defixiones only -ττ- is found in Φερεφέαττα, cf. 38.011 b, p.450 supra.

In the Roman Period spellings with -σσ- become frequent, although the Attic -ττ- does not die out in all words. Cf. περισσῶν in *II*² 2130.45 (192/3 p.) eph. cat., but περριττεύοι in *Hesperia* 21 (1952) pp.381 ff., line 25 (= *II*² 1092 B.6) (ca. 165 p.) decree; τέτταρ- in *II*² 1365.22, *II*² 1366.7 (s. Ip.) regulations concerning the cult of Menes set up by Xanthus of Lycia; but τεσσάρων occurs in the financial records, *II*² 2776.92 (aet. Trajani, cf. *Hesperia* 41 [1972] p.476), which has also βησσῶν in line 117; κιττώσεις in the list of sacrifices, *II*² 1367.21 (fin. s. Ip.), but Κίσσοσ, anthroponym in the ephebic list, *II*² 2245.125 (262/3 aut 266/7 p.); κρείττονα in *II*² 3661.2 (ca. 200 p.) ded., ἔλαττον *II*² 2774.2 (s. III p.) will, but κρέσσονα in *II*² 11952.5 (s. V p.) sep. mon. in Ionizing verse (L.); but also in prose, note κρείσσον in *II*² 1368.135 (ca. 162/3 p.) Iobacchi regulations, which also has πρassoμένης *ib.* 99, πρassoέσθω *ib.* 106, προστάσσοντας *ib.* 66; but πράττειν in *II*² 1071.5 (22/1?, cf. *SEG* 17.34) decree; *II*² 1072.11 (116/7 p.) decree, *II*² 1076.9 (196–217 p.) decree; προστάττει in *II*² 1078.6 (ca. 220 p.), διατάσσεσθαι in the letter of Plotina, *II*² 1099.18–19 (121 p.); Θετταλός on the sep. mon., *II*² 8852 (s. Ip.), Θετταλονικέως

on another, II² 8841/2 (aet. Rom.); φυλάσσειν in II² 3592.19 (165/6–168/9 p.) ded., and on two sep. monuments, II² 13209.5, II² 13210.4 (ca. 150 p.), but φυλάττειν on all copies of the sep. curse-text set up by Herodes Atticus: II² 13194.16, II² 13195.11, II² 13197.10, II² 13188.9, II² 13189.11, II² 13192.12, II² 13198.11, II² 13200.9, II² 13201.14 (ca. 150 p.). θάλασσα seems to be universal in the Roman Period, cf. II² 3299.4 (132 p.) ded. (L.); II² 13222 (s. III p.) sep. mon. (Ιασα, L.); and all the copies of Herodes Atticus' sep. curse-text of ca. 150 A.D. (just cited for -ττ- in φυλάττειν, cf. supra): II² 13189.8, II² 13192.9, II² 13194.13, II² 13195.8, II² 13196.10, II² 13198.8, II² 13200.7.

Of particular interest is the ded. with κρείττονα (cited supra), because it has the -ττ- in an Ionic, poetical diction.

Lit.: MS³ pp. 101–102, notes 899–907; Lademann pp. 57–60.

43.05 πφ, τθ, and κχ

The so-called geminate aspirates, or long, or lengthened, aspirate stops as they are sometimes called, πφ, τθ, and κχ, occur in only a few Greek words. The gemination may be expressive, as in Ἀτθίς or Ἰαχχος (from ἰάχω, cf. Chantraine, *DEG* 2, p.452) and such hypocoristic terms as τίτθη, Ψαπφώ (from τιθήνη, Ψαφαρός, with a syncope characteristic of words of this type); or it may occur in non-Greek words, such as Βάκχος, etc., or Ἀπφιος, Ἀπφιανός. A rare type is seen in σακχυφά(ντης), a compound of σάκκος and ὑφαν-, II² 2403.5 (part of II² 10, cf. *SEG* 21.218; 24.75) (401/400) decree.

The orthography indicates that the aspiration, as expected, occurred only at the end, at the point of release, of the stops. But in certain cases variant spellings with two aspirate stops occur, e.g. Βάχχος, Ἰαχχος, Ἀφφιος. The phonetic value of these spellings in -χχ- and -φφ- (-θθ- does not occur for -τθ- in Attic texts) is uncertain, and this problem cannot be separated from that concerning the aspirate clusters -φθ- and -χθ-. If the -χ- of -χθ- is not a true aspirate, but a voiceless stop which is lax (i.e. lenis) rather than tense (fortis), then the first -χ- of -χχ- would also be a lax voiceless stop (cf. arguments in 46.05, p.571 *infra*). Those who reject this view would regard -χχ- as aspirated throughout and the result of assimilation of -κ- to -χ-. For lenis and fortis stops, cf. Heffner, *Phonetics* p. 120.

The examples of -χχ- for -κχ- are by no means all late in date. Cases are attested on rf. vases, cf. Βάχχε on a vase in Bologna, ARV² p.1158, Bologna PU 286 (Manner of the Dinos painter) (= *HRF* 2, p.183, no.6; Pfuhl, *Malerei* no.562)¹; Βάχχη on another in London, ARV² p.1159ii, near the Chrysis painter (= Smith, *Catalogue* 3, p.305, no.E503); but {BA}Βάκχος on a vase of the Brygos painter, ARV² p.370, no.13 (= Smith, *Catalogue* 3, p.87, no.E65); Βάχχ[ι]ος on a fourth-century Panathenaic vase mentioning the archon of 375/4, cf. *ABV* p.413, Bakchios no.2, but Βάκχιος *ib.* no.1. There are also a few examples on stone

¹ The reading Βάχχε seems virtually certain, as the two consonants are identical in appearance, and a reading Βάκκε (paint having run slightly on two kappas) seems a much less likely possibility.

texts before the Roman Period (cf. nos. 1, 2, 17, 18), and in the Σαφό on a rf. vase by the Brygos painter, ARV² p.385, no.228, the Φ probably represents -φφ- rather than -φ- (cf. p.544 infra) (L.).

The rendition of the sounds as a geminate stop *without* aspiration is virtually unattested: Σαππως occurs on a rf. vase of the Polygnotos group, ARV² p.1060, no.145 (= Immerwahr, *Book Rolls* p.26, no.18), and τίπη occurs on a fourth-century sep. mon. (no.51 infra). These may be graphic mistakes.

It seems doubtful that any fundamental difference in pronunciation of -κχ- takes place in Roman times, when the frequency of -κχ- increases slightly, but the -κχ- spellings always remain normal (cf. 38.03, p.470 supra). In the Iobacchi text of the later second century A.D., -κχ- occurs 28 times, -κχ- only twice (cf. no.9 infra). Both -κχ- and -κχ- also occur in a decree of the late Hellenistic Period (cf. no.18 infra), and a pryt. cat. of the Roman Period (cf. no.6 infra).

The simplification of -κχ- to -κ- is also found. The earliest examples are from the late Hellenistic Period (cf. nos. 13, 21, 22 infra) and the phenomenon remains rare in Roman times. See also on Πιθεύς/Πιτθεύς infra.

Βάκχος (and numerous derivatives such as Βάκχιος, Βακχύλος, Βακχίς, etc.):

Examples of the -κχ- spelling are very numerous, e.g. Π² 4558 (400–350) ded. (priv.); Π² 6349 (fin. s. IV a.), Π² 6086 (post 300) sep. monuments; Π² 1956.5, 48 (fin. s. IV a.) cat.; Π² 641.21 (299/8) decree; Π² 2325.284 (ca. 250), Π² 2332.182 (183/2) catalogs; Π² 896.49 (186/5), Π² 957.77 (157/6) decrees; Π² 1938.50 (152/1) cat.; Π² 2949.4 (post 150) ded.; Π² 1008.108 (118/7), Π² 1011.116 (106/5) decrees; Π² 1335.16 (103/2) decree (sabaziasai); Π² 2336.61 (102/1–97/6) cat.; Π² 1028.122, 124 (101/100, cf. SEG 24.188) decree; Π² 2948.4 (s. II a.) ded.; Π² 10418 (s. II/1 a.), Π² 10513 (s. II/1 a.), Π² 7576 (s. II/1 a.) sep. monuments; Π² 1043.87 (38/7) decree (L.); Π² 10095 (fin. s. I a.), Π² 10941 (s. I a.) (L.), Π² 10417 (s. I a.) sep. monuments; Π² 1973.34 (40/1–53/4 p.) eph. cat.; Π² 5925 (post 50 p.) sep. mon.; Π² 1996.54 (84/5–92/3 p.) eph. cat. (L.); Π² 9461 (s. I p.) sep. mon.; Π² 2020.76 (ca. 110 p. aut paulo post), Π² 2037.38 (125/6 p.), Π² 2051.57 (144/5–149/50 p.), Π² 2065.7 (150/1 p.) eph. catalogs; Π² 1773.32 (166/7 p.) (L.), Π² 1776.31 (169/70 p.) pryt. catalogs; Π² 2103.58 (172/3 p. aut paulo post), Π² 2107.15 (paulo ante 180 p.) eph. catalogs; Π² 1797.7 (ca. 180 p.) pryt. cat.; Π² 2113.220 (183/4–191/2 p.), Π² 2130.200 (192/3 p.), Π² 2128.69 (190–200 p.), Π² 2199.145 (ca. 200 p.) eph. catalogs; Π² 2361.31 (init. s. III p.) cat.; Π² 2245.226 (262/3 aut 266/7 p.) eph. cat.; Π² 4533.42 (s. III p.) hymns (in various metres); Π² 9462 (aet. Rom.), Π² 6915 (aet. Rom.), Π² 10055 (aet. Rom.) sep. monuments; etc.

Βάκχος, etc.:

- 1) [Β]άκχιος Π² 2939.1 (same text as Π² 4339) (s. IV a.) ded. (L.);
- 2) Βακχίς Π² 8591 (s. II/1 a.) sep. mon. (L.);
- 3) Βάκχιος Π² 1717.10 (56/5) cat. of archons (L.);
- 4) Βακχίς Π² 8592 (fin. s. I a.) sep. mon. (L.);
- 5) Βάκχων Π² 1998.23 (fin. s. I p.) eph. cat.;
- 6) Βάκχιος Π² 1765.49 (138/9 p.) pryt. cat., Βακχύλου ib. 46;
- 7) Βακχ[ύλλ]ου Π² 3742.3 (150/1 p.) ded., cf. Π² 2065.7;
- 8) Βάκχιος Π² 2083.92 (post 150 p.) eph. cat. (L.);

- 9) ἀρχιβάχου Π² 1368.12–13 (ca. 162/3 p.) Iobacchi regulations, Ἰόβαχος *ib.* 60; but -κχ- 28 times (L.);
- 10) Βαχίου SEG 19.299 (= *Archaiologika Poikila* 1960, p. 17) sep. mon.;
- 11) Βάχης, Βαχίου *Polemon* 4 (1949) p. 28, no. 9, fig. 7 (= Π² 5871, which needs correction) (s. II p.) sep. mon.;
- 12) Βάχχος Π² 5364 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.
- Βάχος, etc.:
- 13) Βάχιος Π² 10940 (s. I a.) sep. mon.;
- 14) Βάχειος Π² 9463 (init. s. I p.) sep. mon.;
- 15) Βάχιος Π² 5411 (s. I/II p.) sep. mon.;
- 16) Βαχίς Π² 10942 (s. II/III p.) sep. mon.

The anthroponym Βακῶ of Π² 10943 is derived from the root βακ- seen in βάζω, βέβακται, etc.

Ἰακχος, Ἰακχαγωγός:

The regular -κχ- spelling occurs: Π² 847.21 (ca. 125), Π² 1006.74 (122/1) (but cf. no. 18 *infra*), Π² 1008.8 (118/7), Π² 1011.8 (106/5), Π² 1028.10 (101/100, cf. SEG 24.188) decrees; Π² 5044 (aet. Augusti?) theatre-seat; Π² 4771.11 (ca. 120 p.) (priv.), Π² 3733.20 (126/7 p.) dedications; Π² 2097.209 (169/70 p.), Π² 2113.89 (183/4–191/2 p.) eph. cat.; etc.

Ἰαχχος, etc.:

- 17) Ἰάχχων Π² 4680 (s. III a.) ded. (priv.) (L.);
- 18) Ἰαχχον Π² 1006.9 (122/1) decree, Ἰάχχων *ib.* 74 (L.);
- 19) Ἰαχχαγωγός *Hesperia* 21 (1952) pp. 381 ff., line 50 (= Π² 1092B.31) (ca. 165 p.) decree;
- 20) Ἰάχχων BCH 81 (1957) p. 512, fig. 6 (aet. Rom.) ded.

Ἰαχος:

- 21) Ἰάχου Π² 2986.9 (ca. 104) ded.;
- 22) Ἰαχον Π² 1029.7 (96/5) decree.

Doubtful:

Εἰαχ[χα][γωγο]ῦ Π² 3680.2–3 (init. s. III p.) ded.

Ἀππιος, Ἀππιος, Ἀφφιος:

Just why the geminate -p- of the Roman name Appius and derivatives should sometimes be transcribed with -πφ- or -φφ- is not altogether clear: perhaps Latin plosives were slightly aspirated, as they are sometimes elsewhere transcribed with Greek aspirate stops (cf. 38.023, p. 468 *supra*). In Attic texts the -φφ- spelling is no less frequent than that with -ππ-; -πφ- is fairly rare. The -ππ- spelling is the only one found before 150 A.D.

Ἀππιος, etc.:

- 23) Ἀππιον, Ἀππίου Π² 4109.2 (ca. 50) ded. (L.);
- 24) Ἀππίου Π² 10167 (s. I a.) sep. mon.;
- 25) Ἀππίου, Ἀπ[πίου] Π² 3897.2 (ca. 78, cf. *Hesperia* 18 [1949] p. 99) ded.;
- 26) Ἀππίαν, Ἀππίου Π² 4072.1, 4 (ca. 150 p.) ded.;

- 27) Ἀπλίου Π² 12568.a 7 (ca. 150 p.) sep. mon.;
 28) Ἀπλιον Π² 3978.3 (post 150 p.) ded.;
 29) Ἀπλίαν Π² 3607.1 (ante 161 p.) ded.;
 30) Ἀπλία Π² 13200.1 (ca. 150 p.) sep. curse-text set up by Herodes Atticus.

Ἀπφιος, etc.:

- 31) Ἀπφίως *Hesperia* 29 (1960) p. 29, no. 37, line 10 (ca. 170–190 p.) cat. (L.);
 32) Ἀπφιανός Π² 2113.91 (183/4–191/2 p.) eph. cat.;
 33) Ἀπφιανός Π² 2246.1 (ca. 267 p.?) eph. cat. (L.);
 34) Ἀπφιαν[ός Π² 2291.6 (aet. Rom.) eph. cat. (?).

Ἀφφιος, etc.:

- 35) Ἀφφειν Π² 6837 (post 150 p.) sep. mon. (= Ἀφφιον with syncope, cf. 28.01, no. 30, p. 403 supra);
 36) Ἀφφιανός Π² 2132.8 (ca. 192/3 p.) eph. cat.;
 37) Ἀφφιανοῦ, Ἀφφιανός Π² 2123.21, 22 (inter 190–200 p.) eph. cat.;
 38) Ἀφφιανός Π² 2208.20 (212/3 p. aut paulo post) eph. cat.;
 39) Ἀφφιανόν Π² 3765.5 (226/7–234/5 p.) ded. (cf. no. 41 infra);
 40) Ἀφφιανοῦ Π² 2235.2 (226/7–234/5 p.) eph. cat.;
 41) Ἀφφιανόν *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p. 64, no. 27 (226–235 p.) ded. (same man as in no. 39);
 42) Ἀφφιον Π² 7143 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.

The second-century A.D. sep. mon., Π² 10626 a (in add.), apparently has Ἀπλία in line 2, Ἀφφία in line 3; it proved impossible to find the stone to confirm the reading, but a note in the catalog of the Athens National Museum indicated that this monument was from Asia Minor (“ἀπὸ τῆ Μικρᾶ Ἀσίας”).

Σαπφώ:

The expected Σαπφώ is found on a sep. mon. of the Roman Period, Π² 6593 (s. Π p.). The other attestations of the word are on vases. Σαφώ occurs on a rf. vase, cf. ARV² p. 385, Brygos painter no. 228 (cf. FR plate 64) (L.), where the geminate consonant is probably not written out, i.e. the reading is Σαφφώ; likewise Φ = φφ in Φσαφώ incised on a bf. lekythos, cf. Haspels, ABL p. 228, no. 56 (= CVA, Poland 1, plate 16.3 a–b). The spelling Σαπφώ is recorded on a rf. lekythos, cf. Kretschmer, *op.cit.* p. 237; but the Ξαφω recorded for a lost rf. vase is very doubtful, cf. Beazley, *Greek Vases in Poland* p. 9, note 2; Immerwahr, *Book Rolls* p. 27, no. 19, notes 1–2. A peculiar Σαππως occurs on a vase of the Polygnotos group, ARV² p. 1060, no. 145 (= Immerwahr, *op.cit.* p. 26, no. 18). Coins of Eresos have Σαπφώ, Σαφφώ; of Mytilene, Ψαπφώ (cf. HN² pp. 560, 562); all are of the Roman Period. For the dissimilation of initial ψ- to σ-, cf. 45.02, p. 556 infra.

Ἀτθίς:

In the feminine anthroponym Ἀτθίς (also used to refer to Athens, cf. nos. 43–4, 46, and 48) only -τθ- is found in Attic texts:

- 43) Ἀτθί[δων *Hesperia* 36 (1967) p. 72, no. 15, line 23 (= SEG 24.1; I² 7 + I² 841) (ca. 478–470) sacred regulations;

- 44) *Ατθίς II² 10108 (ca. 350) sep. mon.;
 45) *Ατθίδα II² 13124.2 (s. IIa.) sep. mon.;
 46) *Ατθίδα II² 4473.21 (s. Ia.) ded. (priv.);
 47) *Ατθίς II² 9444 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.;
 48) *Ατθίδος II² 5021 (ca. 400p.) ded.;
 49) *Ατθίς II² 10897 (date?) sep. mon.

The masculine anthroponym has always -ττ-, cf. *Αττῆς in II² 10904 (ca. 350), II² 10903 (s. IVa.) sep. monuments.

τίτθῃ:

Only two texts have anything but the regular spelling:

- 50) τίθῃ II² 12559 (ante 350) sep. mon. (stone lost); either geminate simplification or a careless omission;
 51) τίττῃ *Hellenika* 15 (1957) pp.311 ff. (= AM 67 [1942] p.222, no.30; SEG 21.1064) (ca. 380) sep. mon.; deaspiration? or some kind of graphic mistake.

The normal spelling is attested many times, e.g. (all sep. monuments):

II² 12387 (init. s. IVa.); II² 12812 (390–365); II² 9112 (ca. 350); II² 12996 (365–340); II² 12813 (ca. 350); II² 12815 (ca. 350); II² 10843 (post 350); II² 7873 (post 350); II² 12242 (post 350); II² 13065 (340–317); II² 9271 (s. IIIa.); II² 12330 (s. III/IIa.); II² 9079 (s. II/Ia.); II² 11084 (s. II/Ia.); II² 12682 (s. Ia.); II² 5514 (s. Ip.) etc.; cf. also τείτθῃ II² 12814 (ca. 350) (cf. 9.022, no. 11, p. 196 supra); τί(ι)τθῃ II² 12816 (s. IVa.) (cf. 8.02, p. 167 supra).

Πιθεύς, Πιτθεύς:

This demotic normally has the form Πιθεύς, but a very rare variant with -τθ- is also found:

- 52) ἐκ Πιτθεύων II² 3637.13 (post 150p.) ded., but Πιθεύς in *ib.* 11 (L.);
 53) Πιτθ(εύς) II² 2155.6 (= SEG 12.115) (ca. 163–170p.) eph. cat.;
 54) Πιτθ(εύς) (?) II² 7229 (date?) sep. mon.

The two spellings certainly represent the same deme, for in no.52 supra the man is Πιθεύς and his wife is ἐκ Πιτθεύων; the demotic is listed under the tribe of Kekropis in no.53, and Πιθεύς under Kekropis in II² 2065.109, II² 2086.157, etc. Since the examples of -τθ- are not particularly early a simplification of an original -τθ- to a later -θ- is unwarranted. The toponym and demotic have probably been influenced by anthroponyms with the expressive geminate such as Πίτθων (from πίθηκος, cf. Schwyzler, GG 1, p. 637); this name is not found in any Attic inscription, but Πιτθεύς is a masculine anthroponym in II² 2325.224 (ca. 250), a cat., and the ΠΥΤΘΕΩΣ recorded by Pittakes on a lost text of unknown date, II² 5211, should perhaps be emended to Πιτθεύς (cf. 14.01, no.16, p.262 supra). Another anthroponym with -τθ-, in the inv., II² 1673.41 (333/2? cf. AE 1971 p. 112), is Πιτθίδου, i.e. Πιτθίδης.

Πιθεύς, the normal spelling of the demotic, is frequently attested, e.g.:

II² 1604.91 (ca. 376?) inv.; II² 7230 (390–365), II² 7226 (ante 350), II² 7227.2 (ca. 350), II² 7231 (ca. 350) sep. monuments; II² 1622.39 (ca. 342/1), II² 1623.231, 253 (333/2), II²

1627.434 (330/29), II² 1626.35 (ca. 330), II² 1628.67, 122, 574, 616 (326/5), II² 1629.716 (325/4), II² 1631.284 (323/2), II² 1632.59, 106, 136, 250 (323/2), II² 1471.25 (post 318/7) inventories; II² 1701.7 (post 350) cat.; II² 4604 (fin. s. IV a.) ded. (priv.); II² 7232 (ca. 300), II² 7228 (post 300), II² 7234 (post 300) sep. monuments; II² 1706.97 (fin. s. III a.), II² 1938.39 (152/1) catalogs; II² 7233 (s. II a.) sep. mon.; II² 1736.11 (ca. 50 p.) cat.; II² 2049.96 (142/3 p.) (L.), II² 2052.94 (145/6 p.) (L.), II² 2065.109 (150/1 p.), II² 2068.52 (155/6 p.) (L.), II² 2086.157 (163/4 p.) eph. catalogs; II² 1788.26 (174/5 p.), II² 1782.36 (177/8 p.) pryt. catalogs; etc.

Lit.: MS³ p. 76, note 654; Lademann p. 119.

44.00 ζ

44.01 ζ = [zd]

Two Attic texts conclusively show the pronunciation of zeta as the obstruent cluster [zd] in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.:

1) Meiggs-Lewis p. 54, no. 26 II (= *Imagines*² plate 9, no. 19; I² 763 + new fr.) dedicatory monument set up, probably shortly after 480–479, to commemorate Athenian victories in the Persian Wars: ἐν ἄρᾳ τοῖσζ' ἀδάμ[αντος. Here τοῖσζ' is for τοῖσδ(ε) and σζ = [zzd], the voiced equivalent of the frequent -σστ-, as in Ἀρίστων, etc. (cf. 43.021, p. 527 supra). This use of σζ = [zzd] is found elsewhere, cf. δικάσζοιτο on a sixth-century B.C. Argive text, IG IV, no. 554.4.

2) Dipinto on a vase of the Tyrrhenian group, ABV p. 96, no. 13 (= CVA, France 1, Text p. 6 and plate 7.5): Ζδεύς. For the use on this vase of non-Attic σ(σ) in Νέσος, cf. 43.04, p. 540 supra; such spellings occur elsewhere on Attic vases.

There is other evidence for the [zd] pronunciation of zeta, cf. Sturtevant, p. 92; Lejeune, *Phonétique* pp. 114–116 (= *Traité*² p. 96). Note in particular that zeta alone is used to transcribe Iranian zd in the fifth century, and sigma for Iranian z; but by the fourth century zeta is used for Iranian z.

Read Σακονίδες, not Ζακονίδες (as Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* p. 172), on a bf. vase, cf. ABV p. 171, no. 1.

The peculiár ΔΒΕΥΣ on another vase of the Tyrrhenian group, ABV p. 96, no. 14 (cf. *Imagines*² plate 3, no. 6), still awaits a satisfactory explanation. It had been thought to be in imitation of Corinthian script, where Β = e-vowels, but unless the instance of Ζεὺς for early Corinthian, cf. Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* p. 103, is due to epic or outside influence, one cannot expect Δεὺς to have occurred. In general the use of qoppa before upsilon argues against an Athenian writer, the ♪ and the EI of εἰμί in favor of one. In any case, the writing is very inept (cf. ΚΥεῖλιος for Κυλένιος), and far-reaching conclusions cannot be based upon it. Cf. p. 22 supra.

44.011 Βυζζάντιοι, Ἀζζειοί, Κλαζζομένοι

A peculiar ζζ occurs in some of the tribute lists in the names of three cities, viz.: Βυζζάντιοι, Ἀζζειοί (located in the Troad), and Κλαζζομένοι. The spelling may in-

dicating a pronunciation of zeta different from the [zd] current in Attica; either [zz] or [dz] might be suspected. The argument of W.S. Allen, *Vox Graeca* p. 55, note 3 (accepted by G. Nagy, *Greek Dialects and the Transformation of an Indo-European Process* p. 126, note 100), that the ζζ is an attempt to represent [dz] because it at least contains that sequence (ζζ = [zDZd]) and normal rules of assimilation in Greek would make ΔΣ improper (i.e. it would indicate [ts]) is plausible; but, alternatively, the phenomenon might perhaps be connected with a certain tendency to lengthen ξ and χ (at least in writing) seen elsewhere, cf. the ξξ frequent in Locrian and found in Thesalian and Delphian, cf. Buck, *GD*² p. 75, no. 89; cf. Δόξξα in 45.012, p. 555 *infra*. The spellings with ζζ are quite rare: Βυζζάντιοι occurs only once, but Βυζάντιοι occurs many times (add to the examples in *ATL* 2 that in *Hesperia* 41 [1972] p. 410, line 7, from list 1 of 454/3). Spellings with ζ and ζζ occur in the same list.

Examples: Βυζζάντιοι I² 195.28 (= *ATL* 2, no. 5, col. 5.16) (450/49), Κλαζζομένιοι *ib.* 4. The restored [Κλαζζο]μένιοι of *ATL* 2, no. 11, col. 1.17 (444/3) is probably correct. Ἀζζεῖοι in I² 203.26 (= *ATL* 2, no. 13); but Κλαζομένιοι in *ib.* 33, Βυζάντιοι *ib.* 22. Doubtful: [Κυζ-ζω]ενοί *Hesperia* 45 (1976) p. 280, col. 9.9, suggestion of M. McGregor for *ATL* 2, no. 2 (= I² 197) (453/2), Κλαζομένιοι *ib.* col. 8.6 (cf. *Hesperia* 43 [1974] p. 314, no. 1).

Lit.: MS³ p. 92, note 828.

44.02 ζ, σζ for σ; σζ for ζ

The use of ζ for [z] would be understandable only if ζ had passed from [zd] to [zz]. The first example of ζ for [z] (i.e. sigma when voiced, such as before [b] or [m]) is the [ε]ργαζμένο[ν] of an inv. probably dating from 342/1 (no. 1 *infra*); ἀναβαζμ[ού]ς occurs in another inv. of 329/8 (no. 2). A statement of Aristotle probably attests to the existence of a pronunciation for ζ other than [zd] (cf. Sturtevant, p. 93 and note 106). This use of ζ for sigma before beta or my remains very infrequent (but cf. nos. 3, 8) except in Ζμύρνα, Ζμάραγδος.

In the same line of the inventory just cited for ἀναβαζμούς occurs ἐνδέσζμους, the first example of σζ for σ = [z]. This and one other example of -σζμ- (cf. nos. 21, 22 *infra*) are probably comparable to the earlier spellings Κάσσμος, Φράσμον, etc. of vases and the τὰς μέν on a mid-fourth-century locatio (cf. 43.021, no. 90, p. 530 *supra* and 46.036, p. 567 *infra*), i.e. σζμ = [zzm] and is like the -σστ- found in Ἀρίστων, etc. Either the traditional spelling with σ prevented the use of -ζζμ- or the long consonant was actually voiced only at the point of release.

The first example of σζ for intervocalic zeta (now = [zz]) occurs in a decree of 321/0 (no. 23 *infra*). This use of σζ is fairly common in the Hellenistic Period, but very rare thereafter. It is probably an indication that intervocalic zeta remained a true geminate or long consonant, i.e. [zz] or [z̄] rather than [z], a fact supported by other evidence such as its treatment in prosody, cf. Lejeune, *Phonétique* p. 115, note 2 (= *Traité*² p. 97, note 6). In one text (cf. no. 25 *infra*) -ζ- was "corrected" to -σζ-. Cf. also nos. 24–30.

The use of simple σ for intervocalic zeta is very rare, and some of the instances may not be of phonetic significance. A decree of 340/39, II² 233.3, has ἐπ[ε]ψήφισεν (L.) where the normal formula demands the imperfect; but a person might have made such a mistake, the substitution of one tense for another, without actually confusing the sounds of σ and ζ . The ὑπόσωμα of the inv., II² 1424 a (in add.).398 (L.), might not be phonetically significant, as this is a fairly technical word which, although common enough in these texts, might have been unfamiliar to some. This text dates to 369/8 and would thus provide earlier evidence for a [zz] pronunciation of ζ than no. 1 infra. The συνενεχυράσουσιν for συνενεχυράζουσιν of the deme decree, II² 1183.35 (post 340) (L.), is of dubious value, as this text is full of copying errors (cf. 42.012, p. 504 supra). The correct reading of II² 1644.9 (= IG II, no. 707) is not Σεύς, but χρυ[σ]οῦς. It is possible, however, that the uneducated might occasionally confuse σ and ζ ; the Βυσαντία of an early Roman sep. mon. (no. 31 infra) might be due to such a confusion.

The use of ζ for initial or intervocalic σ is also very rare. An early example on a sep. mon. of ca. 350 (no. 33 infra), Τριχυρζτου for Τριχορυστου, is the work of an illiterate writer, but if it were a fairly correct rendition of his pronunciation, it could be evidence that some might have voiced an intervocalic -σ- under the influence of the rho. The Ζωζίμη of the doubtful no. 35 might be due to assimilation. The doubtful no. 36 might show confusion of -σσ- and -ζ- by the uneducated, but the reading Καζα[ν]δρεῦς is known only from an early copy and must remain dubious. The Ζωστράτου of no. 34 might be a result of the same confusion or of the influence of numerous names in Ζω-.

Lit.: MS³ p. 88, note 766; p. 92, note 829; Lademann pp. 56–57, 120.

Examples:

ζ for σ before μ , β :

- 1) [ε]λγαζμένο[ν II² 1582.79 (342/1, cf. *Hesperia* 19 [1950] p. 244, no. 16) inv.;
- 2) ἀναβαζμ[ού]ς II² 1672.308 (329/8) inv. (L.); also has -σζμ-, cf. no. 21 infra;
- 3) Ζμύκυθος *Hesperia* 38 (1969) p. 425, no. 2, line 91 (220/19) decree;
- 4) Ζμύρνα II² 9871 (s. II a.) sep. mon.;
- 5) Ζμυρνα[ί]ος II² 2313, col. 1.7 (194/3 et 190/89) cat.;
- 6) Ζμυρναίος II² 2314.19, 25 (182/1 et 178/7) cat.;
- 7) Ζμυρναίος II² 1011, col. 5.109 (106/5) decree (L.);
- 8) ψήφιζμα II² 1029.16 (96/5) decree (L.);
- 9) πρε[ζ]βευτοῦ II² 4176.4 (ca. 38 p., cf. SEG 23.123) ded. This has been read as πρε[σ]β- by J.H. Oliver, *Hesperia* 35 (1966) p. 151, but examination of the stone indicated that the doubtful letter had a somewhat better chance of being zeta than sigma (L.);
- 10) Ζμάραγδος II² 1945.93 (45/6 p.) cat.;
- 11) Ζμυρναίου II² 10372.3 (s. I p.) sep. mon.;
- 12) Ζμυρναίος II² 3163.3 (post aet. Hadriani) ded., Ζμύρναν ib. 14;
- 13) Ζμάραγδος II² 2030.26 (118/9 p.) eph. cat.;
- 14) Ζμαράγδου II² 2065.59 (150/1 p.) eph. cat.;
- 15) Ζμάραγδος II² 2122.32 (paulo ante 190 p.) eph. cat. (L.);

- 16) Ζμάραγδος II² 2191.121 (ca. 200 p.) eph. cat.;
- 17) Ζμύρ-να II² 12628.1 (s. II p.) sep. mon.;
- 18) Ζμάραγδος II² 1832.10 (ca. 231/2 p.) pryt. cat.;
- 19) Ζμύρ-να II² 8286 (act. Rom.) sep. mon.;
- 20) Ζμυρναία II² 10368 a (in add.) (act. Rom.) sep. mon.

σζ for σ before μ:

- 21) ἐνδέσζιμους II² 1672.308 (329/8) inv. (L.); also has -ζμ-, cf. no. 2 supra;
- 22) Ἐρασζμία II² 5538.1 (s. I p.) sep. mon. (L.).

σζ for ζ:

- 23) Ἰφισζεν *Hesperia* 6 (1937) p. 442, no. 1, line 10 (321/0) decree;
- 24) ἐπεψήφισζε II² 448.39 (318/7) decree;
- 25) Βυσζάντιος II² 8438 (post 350) sep. mon.; first Z was carved, then ΣΖ was carved over it (L.);
- 26) συναγωνισζόμενος II² 743.8 (init. s. III a.) decree (L.);
- 27) -ἰσζεν II² 689.5 (272/1) decree (L.);
- 28) ἐπ[ε]ψήφισζε[ν *Agora* 15, p. 152, no. 177 (188/7) decree;
- 29) καθαρ[ι]σζέστω II² 1365.9–10 (s. I p.) regulations for the cult of Menes Tyrannos set up by Xanthus of Lycia; θυσιάσζειν *ib.* 12, καθαρ[ι]σζεσται *ib.* 19; this text contains other non-Attic spellings (e.g. ου for υ, cf. 14.02, p. 267 supra; στ for σθ, cf. 46.02, p. 559 infra); καθαρ[ι]ζέστω, θυσιάζειν, etc. in the other copy, II² 1366 (L.);
- 30) Γάσζα Peek, *AG* 2, p. 26, no. 75 (act. Rom.) sep. mon.

σ for ζ:

- 31) Βυσσάντια II² 8439 (s. I a.) sep. mon. (L.);
- 32) Σώσμος II² 2097.276 (169/70 p.) eph. cat. (L.).

Ζήνωνος has been corrected from Ξήνωνος in the ded., II² 3120.8 (act. Augusti), where Σ = sigma.

ζ for σ:

- 33) Τρυκυρζίου (= Τρυκορυσίου) II² 7557 (ca. 350) sep. mon. (L.);
- 34) Ζωστράτου II² 12098 (s. II/1 a.) sep. mon. (L.).

Doubtful:

- 35) Ζωζίμη II² 9640 (date?) sep. mon. (cf. *IG* III, no. 2699);
- 36) Καζα[ν]δρεύς (= Κασσανδρεύς) II² 8996 (date?) sep. mon.

44.03 ζ ~ δ

44.031 Μυδονέζ, Ἀμυζονεῖς

The Μυδονέζ of the tribute lists have been plausibly identified (cf. *ATL* 1, p. 521) with the Ἀμυζονεῖς frequently attested later in literary texts, on coins and inscriptions. The variation between spelling with and without prefixed α- is typical in names from Asia Minor, cf. Kretschmer in *Glotta* 21 (1933) pp. 86–90 (cf. 29.00 c, p. 409). The

universal use of -δ- in the tribute documents and of -ζ- in later attestations may indicate a local sound change or be due to inaccurate transcription of the foreign name.

Examples:

Ι² 191, col.5.6 (= *ATL* 2, no.1) (454/3); Ι² 193, col.1.5 (= *ATL* 2, no.3) (452/1); Ι² 196, col.3.4 (= *ATL* 2, no.7) (448/7); Ι² 199, col.3.20 (= *ATL* 2, no.9, col.3.18) (446/5); Ι² 201, col.4.42 (= *ATL* 2, no.11, col.4.30) (443/3); Ι² 204, col.2.55 (= *ATL* 2, no.14, col.2.72) (441/0).

The use of Δ for Ζ is foreign to Attic. There is a peculiar τοπαδεῖν (for τοπάζειν?) in line 2 of the sep. curse-text (set up by Herodes Atticus), Ι² 13196 (ca. 150 p.); none of the other similar texts has τοπάζειν or any related word. There are rare cases of Δ for Ζ on graffiti from the Agora: ἐπιτραπέδια *Agora* 21, p.10, no. B 13 (350–300); perhaps λαικάδε[ι] on *Agora* 21, p.15, no. C 33 (ca. 350).

44.032 Θεόζοτος, Θεοζοτίδης

The Boeotian anthroponym Θεόζοτος seems never to have been used by native Athenians. The Θεόζοτος Ἡρακλείτου Ταναγραῖος of the sep. mon., Ι² 10410 (s. I a.), and, from the same family, the Ἡράκλειτος Θεοζότου Ταναγραῖος of the decree, Ι² 1028.152 (101/100, cf. *SEG* 24.188), are Boeotians. The Θεόζοτος whose name appears in a single signature on a bf. vase is generally regarded as a Boeotian, cf. *ABV* p.349, Louvre F 69.

The Athenian Θεοζοτίδης known from literary sources, *PA* no.6915, is mentioned in two Attic decrees of ca. 403/2, cf. Ι² 5.3; *Hesperia* 40 (1971) p.280, no.7, line 3. It is significant that this man's son was named Θεόδοτος, cf. Plato, *Apology* 33 e; stemma in *PA* no.11034, cf. Davies, *APF* p.223. Another member of this family is mentioned in a cat. dated later than 350 B.C., where Θεοζοτίδης is recorded, cf. 44.04, no.1 infra.

44.04 Ξ for ζ

There are four texts in which Ξ occurs for ζ:

- 1) Θεοξοτί[δ]ου Ι² 1927.39 (post 350) cat.;
- 2) Ξωπυρίων Ι² 4677 (s. III a.) ded. (priv.) (L.);
- 3) Ξώπυρος Ι² 7943 (s. I a.) sep. mon.;
- 4) ΞΗΝΩΝ for Ζήνων Ι² 1774.59 (L.) (167/8 p.) pryt. cat., Ἀξηνιεύς *ib.* 70.

The only authority for the reading in no.1 is Chandler, who may have made a copying error. It is certain that the man in question was named Θεοζοτίδης, cf. Davies, *APF* p.223 and 44.032 supra. In no.4 it seems fairly certain that the writer intended xi in lines 59 and 70 (although the reading in line 70 cannot now be confirmed because of the very worn condition of the stone), as xi clearly has the form Ξ in lines 23, 66, and zeta the form Ζ in line 22, the form Σ in line 27 (L.; the xi of line 65 could not be read because of the worn stone surface). No.2 is a crude ded. on a small dressed area on an otherwise rough-hewn low column. The Ξώπυρος of no.3 is a

native of Adramyttion. The xi of nos. 2 and 3 is difficult to explain; perhaps comparable to the variation between Ξ and Σ in the foreign word ξατράτης, cf. W. Schulze, *ZVS* 33 (1895) p. 216, note 1 (= *KS*² p. 271, note 3).

A certain case of Z for ξ occurs in the inv., II² 1672.274 (329/8), with ἐξαλαμῖνος for ἐξαλαμῖνος (L.). This is probably a writing error like many others in this text, cf. Introduction, p. 14 *supra* and χοῖνις in *ib.* 15, cf. 45.01, no. 3, p. 552 *infra*. The spelling ἐξέφυγον occurs in the sep. mon., II² 9898.3 (fin. s. II p.); copying error of the mason with Ξ (= Ξ) read as Z(?). Cf. the doubtful graffito: Ζέστ[ης, *Agora* 21, p. 60, no. Ha 17 (50–1 B.C.).

45.00 ξ, ψ

For the use of χσ, φσ in pre-403 texts and their occasional metathesis to σχ, σφ, cf. 1.011, pp. 20–21 *supra*.

For the sporadic use of the Ionic letters Ξ and Ψ before the adoption of the Ionic alphabet, cf. 2.023, pp. 44–45 *supra*.

For Ξώπυρος, Θεοξοτίδης, etc., cf. 44.04 *supra*.

45.01 σ for ξ

The velar element in ξ may have been quite weak in the speech of some persons or even assimilated to the following sibilant to produce a geminate [s]. At least there are occasional examples of σ and σσ for χσ on ostraca and among the dipinti: Φιλοστέ-νο-υ on an early fifth-century ostraca, *Hesperia*, suppl. 8 (1949) p. 395, no. 3; Καλ-λίσένοι on one of the Kallixenos ostraca (483 or 482), cf. *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p. 385, no. 16; cf. Καλίσε[νος on another, *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p. 387, no. 21; Κλαλίσενος on another, *Hesperia* 19, p. 389, no. 31. Of the examples among the dipinti, most cannot stand. Kretschmer read himself Ἀλέσανδρος (retrograde) on the Tyrrhenian amphora in Florence (no. 70993), cf. *ABV* p. 95, no. 6 (without text of the inscription) (= *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 4 [1951] plate 24.1). For the doubtful reading ΦΟΙΝΕΙΣ (= ΦΟΙΝΕΙΣ or ΦΟΙΝΕΧΣ?) on ARV² p. 316, Proto-Panaetian group no. 4, cf. 9.021, p. 190 *supra*. Beazley interprets ΦΙΛΩΝΣΕ on a bf. vase by the Antimenes painter, *ABV* p. 266, no. 1 (= *JHS* 47 [1927] pp. 63–64, plate 11), as Φῶλων σε; even if σσ is read, other interpretations besides Φιλόσσε[νος] are possible, i.e. φιλῶ{σ}σε. The name of an Amazon read as Τόσσις has been corrected to Τόχσις, cf. v. Bothmer, *Amazons* p. 131, no. 5, plate 69.3 (= ARV² p. 15, no. 6). Cf. Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* pp. 181–182.

Comparable to these would be ἀπορρήσας for ἀπορρήξας on the sep. mon. set up by three Attic tribes for Pythion of Megara (in the Doric dialect and Ionic script) about 446 B.C., I² 1085.3 (= Meiggs-Lewis p. 137, no. 51). This stone is now in very

worn condition; my final reading (offered without much confidence) was ἀπορρ[ή]-
ξας (L.).

A few fourth-century inventories have σ for ξ:

- 1) ΟΞΣΥ/INHM Π² 1501.16 (340–330). For (?):]ος συλίνη μ[. But quite apart from the fragmentary nature of the text, the Σ for Ξ could well be just a writing error (Σ precedes); ὑπόξυλος in *ib.* 18 (L.);
- 2) σύλινα Π² 1623.331 (333/2) (L.);
- 3) χοίνις Π² 1672.15 (329/8) (L.). But this text contains many peculiarities, including Ζ for Ξ, cf. 44.04, p. 551 *supra*; Introduction p. 14.

Notes and Corrections: In the inv., Π² 1641.51 (ca. 350), read ξύλιναι, comparing the form of the xi in line 13 (L.). In Π² 1673.13 (= IG II, add. no. 834.c13) read not τῶν σύλων, but τῶν ξύλων (L.).

The ease with which the various forms of xi and sigma can be confused by copyists (especially in the Roman Period when xi frequently has the form Ξ) makes all later examples of Σ for Ξ known only from texts recorded by earlier observers and subsequently lost highly dubious. An example of such confusion may be seen in the sep. mon., Π² 6153.A2 (s. III p.), where Fourmont had recorded Σ for Ξ, but when the stone came to light again his error could be corrected, cf. *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p. 205, no. 1 and plates 33–34.

Not based on such early copies are the following:

- 4) Ἐρσιγένης *Hesperia* 38 (1969) p. 418, no. 1, line 55 (254/3) decree. Prosopographical considerations make it virtually certain that this name should be Ἐρξιγένης, cf. *Hesperia* 38, p. 424; 4a) ἄσιος Π² 924.6 (init. s. II a.?) decree (L.);
- 5) Ἀλεσάνδρου Π² 1134.8 (117/6) amphiktyonic decree (in Koine) (L.);
- 6) Σένων (for Ξένων) *Hesperia* 3 (1934) p. 31, no. 21, line 88 (155/4) decree (L.);
- 7) τάσων Π² 3758.4 (s. II/III p.) ded. But some doubt remains. The letter read as sigma looks like a sigma with sharply curving upper and lower hastae, viz. ϣ; since elsewhere sigma with four bars (once each in lines 1–2) has flat upper and lower hastae it is conceivable that this letter represents xi (there is no other xi on the stone). For sigma also appear Ϛ (once each in lines 1–2) and ϛ (lines 6ff.) (!) (L.);
- 8) κειτροφύλας *Hesperia* 2 (1933) p. 505, no. 17, line 38 (post 267 p.) eph. cat.

All the following cases of σ for ξ are subject to considerable doubt. The readings depend only on early copies, and in some cases Ξ was probably read as Σ:

- 9) Ἀνασικλέους Π² 2313.32 (194/3 et 190/89) cat.;
- 10) Ἀπολ[ή]σας Π² 3505.6 (fin. s. I a.) ded.;
- 11) Μύρων Π² 1992.20 (post 50 p.) eph. cat.;
- 12) ἐξ Οἴου Π² 6991 (aet. Rom.?) sep. mon.;
- 13) Καππάδος Π² 8956 (aet. Rom.?) sep. mon.;
- 14) Ἀρσιός Π² 8359 (aet. Rom.?) sep. mon.

Notes and Corrections: The Πησίμαχος of the sep. mon., Π² 7006 (s. II/I a.), is probably not for Πηξιμαχος, but an example of one of the rare anthroponyms in Πησι-, cf. *Hesperia* 34 (1965) p. 285. In *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p. 45, no. 14, line 13 (148/9 p.) pryt. cat., read Ξ in Μάξιμος. In the decree of Panhellenes, Π² 1088.44 (132–138 p.), reject ἔδοσαν = ἔδοξεν in favor of J.H. Oliver's ἔδωσαν, cf. *Hesperia* 10 (1941) pp. 363 ff., line 10 (cf. 12.012, no. 10, p. 230 *supra*). The

ἐπιστάξεων of *Attische Urkunden* 3 (= *SB Vienna* 1925) p.61, no.18, line 15 (= *SEG* 3.226) is better interpreted as ἐπιστάξεων than as ἐπιστάσεων (with ξ for σ), cf. 42.022, p.510 supra. Kirchner records Πηγάξιος for Πηγάσιος in Π² 2237.144 (230–235p.) eph. cat., but the stone in fact reads: ΠΗΓΑΞΙΟΣ (the Ξ an incomplete sigma of the form Ξ, both Σ and Ξ occur in this text, or a false start which the mason intended to correct and then forgot) (L.).

Lit.: MS³ p.92, note 831; Lademann p.120.

45.011 ξύν→σύν

The Attic dialect is conservative in retaining ξύν as the normal form until the last part of the fifth century. ξύν is first attested in a sep. mon., I² 981 (= *LSAG* p.78, no.32; *IGAA* p.146, no.63), of ca. 540–535 and is normal in all types of text in the fifth century. But there are also some very early examples of σύν, viz.: I² 920 (= *GVI* 1, p.660, no.2042) (ca. 500) sep. mon. (this text also has σφ for φσ and σχ for χσ); considerations of spacing urge that [Σ]υνφέρμιος, not [Χσ]υνφέρμιος, be restored in the casualty list, I² 929.46 (ca. 460, cf. *SEG* 14.19). The bronze dedicatory plaque of the tamiai, I² 393 (ca. 550?), has συνλέχσαντες at the beginning of line 2, and since the other three lines begin with the beginning of a word it is preferable to accept this as an early example of σύν rather than to restore the χ of χσύν at the end of the preceding line (as *LSAG* p.77, no.21). Cf. also the restoration σ[ύ]μπαντες in I² 6.97, cf. *Hesperia* 14 (1945) p.77, Face C.14.

The etymology of ξύν is obscure, cf. Frisk, *GEW* 2, p.339, but σύν certainly developed from ξύν, which is probably attested in Mycenaean, cf. Lejeune, *Phonétique* p.73, note 9; cf. also μεταξύ.

Public documents earlier than the last quarter of the fifth century have normally ξύν, e.g.:

I² 10.23, 30 (453/2, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.89, no.40); I² 16.12, 13 (469–450, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.66, no.31); I² 18.4 (457–445, cf. *SEG* 21.7); I² 24.8, 14, 18 (ca. 448, cf. *SEG* 21.20); I² 39.7, 27 (446/5); I² 45.15 (439/8, cf. *SEG* 21.29; 10.34); I² 46.14 (ca. 440?); I² 50.23 (440/39); I² 44.6 (ca. 445); I² 51.1 (433/2); I² 52.2, 16 (433/2); I² 55.6 (cf. *BSA* 49 [1954] p.29) (ca. 430, cf. *SEG* 14.7); I² 60.9 (427/6) decrees; I² 63.8, 17, 212 (= *ATL* 2, no. A9, lines 8, 17, 181), but in *ATL* 2, no. A9, line 118 read: ταύτεσι [σ]ύμπ[ας] for ταύτες [χσ]ύμπ[ας] of I² 64.8 (425/4) decree and trib. list; I² 188.60 (= Sokolowski, *Lois*² p.18, no.10) (ante 460) law (deme); I² 202.36 (= *ATL* 2, no.12) (443/2); I² 212.44 (= *ATL* 2, no.22, col.1.49) (433/2) trib. lists; I² 377.19 (434–432) inv. (of Delian amphiktyons).

Besides the early examples of σύν cited supra, there are a few instances of it also in public documents of ca. 450–425: decrees: I² 22.6 (450/49, cf. *SEG* 23.7) (L.), χσυν- virtually certain in *ib.* 3; *ATL* 2, no. D7.16 (= I² 66; Meiggs-Lewis p.117, no.46) (447?), but χσυν- *ib.* 11, 35; I² 34.8 (ante 445) (apparently a decree fr.); I² 91.16, 17(bis), 23, but χσύν restored in I² 92.39 (both I² 91 and I² 92 dated 434/2, cf. *SEG* 22.7; 24.3); I² 59.14 (ca. 427/6). Tribute lists: I² 203.2 (= *ATL* 2, no.13) (442/1); I² 214.24 (= *ATL* 2, no.27, col.3.32) (428/7).

The frequency of σὺν greatly increases in public documents in the fourth quarter of the fifth century, viz.: I² 57.54 (inscribed 423, in decree of 426/5), but χσὺν- *ib.* 42 (in same decree of 426/5), *ib.* 24 (in decree of 429/8, inscribed in 423); I² 94.5 (418/7), but χσὺν in *ib.* 13, 31; I² 108.7, 50 (410/9), but χσὺν in *ib.* 41; I² 109.8 (410/9) (L.); I² 116.15, 30 (409/8 aut ca. 407, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.267, no.87), but χσὺν- in *ib.* 18, 22 (bis); I² 111.6 (ca. 410/9); I² 106.18 (409/8, cf. SEG 24.16), but ξὺν in *ib.* 19; inventories: always σὺν in the inventories of ca. 414 known as the Attic Stelai, cf. *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p.240, no.1, line 31 (= I² 329.12); *Hesperia* 22, p.268, no.6, line 107 (= I² 325.21); *Hesperia* 22, p.279, no.7, line 44 (= I² 331.5); *Hesperia* 22, p.287, no.10, lines 12, 19, 27 (= I² 328.12, 19; I² 327.7); other inventories: I² 302.11 (418–414, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.229, no.77), but χσὺν in *ib.* 18; I² 374.87, 146 (408–406) (L.); I² 304B (407/6) σὺν- *passim*; I² 304A (410/9): χσὺν in line 2 only, but σὺν more than 20 times; I² 298.7 (411/0) (in Ionic script).

But χσὺν is also common in public documents of the period ca. 425–405; in addition to the examples mentioned above in texts also containing σὺν, cf. decrees: I² 71.10, 33, 45, 58, 64 (ca. 436, cf. SEG 21.30); I² 81.16 (421/0); I² 90.13 (bis), 15, 21, 24, 26 (422, cf. SEG 21.46); I² 87.8 (424/3); I² 96.3 (417/6); I² 98.5, I² 99.10 (416/5); I² 102.3 (412/1); I² 117.4 (408/7) (in Ionic script); inventories: I² 248.213 (414/3); I² 253.267 (411/0); I² 311.13, 20 (422/1–419/8), but σχυναρχόντων *ib.* 6 (cf. 1.011, no.6, p.21 *supra*) (L.); I² 324.2, 3, 16, 17, 21, 23, 24, 25, 27, 38, 48, 50, 101 (426/5–423/2); I² 379.9 (420/19); I² 301.14, 32, 33, 58, 61, etc. (409/8); I² 275.187 (407/6) and χσὺν frequently in I² 256–I² 273 (434–406), but σὺν only in I² 274.169 (409/8, cf. SEG 10.198).

The normal spelling is σὺν by the end of the fifth century B.C. The last examples of ξὺν are: ξυνάρχοντες I² 1377.8, an inv. mentioning the archon of 400/399 and usually dated 399/8; ξυνβώμοις I² 4548.3, a ded. (priv.) dated slightly later than 400 B.C. Cf. also ξυνδικος on a defixio dated by stratigraphy to ca. 400, cf. AM 73 (1958) p.97, no.2 (= SEG 21.1093); the date is supported by difficulties in the use of the Ionic script (H/E for η, ἐκένων, cf. pp.50, 161, 358 *supra*).

There is very little correlation in the preference of σὺν to χσὺν in fifth-century texts and the choice of Ionic script (cf. the examples *supra* and 2.011, pp.31 ff. *supra*).

An important exception to the adoption of σὺν in post-403 texts is the preference for ξυμβάλλεσθαι in the formula γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι, well attested in decrees from about 378 B.C. on, e.g.: I² 44.10 (378/7); I² 96.12 (375/4); I² 106.10 (368/7); I² 107.11 (368/7); I² 109.14 (363/2); etc. The spelling with ξ remains normal as long as the formula continues to be used: I² 981.5 (ca. 150); I² 1006.39 (122/1); I² 1008.79 (118/7); I² 1028.46 (101/100, cf. SEG 24.188); I² 1041.26 (47–42), ξυμ- in *ib.* 2. In this formula συμβάλλεσθαι is very rare: I² 82.7 (ante 378/7); I² 505.47 (302/1); I² 650.21 (286/5); I² 980.9 (ca. 150). The use of ξ in this word seems to have been confined to this formula; cf. συνβάλλεται in I² 1361.20 (post 350) sacred law of orgeones of Bendis; συμβαλλομένος, συμβάλλεσθαι *Hesperia* 7 (1938) pp.1 ff., no.1, lines 26, 37, 55, 83, 95 (363/2) decree (genos); etc.

Lit.: MS³ p.220, notes 1759–1761.

45.012 πσ-, -κσ-, -κξ-, -ξξ-

If the letters]ΩΝΗΝΠΣΗΚΙΣΤΡΙΕ[in an inv. of ca. 330–320, cf. *Hesperia* 28 (1959) pp.208ff., line B91 (p.222, cf. p.231) (= II² 1558.45), have been correctly interpreted by D.M. Lewis as]ώνην πσηκιστρι̃ έ[ν, this text contains a unique (for Attic texts) instance of πσ for ψ, presumably due to semi-literacy (cf. 1.011, p.21 supra).

The only instances of κσ for ξ in Attic texts are two examples of Σέκστος in texts of Roman date, where a slight difference in sound between Latin x and Greek ξ may explain the use of κσ (cf. 47.022, no.4, p.574 infra), and the false archaism ξκσετε in a copy of an oracle, carved probably in the time of Hadrian, which attempts to reproduce pre-403 Attic script, II² 5007.10 (cf. 1.011, p.21 supra).

The spelling Θρᾱκξ on a sep. mon., II² 8901 (s. Ip.) (L.), is the only such example from Athens, but such spellings, prompted by a desire to render the two parts of the cluster by separate graphic signs, are found elsewhere, cf. Hermann, *Silbenbildung* p.119; Mayser-Schmoll p.184. The Καλλιχχσενος on one of the ostraca of the 480s, *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p.383, no.9, might be comparable, but it is probably just a careless dittography.

A gemination of intervocalic ξ may be seen in Δόξξα, on a sep. mon., II² 8160 (s. I/Ip.) (L.). A parallel may be seen in two instances of έξξερου̃με (= έξαιρου̃μαι) on a defixio from the Agora, inv. no. IL 493, lines 1 and 29 (in line 29 [έξ]ερου̃με is the reading) (= *Hesperia* 6 [1937] p.389, no.3, where the text needs correction; the new readings are those of D. Jordan) (found in a deposit of s. Ip. material, but orthography and writing look like s. IIIp.)¹. These spellings with geminate ξ are probably due to hesitation about putting the ξ with the preceding or the following syllable, similar to spellings of the 'Αρίστων type (cf. 43.021, pp.527ff. supra).

For -ξσ-, cf. 47.022, no.2, p.574 infra (Σέξστος) and 43.021, no.45, p.529 supra (ύπεξστισμόμενος).

45.02 σ for ψ

The only example of σ for ψ on a stone text occurs on a sep. mon. of the Roman Period, II² 8360 (s. IIp.), which reads: Βάρσαμος 'Αρας χρηστός (L.). Presumably 'Αρας is for 'Αραψ here. But cf. Κέκρος = Κέκροψ on a rf. vase, cf. ARV² p.496, Oreithyia painter no.2 (= CVA, Germany 12, plate 205.1–2).

Among the dipinti σ occurs perhaps twice for ψ in τερψι-. Furtwängler read Τερσειχόρης on a rf. vase, ARV² p.1080, Clio painter no.1, cf. his *Beschreibung* p.662, no.2401; here, however, one could conceivably read Τερσειχόρης, with omitted rho. Τερσιχόμε has been recorded on a rf. vase described by Beazley as lost and very tentatively assigned to the Dish painter, one of the followers of Douris, cf. ARV² p.788, Once Paris, Fourtales 183, from Nola (for the inscription, cf. Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* p.154). It is not possible to say whether these two examples indicate actual simplification of the cluster [rps] to [rs], or if they are just incomplete renditions of it in writing by semi-literate persons.

¹ Cf. (probably): έξξ 'Ελε[υσινίων, *Agora* 17, p.49, no.119 (act. Rom.) sep. mon.

The initial σ in Σαπφώ is due to dissimilation, cf. Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* pp. 182–183; this spelling occurs on a sep. mon. of Roman times, cf. II² 6593 (s. II p.). On the vases there is one case of Σαπφό, as well as Σαφó (= Σαφφó), Φσαφó, Σαππως, each attested once; and a very doubtful case of Ξαωφω (for these examples, cf. 43.05, p. 544 supra). Coins of Eresos have Σαπφώ, Σαφφώ; of Mytilene, Ψαπφώ (cf. *HN*² pp. 560, 562); these coins are all of the Roman Period.

ἐρειψαμένωι has been carved for ἐρεισασμένωι in the inv., II² 1672.180 (329/8), probably a purely graphic error.

46.00 Dyadic Consonant Clusters

46.01 Clusters with a liquid element

46.011 Clusters of stop + liquid

In a very few cases there is variation in the writing of a stop before ϱ . Thus the influence of ϱ may be the reason for the $\gamma \sim \chi$ seen in the following: ἀγροπόλει in a decree of the end of the fourth century B. C., II² 508.11 (L.); [Λ]έακρος on a rf. vase, ARV² p. 354, the Colmar painter no. 25. There are a few cases of deaspiration before ϱ or λ , e.g. Εὐπροσύνη, Πλυεύς, πρέατος, ἄτλα, etc. (cf. 38.012 b, nos. 2, 4, p. 454 and p. 453 supra). Sometimes clusters of stop + ϱ , λ are simplified by deletion of the liquid, but usually because of dissimilative tendencies (cf. 40.022 c, p. 481 supra). A few remaining peculiarities in the treatment of stops before ϱ involve foreign toponyms (cf. 46.0111–46.0112).

The spelling κωλαγρέτης is not found in Attic texts (for the origin of the word, cf. Chantraine, *DEG* 2, p. 605); for κωλακρέτης, cf. I² 19.13 (ante 450? cf. *SEG* 21.10; 22.3); I² 80.9 (ca. 450? cf. *SEG* 22.4) decrees; I² 336.4 (ante 446/5); I² 338.10 (= *SEG* 10.243) (ca. 465–455) inventories; I² 63.25–26 (= *ATL* 2, no. A 9) (425/4), I² 70.13 (424/3? cf. *SEG* 24.8), I² 71.39 (ca. 436, cf. *SEG* 21.30), I² 82.19–20 (421/0), I² 84.23 (421/0), I² 25.8, 9 (424/3, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 204, no. 71) (L.), I² 94.28 (418/7), I² 170.5 (446–404) all decrees; cf.]κρέται in *CSCA* 5 (1972) p. 159, no. 1, line 11 (new fr. of I² 85).

Lit.: *MS*³ p. 75, notes 647–648.

46.0111 Βρυνχειῆς ~ Γρυνχεῖς, Πίκρες ~ (Π)ύγρες ~ Πίτρεις

At least one of the fifth-century tribute lists has Βρυνχειῆς, although these documents normally refer to the people of this Euboean town as Γρυνχεῖς.

Βρ[υ]νχειῆς: I² 196, col. 5.12 (= *ATL* 2, no. 7) (448/7); likely to be correct is the restoration [Βρ]υνχειῆς in I² 198.70 (= *ATL* 2, no. 8, col. 2.69) (447/6).

Γρυνχεῖς: I² 194.32 (= *ATL* 2, no. 4, col. 1.24) (451/0); I² 201.41 (= *ATL* 2, no. 11, col. 5.29) (444/3); I² 203.25 (= *ATL* 2, no. 13, col. 5.22) (442/1); I² 212.78 (= *ATL* 2, no. 22, col. 1.83) (433/2); I² 63.81 (= *ATL* 2, no. A 9, col. 1.81) (425/4).

The variation is due to difficulty in transliterating a foreign, probably originally non-Greek, name. Variants with initial 'Pu- and even Tqu- are known from the literary tradition, cf. *ATL* 1, p.478 and *RE* s. v. Grynche, cols. 1899–1900.

Another variation in the tribute documents involves -κρ-, -γρ-, and even -τρ-: Πίκρες I² 191.16 (= *ATL* 2, no. 1) (454/3); Πίγ[ρ]ες I² 213.59 (= *ATL* 2, no. 23, col. 1.66) (432/1); probably also 'Ιγρες (for the loss of the initial π, cf. 35.04, p.439 supra) *Hesperia* 43 (1974) p.314, no. 1, line 7 (453/2); Πίτρες I² 222.8 (= *ATL* 2, no. 28) (427/6 aut 426/5), the text uses Λ for gamma throughout, so that if the tau is a copying error it would have had to be for an Ionic gamma on the temporary copy or be a mistake of Pittakes, the only witness to the text. These spellings characteristic difficulties with foreign names.

46.0112 'Ατραμυτηνός ~ 'Αδραμυτηνός

Three texts, all probably of the second century B.C., have 'Ατραμυτηνός as the ethnic of the Mysian town, but others of about the same date and later have 'Αδραμυτηνός. Local coins, of which some are as early as the fourth century, have only 'Αδρα-, cf. *HN*² p.520; H. von Fritze, *Die antiken Münzen Mysiens* 1 (Berlin, 1913) pp.1ff. The town's founder is recorded as 'Αδραμυς, apparently the name of a deity in Phrygia and elsewhere, cf. W. Schulze, *ZVS* 33 (1895) pp.366–367 (= *KS*² p.281). The τρ ~ δρ is presumably characteristic fluctuation in Hellenizing the non-Greek word; there is also a spelling 'Ανδρα- showing a parasitic nasal frequently developed in Hellenized foreign words, cf. 41.021 b, p.489 supra.

For 'Αδραμυτηνός ~ 'Αδραβυτηνός, cf. 41.04, p.493 supra.

Codd. already disagree between 'Ατρα- and 'Αδρα- for Herodotus 7.42; Xenophon, *Anabasis* 7.8.8; Thucydides 5.1, 8.108 (several witnesses are inconsistent, reading 'Ατρα- in 5.1, 'Αδρα- in 8.108, cf. Hude's 1914 Teubner edition). In later writers 'Αδρα- is normal but not universal; some codd. of Strabo give both spellings, cf. 13.583 and 13.614 in Meinecke's Teubner edition (Leipzig, 1904).

Lit.: *MS*³ p.79, note 674.

Examples:

'Ατραμυτηνός: II² 2332.210 (183/2) cat.; II² 7944 (s. II a.) sep. mon. (L.); II² 7945 (ca. s. II a.) sep. mon.

'Αδραμυτηνός: II² 7941 (s. III a.) sep. mon.; II² 1011, col.5.110 (106/5) decree (L.); II² 7940 (s. II/I a.), II² 7943 (s. I a.), II² 7938 (s. I a.), II² 7942 (s. I p.) all sep. monuments.

'Αδραβυτηνός (cf. 41.04, p.493 supra): II² 7939 (s. I p.) sep. mon. (L.).

46.012 Other clusters with a liquid element

46.0121 Πελαργικόν, Πελασιγώτης

The spelling Πελαργικόν occurs for the Attic toponym in a decree, cf. I² 76.55, 56, 57 (435–414, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.222) (L.). Another decree mentions the Πελασιγώται, cf. II² 175.6 (361/0, cf. *SEG* 21.244). Attempts to relate or equate the two

words began in antiquity, cf. Strabo 5.220; references cited *RE* s.v. Pelasgoi, col.256; and have failed to yield any generally accepted result. For the extensive recent literature, cf. F. Lochner-Hüttenbach, *Die Pelasger* (= *Arbeiten aus dem Institut für vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft* [Vienna, 1960]) p.116, note 74. The codd. of Thucydides 2.17 vary between Πελαργικόν (in one codex only, the earliest) and Πελασγικόν (cf. p.134 of Volume 1 of O. Luschkat's 1960 Teubner ed.).

46.0122 Κίλλαρεῦς, Κίλδαρεῦς

If the plausible restorations of *ATL* 2, no.4, col.5.28 (= I² 194.51, corrected) (451/0), which reads Κι[λ]λαρεῖ[ς], and of *ATL* 2, no. A9, col.2.96 (= I² 63.106, corrected) (425/4), with Κι[λ]λαρεῖς, are correct, then the Κίλλαρεῖς of the tribute lists are the same as the Κίλδαρεῖς of a fourth-century Greek and Carian bilingual inscription; the Greek text is published by L. Robert, *RA* (6^e série) 6 (1935) p.163. The interchange of λλ and λδ is characteristic of Hellenized Carian names, e.g. Υσσώλλος and Υσσώλδος; Πελληκως, Πελδηκως, cf. L. Robert, *Etudes* (1938) pp.242–244.

46.0123 Μαλθάκη, μαλακός

The adjective was μαλακός in Attic, cf. II² 1514.58 (post 344/3), II² 1522.27 (post 336/5), II² 1524.166 (post 334/3), cf. II² 1518.57 (stoich.) (post 341/0), II² 1682.7 (285/4) all inventories; II² 244.77 (337/6) decree. -λθ- occurs in the proper names Μαλθάκη, Μαλθάκιος.

Μαλθάκη, e.g. II² 1514.13 (post 344/3), II² 1515.7 (post 345/4), II² 1517.19 (353/2–341/0), II² 1529.11 (post 350), II² 1534 A.56, 58, 72, 85 (291/0, cf. *SEG* 16.118), II² 1539.13 (215/4) all inventories; II² 12025 (400–350), II² 11766 (ante 350), II² 11029 (365–340), II² 11585 (ca. 350), II² 12023 a (in text) (ca. 350), II² 12024 (post 350), II² 12026 (fin. s. IV a.), II² 12023 (s. II a.) sep. monuments; etc.

Μαλθάκιος: II² 1534 B.199, 202, 211 (247/6, cf. *SEG* 16.188) inv.

46.0124 Φιλτίας, Φιντίας

The normal spelling of this signature on vases is Φιντίας, occurring eight times on seven vases: *ARV*² p.23, no.2 (= *HRF* 2, p.356, no.3); *ARV*² p.23, no.3; *ARV*² p.1620, no.12 bis; *ARV*² p.24, no.14 (= *HRF* 2, p.355, no.2); *ARV*² p.25, Phintias, Potter no.1(α) (= *HRF* 2, p.354, no.1); *ARV*² p.25, Phintias, Potter no.1(β) (= *HRF* 2, p.358, no.4); *Paralipomena* p.477. There are two occurrences of Φιλτίας: *ARV*² p.24, no.12 (= *HRF* 2, p.362, no.6); *ARV*² p.25, Phintias, Potter no.1(γ). The Φιλτίας of *ARV*² p.24, no.9 (= *HRF* 2, p.360, no.5) is probably for Φιντίας and belongs with the examples of omitted nasals before a stop (cf. 41.011, p.485 supra); otherwise like Μιτιάδο in 40.022b, p.481 supra. The use of ντ for λτ was current in several parts of Greece, cf. Buck, *GD*² pp.64–65, no.72, and the man responsible for Φιντίας was probably non-Athenian.

A unique Athenian example of ντ for λτ is Μιντιάδο on one of the ostraca of Kimon, *Kerameikos* 3, p.59, no.50 (= *Imagines*² plate 12, no.29).

46.0125 Μιλτώριος, Μιλκώριος

One of the tribute lists has Μιλτόριοι, cf. I² 210.31 (= *ATL* 2, no.20) (435/4); but two others have Μιλκ-: Μιλκό[ριοι] I² 211.9 (= *ATL* 2, no.21) (434/3); Μιλκώριοι I² 212.80 (= *ATL* 2, no.22, col.2.85) (433/2). The only other attestation of the name of this Thracian town in the Chalcidice also has -λκ-; Μίλκωρος was recorded as the name of the town by Theopompos, cf. *ATL* 1, p.520. If the Attic example is not just a copying error, the variant in -λτ- could be due to hesitation in handling a foreign cluster or an attempt to Hellenize the word by associating it with μίλτος.

46.02 στ for σθ

Attic inscriptions have στ for σθ only extremely rarely. -στω occurs twice for -σθω in imperatives in the regulations of the Iobacchi, I² 1368.28, 84 (ca. 162/3 p.) (L.), but this may be a clerical confusion (cf. ἐξέστω in *ib.* 32, etc.) or due to extension of -στω from forms like ἔστω, etc. to the middle; the correct -σθω, -σθωσαν in *ib.* 39–40, 48, 104–105, 106, etc. This -στω occurs in καθαρισ(τ)έστω on both copies of the regulations for the cult of Menes Tyrannos set up by Xanthus of Lycia, cf. I² 1366.3, I² 1365.10 (L.) (both s. Ip.), but the only instance of -σται for -σθαι in an Attic inscription occurs in I² 1365.19, with καθαρίζεσται (inf.), a text with other non-Attic spellings (e.g. ου for υ, cf. 14.02, p.267 *supra*; σζ for ζ, cf. 44.02, no.29, p.549 *supra*). Possibly στ for σθ was characteristic of Greek in Lycia, cf. στεναρόν cited by B. Hauser, *Grammatik der griechischen Inschriften Lykiens* (1916) p.58. Otherwise -στ- for -σθ- occurs only in the name Ἀλκιστένου (Lapis: ΛΑΚΙΣΤΕΝΟΥ), patronymic on a third-century B.C. ded. (priv.) of an Athenian citizen, I² 4449.2 (L.); and in the comparable Ἐπιστένον (= Ἐπιστένου?), patronymic on a sep. mon. of unknown date seen only by Fourmont, I² 7826. Cf. ἡπιστένες *ABV* p.100, Tyrrhenian group no.70 (= Smith, *Catalogue* 2, p.63, no. B48); Στενελος on a vase of Olto, *ARV*² p.62, no.83 (= *CVA*, France 17, plates 5, 6) alongside Ἐρυθς for Εὐρυθσθεύς, with sigma omitted but theta present (cf. 46.04, p.570 *infra*); Κλεστενος on an ostrakon of ca. 482, *Hesperia* 17 (1948) pp.193–194, may be no more than an unsuccessful attempt to write Καλλίχσενος, cf. *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p.378, note 8 and p.389, no.31.

The use of στ for σθ is found in Locrian normally in the earliest texts and in early Phocian and Elean texts; it is also attested sometimes in early Boeotian and Doric texts (cf. Buck, *GD*² p.72). It probably indicates deaspiration of θ after σ (so Sturtevant, p.79, no.90 h), although some have seen here evidence for spirantization of θ, whether in other positions (hence στ = [st'] here) or in this cluster only (cf. Schwyzler, *GG* 1, p.205 and note 4).

The only cases of σθ for στ are two examples of μασθόν on a priv. ded., I² 4511.26, 29 (ante 114–116 p.) (L.) (cf. 38.023, p.469 *supra*).

Lit.: *MS*³ p.80, note 684.

46.03 Clusters with a nasal element

46.031 $\kappa\nu \rightarrow \gamma\nu$

In $\kappa\nu\alpha\phi\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ and in the anthroponyms Κνίφων , Κνιφωνίδης , etc. $\gamma\nu$ begins to appear for $\kappa\nu$ from ca. 400 B.C. on, although a gravestone almost certainly later than 350 has Κν- (no.9 infra).

For the usual explanation of simple progression from voiceless to voiced stop, $[\text{kn}]$ to $[\text{gn}]$, cf. Schwyzler, *GG* 1, p. 414.4e; a late example of $\kappa\nu$ would be orthographical conservatism. But the fourth-century orthographies may indicate that κ was a lenis (or lax) stop before the nasal ν , although its normal pronunciation was a fortis (or tense) stop (for lenis and fortis stops, cf. Heffner, *Phonetics* p.120), i.e. $\kappa\nu$ was pronounced $[\text{kn}]$. This same pronunciation might be indicated by the spelling Χνιφωνίδης on one of the third-century tablets identifying horses of the hippeis, cf. *AM* 85 (1970) p.235, no.573 (cf. perhaps $\chi\sigma$, $\phi\sigma$ in Attic script, cf. 1.011, p.20 supra), although the example is ambiguous, as the initial χ might be due to aspirate assimilation, but that is rare in this period (cf. 38.0211 a, p.460 supra). The same man is called Γνιφωνίδης in another of these tablets (no.18 infra). In later times $\gamma\nu$ is universal, and a further development from $[\text{kn}]$ to $[\text{gn}]$ may be assumed. Ptolemaic papyri have always $\gamma\nu\alpha\phi\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$, etc., cf. Mayser-Schmoll p.155, but those of Roman times have both $\gamma\nu\alpha\phi\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$, $\gamma\nu\eta\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ and $\kappa\nu\alpha\phi\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$, $\kappa\nu\eta\kappa\omicron\varsigma$, cf. Gignac pp.77–78.

An unparalleled (for Attica) use of $\kappa\nu$ for $\gamma\nu$ occurs in $\alpha\pi\omicron\gamma\iota\kappa\nu\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon$, cf. II^2 1275.6 (s. III/II a., cf. Sokolowski, *Supplément* p.210, no.126; *SEG* 21.534) decree (thiasotai), but the standard of copying in this text is so low that its value as evidence for phonetic developments is doubtful. Elsewhere in the same inscription occur I for Y , \Theta for O , E for B , which are almost certainly copying errors of the stone-cutter. The use of $\kappa\nu$ for $\gamma\nu$ in $\gamma\iota\kappa\nu-$ is probably also a copying mistake, although it could conceivably indicate a pronunciation of $\gamma\nu$ as $[\text{kn}]$; but the spelling $\gamma\iota\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ is already occurring by this time, although in this text $\gamma\iota\gamma\nu-$ occurs elsewhere (cf. 46.033 b, no.56, p.564 infra).

The Attic spelling is $\lambda\upsilon\gamma\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron$ (= 'amber'), cf. II^2 1534 A.100 (291/0, cf. *SEG* 16.118) inv.

Lit.: *MS*³ pp.74–75, note 647; p.76, note 653.

Examples:

$\kappa\nu\alpha\phi\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$:

- 1) I^2 436 (post 550, cf. *LSAG* p.68 and note 1) bronze ded.;
- 2) I^2 642 (ca. 500) ded.

$\gamma\nu\alpha\phi\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$:

- 3) II^2 10.B, col.2.4 and on new fr., *BSA* 47 (1952) p.108, line 21 (401/400) decree (cf. no.11 infra).
- 4) Possibly also in a financial record of the reign of Trajan (cf. S. Follet, *Mélanges Chantraine* [1972] p.47; *Hesperia* 41 [1972] p.476), II^2 2776.206–207: $\gamma[\nu\alpha]\phi\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$.

$\gamma\nu\alpha\phi\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$:

- 5) II^2 1638.28 (359/8) inv. (L.);

Κνίφων:

- 6) I² 943.66 (440/39) cas. list;
- 7) *Hesperia* 15 (1946) p. 171, no. 20, line 11 (fin. s. V a.) cas. list: Κνίπων;
- 8) *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p. 287, no. 78, line 67 (403/2) ded.: Κνίφων;
- 9) *AM* 67 (1942) p. 126, no. 274 (350–300) sep. mon.

Less certain:

- 10) νκίφων = Κνίφων in *Hesperia* 14 (1945) p. 149, no. 20 (init. s. IV a.) sep. mon.

Cf. also:

- 11) Κνίψ γεωρ(γός) *BSA* 47 (1952) p. 108, line B78 (= I² 10 + new frr.) (401/400) decree (cf. no. 3 supra).

Γνίφων, Γνιφωνίδης:

- 12) I² 1411.7 (376/5) inv.;
- 13) I² 1410.2–3 (377/6) inv.: Γ[ν][ί]φωνος;
- 14) *Hesperia* 36 (1967) p. 226, no. 35 (ca. 350) pryt. cat.;
- 15) I² 1927.172 (post 350) cat.: ΕΝΙΦΩΝΙΔΟΥ (Chandler);
- 16) I² 2495.10 (334/3 aut paulo post) loc.; 16a) I² 1750.45 (334/3) pryt. cat. (L.);
- 17) *IG* III.3, no. 42.15 (s. III a.?) defixio;
- 18) *AM* 85 (1970) p. 209, no. 89 (s. III a.) pinakion identifying horses of the hippeis;
- 19) *Hesperia* 15 (1946) p. 215, no. 44, line 4 (ca. 180) ded.

46.032 Πύτνα

Three state decrees agree on -tv- in Pydna: cf. I² 329.13 (336/5): Πύτνη; and I² 339.b3 (333/2): Πυτναῖος (the bottom part of an upright stroke of the third letter is preserved, ruling out delta); I² 763.6 (init. s. III a.) decree: Π[υ]τναῖω[v]. The word is not otherwise attested in Attic texts. Contemporary coins have Πυδν-, cf. *HN*² p. 218. Πυδν- occurs also in a local text on stone (although it is dated to about the middle of the third century A.D.), which has ἐν Πύδνῃ in line 4, cf. *BCH* 99 (1975) pp. 166–167 (= *Mélanges helléniques offerts à Georges Daux* [Paris, 1974] pp. 51–55). The Attic -tv- may be due to hesitation about a stop before ny, cf. Κνίφων/Γνίφων/Χνιφωνίδης. Αύτναῖος occurs for Αύδναῖος (name of a Macedonian month) in a Ptolemaic papyrus, cf. Mayser-Schmoll p. 156. The Πύθνα mentioned *RE* suppl. 10, p. 835 is a misprint. Possibly comparable(?) is the -tv- normal in Cretan Ἱεράπυτνα.

46.033 Treatment of γγ

- a) A single example of Ἀγγνούσιος on a sep. mon. of the Hellenistic Period, I² 5260 (post 300) (L.), is probably evidence that γγ was sounded [ɣɣ], a conclusion supported by other factors as well (cf. Schwyzler, Lit. to b) infra). That the -γγ- here belongs with spellings like ἐγγ δακτύλων, ἐκκ τοῦ, etc. (cf. 43.021, nos. 91–102, p. 531 supra) and indicates no more than uncertainty as to the syllabic division is less likely because those spellings almost always involve ends of words (ἐκ, ἐξ), while this

-γγ- is in the interior of a word which could not have been broken up into etymological components.

Lit.: MS³ p. 76, note 652; cf. b) *infra*.

b) Although γίνομαι, γινώσκω are well attested in Ionic and elsewhere at a much earlier date, Attic inscriptions have only γιγν- until 306/5 B.C.; after that year γίνομαι wanes rapidly, the last examples appearing about 250 B.C., and γίνομαι is universal in the later Hellenistic Period. The spelling with -γν- begins to reappear about 150 A.D. and both spellings are found in the later Roman Period. Both γιγν- and γειν- occur in a single text of the third century A.D., cf. nos. 77, 81 *infra*; the assumption of a similar occurrence of γιγν- and γιν- on one text of 264/3 rests on an improbable restoration, cf. nos. 2, 61 *infra*. The return to -γν- in Roman times is probably a learned revival and not indicative of any change in pronunciation.

Although not actually attested in the Hellenistic Period, γιγνώσκω and its derivatives appear to behave in the same manner as γίνομαι, cf. nos. 65–66, 71, 75, and 82 *infra*. Earlier attestations: κατ[αγ]ιγν[ω]σκότων I² 127.19 (post 433) decree (L.); [ἀ]ντα[ν]αγινωσκομένων I² 120.26–27 (353/2, cf. *Hesperia* 7 [1938] p. 286) decree; καταγινωσκότων I² 1629.240–241 (325/4) *inv*.

γίνομαι and γινώσκω are the result of assimilation of [η] to [nn] and then simplification of [nn] to [n] with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel (γειν- is frequent from s. II a. on, cf. nos. 18, 24, 47, etc.).

Examples of γίνομαι are so frequent in the period before 306/5 as to make it unnecessary to give an exhaustive list, e.g.: decrees: I² 16.9 (469–450, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 66, no. 31); I² 18.8 (457–445, cf. SEG 21.7); I² 39.44 (446/5); I² 84.34 (421/0); I² 101.6 (412/1); I² 108.48 (410/9); I² 12.24 (411, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 247, no. 80); I² 43.71–72 (378/7); I² 103.40 (369/8); I² 244.16 (337/6); I² 411.24 (post 336/5); I² 345.12 (332/1); etc.; decree (deme): I² 1184.18 (= Sokolowski, *Supplément*, p. 208, no. 124; SEG 21.518) (post 334/3); inventories: I² 302.55 (418–414, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 229, no. 77); I² 1611.25, 30, 35, 40, 46, 63, 276, 280 (357/6); I² 1612.50, 55, 75, 78, 84 (356/5); I² 1637.7 (ca. 350); AE 1971 pp. 83 ff. (= I² 1673 + new fr.) lines 6, 10, 33, 49, 50, 51, 59(bis), 60, 61, 94 (333/2? cf. AE 1971 p. 112); I² 1496.205 (334/3–331/0); I² 1672.254 (329/8); I² 1629.557 (325/4); I² 1631.368, 391 (323/2); etc.; locationes: I² 2492.25 (346/5, cf. SEG 24.202); I² 2496.26 (post 350); I² 7227.14–15 (ca. 350) sep. mon. Especially noteworthy are some of the inventories, some as late as the 320s, in which the word occurs several times, but always with the -γν- orthography.

Lit.: MS³ pp. 177–178, notes 1478–1479; Lademann pp. 55–56; Lejeune, *Phonétique* p. 78 (= *Traité*² p. 68); Schwyzler, GG 1, pp. 214–215; Mayser-Schmoll p. 156.

Examples:

Hellenistic Period:

γίνομαι, etc.:

- 1) γίνηται I² 2499.38 (306/5, archonship of the year after Koroibos) loc. (stone now illegible);
- 2) γίνηται *Deltion* 22 (1967) pp. 38 ff., line 13 (= SEG 24.154) (264/3 aut paulo post) decree (deme), γινόμενων *ib.* 19, perhaps also γί[ν]ηται in *ib.* 15 (cf. no. 61 *infra*), although the spacing favors γί[ν]ηται there, cf. plate 39 in *Deltion* 22;

- 3) γινομένων Π² 1283.23 (263/2, cf. SEG 24.155) decree (Thracians); γίνονται *ib.* 24;
- 4) γίνεσθαι Π² 793.17 (post 255) decree (L.);
- 5) γίνηται Π² 1225.10 (ca. 250) decree (Salaminian cleruchs), γίνεσθαι *ib.* 14;
- 6) γίνω[νται Π² 1286.9 (ca. 244/3) decree (troops);
- 7) γινόμε[ος Π² 780.34 (252/1, cf. SEG 21.382) decree;
- 8) γινόμε[ν]οι Π² 1297.12 (237/6) decree (thiasotai);
- 9) γίνηται Π² 1299.30 (post 236/5) decree (troops and Eleusinians), παραγινόμενοι *ib.* 43;
- 10) γινομένας Π² 788.11 (235/4) decree;
- 11) παραγινόμενων Π² 838.23 (226/5) decree;
- 12) γίνονται AE 1953/54, Part 1, p.130, no.3, line 12 (= SEG 15.112) (ca. 225) decree (demesmen of Rhamnus);
- 13) γινομένης Π² 1304.24 (post 211/0) decree (troops);
- 14) γίνονται *Praktika* 1958, p.35, line 16 (= SEG 22.128) (ca. 240–235) decree (troops at Rhamnus);
- 15) γίνηται AM 67 (1942) p.11, no.9, line 2 (250–200) decree (of troops at Rhamnus?);
- 16) γινομένης Π² 1322.20 (fin. s. IIIa./init. s. IIa.) decree (amphieraistai);
- 17) γίνου IG III.3, no.90.a5, b3 (s. IIIa.?) defixio, γίνησθαι *ib.* a6;
- 18) γεινόμενον Π² 786.7 (s. III/IIa., cf. Pečirka, *Enktesis* p.106; SEG 24.133) decree (L.);
- 19) παραγινόμενοις Π² 844.58 (181/0, cf. TAPA 95 [1964] p.239) decree;
- 20) γινομένας *Hesperia* 5 (1936) p.419, no.15, line 19 (196/5) decree;
- 21) γινόμε[νος *Kerameikos* 3, p.2, no.2, line 6 (non ante ca. 200–190) decree;
- 22) γινομένων AM 76 (1961) pp.127ff., no.1, line 24 (= SEG 21.435) (187/6) decree, γίνονται *ib.* 32;
- 23) γίνεσθαι Π² 1326.7 (176/5) decree (dionysiastai);
- 24) γείνεσθαι Π² 1328.5 (183/2) decree (orgeones); γινομένας *ib.* 40 (175/4);
- 25) παραγινόμενοις Π² 909.5 (ca. 170) decree;
- 26) παραγινόμενοις *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p.47, no.7, line 10 (173/2–168/7) decree;
- 27) γινομένης Π² 1027.20 (ca. 160? cf. SEG 21.457) decree (L.);
- 28) γίνονται Π² 1330.50, 56 (post 163) decree (synodos of technitai);
- 29) γινόμενον Π² 1220.6 (200–150) decree (?);
- 30) γινομένας *Hesperia* 28 (1950) p.188, no.10, line 24 (= Π² 974.24 revised) (137/6) decree;
- 31) γίνηται Π² 1227.32 (131/0) decree (Salaminian cleruchs);
- 32) έπιγινόμενοις Π² 1331.b4 (ca. 130) decree (technitai) (L.);
- 33) γινομένων Π² 1132.88 (130/29) amphiktyonic decree (this section of the text in Attic);
- 34) γίνεσθαι Π² 1006.53, 54 (122/1) decree, γίνονται *ib.* 90, παραγ[ι]νόμενοις *ib.* 21. In line 21 it is uncertain whether a letter, perhaps E, was intentionally erased or the stone was already damaged at this point and the space was left blank, cf. 9.022, no.29, p.197 *supra* (L.);
- 35) παραγίνεσθαι Π² 2788.33 (fin. s. IIa.) public praise of the Athenians (ded.);
- 36) γινομένου Π² 1013.34 (fin. s. IIa.) decree;
- 37) παραγινόμενοις Π² 1056/7.8 (init. s. I a.?) decree (L.);
- 38) γίνω[νται *Hesperia* 29 (1960) p.19, no.25 (s. IIa.) decree;
- 39) γινόμενοι Π² 1028.32 (101/100, cf. SEG 24.188) decree, γινομένην *ib.* 81;
- 40) γινομένων *Hesperia* 36 (1967) p.88, no.19B, lines 45–46 (ca. 100) cat.;
- 41) γινόμενοι Π² 1029.19 (94/3) decree;
- 42) γινομένην Π² 1030.10 (post 94/3) decree, γινόμενα *ib.* 16;
- 43) γίνεσθ[αι Π² 1035.20 (10/9–3/2, cf. p.124 *supra*, no.59) decree;

- 44) παραγινόμενοι Π² 1339.10 (57/6) decree (heroistai);
- 45) γίνωνται Π² 1046.32 (52/1) decree (L.);
- 46) γίνεσθ[αι Π² 1341.8 (ca. 50) decree;
- 47) γείν[ηται Π² 1062.10 (ca. 50) decree (L.);
- 48) γεινομέ[ναις Π² 1042.b 20 (ca. 41/0) decree;
- 49) γ[ινομ[έ]ναις Π² 1043.20 (38/7) decree (L.);
- 50) γίνωνται Π² 1343.41 (ca. 37/6) decree (soteriastai).

γίγνομαι, etc. in the Hellenistic Period:

- 51) γ[ί]γνηται Π² 2498.7–8 (321/0) loc.;
- 52) γ[ί]γ[ν]ηται Π² 463.93 (307/6) decree;
- 53) γιγνόμενον Π² 2679.8 (post 303/2) horos (mortgage);
- 54) γιγνομένην Π² 566.13 (fin. s. IV a.) decree;
- 55) γίγν[ωνται Π² 713.10 (init. s. III a.) decree;
- 56) ἀπογίγνητ[αι Π² 1275.4 (s. III/II a., cf. Sokolowski, *Supplément* p.210, no.126; SEG 21.534) decree (thiasotai), ἀπογινόμενον *ib.* 6, cf. 46.031, p.560 supra;
- 57) παραγινόμενοις Π² 672.23 (279/8) decree;
- 58) γίγνωνται Π² 1165.8 (300–250) decree (tribe);
- 59) γιγνομεν[Π² 1288.10 (ca. 250) decree (troops);
- 60) γιγνο[Π² 700.13 (258/7, cf. SEG 21.375) decree.

Doubtful:

- 61) γ[ί]γνηται *Deltion* 22 (1967) pp.38ff., line 15 (= SEG 24.154) (264/3 aut paulo post) decree (deme). But this restoration is very uncertain: the spacing certainly favors γ[ί]νηται, and this text has γιν- twice elsewhere, cf. no.2 supra.

Roman Period:

γίνομαι, γινώσκω, γειν- etc.:

- 62) γείνων[ται *Hesperia* 33 (1964) p. 198, no.50, line 24 (fin. s. Ia.) decree;
- 63) γίνεσθαι Π² 1098.9 (init. aet. Rom.) letter;
- 64) γεινομένην Π² 1346.5 (init. s. I p.) decree (hieratedousai);
- 65) γινώσκετε Π² 1096.9 (aet. Augusti) letter (of an Attic genos) (lost);
- 66) ἐ[γγ]εινώσκομε[ν *Hesperia* 10 (1941) pp.72ff., no.32, line 32 (85/6–94/5 p.) ded.;
- 67) γείνεσθαι *Hesperia* 29 (1960) p.47, no.56, line 6 (s. I/II p.) decree;
- 68) γείνηται Π² 1072.12 (116/7 p.) decree;
- 69) γείνεσθαι Π² 1103.7 (ca. 124/5 p.) imp. letter, γεινομένους *ib.* 11;
- 70) γείνοιτο Π² 1099.27 (121 p.) imp. letter;
- 71) γινόμενοι Π² 1105.B.b 2 (aet. Hadriani) imp. letter, γεινώσκω *ib.* d4;
- 72) γεινομένων Π² 1368.121–122 (ca. 162/3 p.) Iobacchi regulations, γεινέσθω *ib.* 160 (L.);
- 73) παραγεινομ[*Hesperia* 30 (1961) p.236, no.32, line 7 (fin. s. II p.) imp. letter;
- 74) ἐ[γγ]εινέσθαι Π² 1086.21 (init. s. III p.) decree (L.);
- 75) ἐπαναγινώ[σκεισθαι *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p.85, no.37, lines 14–15 (= Π² 1081/5 + Π² 1116 + new fr.) (203 p.) decree;
- 76) γείνοιτο Π² 1078.33 (ca. 220 p.) decree;
- 77) γεινομένω[ν *Hesperia*, suppl. 6 (1941) p.125, no.31, line 48 (= Π² 1064.5) (ca. 230 p.) decree. For confirmation of this reading and ἐπιγινόμενοις elsewhere on a new fr. of this text, cf. no.81 infra (L.).

γίγνομαι, γίγνώσκω:

- 78) γιγνέσθω II² 13209.12 (ca. 150 p.) sep. mon.; γίγνεται *ibidem*;
 79) [γί]γνεται II² 13210.24 (ca. 150 p.) sep. mon.;
 80) γιγνομένου *Hesperia* 21 (1952) pp.381ff., line 37 (= II² 1092.B 18) (ca. 165 p.) decree.
 The γ[εινω]σκ- of II² 1092.A 6 is not likely to be correct: cf. J.H. Oliver's text of this fragment, *Hesperia* 21, pp.383–384.
 81) ἐπιγιγνομένους *Hesperia*, suppl. 6 (1941) p.125, no.31, line 14 (ca. 230 p.) decree, γεινο-
 μένω[v *ib.* 48 (= II² 1064.5)]. This reading was confirmed by a squeeze of the now illegible
 stone, cf. J.H. Oliver in *Hesperia* 20 (1951) pp.352–353 and plate 101A. Cf. no.77
 supra.
 82) γιγνώσκετε II² 1121.27 (305/6 p.) imp. edict, γίγνοιτο *ib.* 43, 45 (L.).

c) As the spelling Ἀριάγνε occurs on Attic vases and elsewhere, it is likely that a similar assimilation of γν to ν(ν) may be seen in the Ἀριάν(ν)ε found on a few vases, cf. 46.034 *infra*.

d) If διογητ[really is for an intended Διογνήτ[ου in the decree fragment, *Hesperia* 23 (1954) p.242, no.15, line 8 (264/3), the omission of the ny was probably a clerical mistake (cf. 41.012, p.488 *supra*).

e) The Roman name Γναῖος sometimes appears as Ναῖος, cf. II² 4137 (fin. s. 1a.) ded.; II² 4159 (init. s. 1p.) ded.; II² 12223 (s. 1p.) sep. mon. Γναῖος is normal at all periods, cf. e.g. II² 1009, col.4.107 (116/5) decree; II² 4101 (ante 89) ded.; II² 1961.53 (post 37/6, cf. SEG 22.113) eph. cat.; II² 4162.2 (init. s. 1p.) ded.; II² 4181.2 (ca. 50 p.) ded.; II² 4199 (s. 1p.?) ded.: ΓΝ(αῖον); II² 2068.9 (155/6 p.) eph. cat.: ΓΝ(αῖος) (L.); II² 2199.10 (ca. 200 p.) eph. cat.: Γναῖ(ος); etc.

46.034 δν→γν

The development of -δν- to -γν- (i.e. = [ην]) may probably be seen in:

a) Ἀριάγνη on a rf. vase, cf. ARV² p.630, Chicago painter no.24 (= HRF 1, p.195, no.14); an alleged second example, originally published in *Archäologische Zeitung* (AA) 24 (1866) p.184, cf. Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* p.198, is read Ἀριάδνα(ι) by A. De Ridder, *Catalogue des Vases Peints de la Bibliothèque Nationale* 2 (Paris, 1902) p.488. Cf. a very doubtful example on an Attic(?) stone text, mentioned by Wilhelm (cf. Lit. *infra*) p.136 (no date given). The -γν- spelling is also attested elsewhere, e.g. AM 17 (1892) p.198, no.2, line 15, from Maeonia, where it is a woman's name in a text of the Roman Period.

Other spellings of this name among the dipinti:

Ἀριάδνη: ABV p.76, Kleitias no.1 (= HBF p.152): Ἀρ[ι]άδ[η] (retrograde); ABV p.163, Glaukytes no.2 (= FR plate 153.1; HBF p.60, no.3): Ἀριάδνε (retrograde); ARV² p.622, Villa Giulia painter no.48 (= CVA, Italy 17, plate 3.1–3): Ἀριάδνε; the ΠΙΑΝΕ on another vase of this same painter, ARV² p.621, no.45 (= CVA, Germany 20, plate 212), might be Ἀριάδνη or Ἀριάνη; ARV² p.1269, Kodros painter no.3 (= Smith, *Catalogue* 3, p.108, no.E82): Ἀριάδνε; ARV² p.1055, Group of Polygnotos: Undetermined no.76 (= CVA, France 3, plate 18.1–2): Ἀριάδνε.

*Αῤιάωνη (with [dn] assimilated, probably via [ɣn], to [nn]): ABV p.104, Tyrrhenian group no. 126 (= J. Brants, *Classical Pottery in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the Museum of Leyden* [1930] plate 20); ARV² p.259, Syriskos painter no.1 (= HRF 1, p.277, no.44). Both vases have *Αῤιάωνε.

Cf. *ΠΙ^ΛΜΕ on a bf. vase of Group E, cf. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* p.235, no.1698 (cf. the note “der drittletzte Buchstabe war offenbar nie ein Delta”); the vase is ABV p.136, Group E no.54 (= HBF p.108, no.11, where the description of the text as “senseless” is misleading, as there is no doubt that the female figure adjacent is Ariadne).

*Αῤιάνη (with [nn] simplified to [n] or geminate written simplex as in 43.011, pp.511–513 supra): ARV² p.252, Syleus painter no.52 (= HRF 2, p.437, no.3) (if this reading is correct).

The earlier form of the name cannot be concluded with certainty on the basis of the Attic examples, as the earliest example already has *Αῤιάωνε. This could be from either original -γν- or -δν- (probably via -γν-). But *Αῤιάδνη is more frequent than *Αῤιάγνη and appears earlier. The preference of the epic for the -δν- spelling, and the tendency for δν→γν seen elsewhere in Greek (e.g. Hellenistic γνόφος for earlier δνόφος) support the priority of -δν- (so Schulze, *Lit. infra*; *contra*, Schwyzler, *Lit. infra*, p.208). However, the citation of ἀδνός by Hesychius as Cretan for ἀγνός may stem from inventions of grammarians attempting to provide an etymology for *Αῤιάδνη, so Chantraine, *DEG* 1, p.20, following K. Latte, *Philologus* 80 (1924–1925) p.174; ἀδνός is explained by Schwyzler as a “false restoration”, cf. Frisk, *GEW* 1, p.21: “hyperkorrekte Aussprache, durch den bisweilen vorkommenden Übergang δν>γν (*Αῤιάγνη) verursacht”. M.P. Nilsson seems inclined to accept the Cretan form as genuine, cf. *Geschichte gr. Religion* 1³, p.314, note 3.

b) *Αφιγναῖος for *Αφιδναῖος is attested on three sep. monuments and a ded. of the period ca. 350–300 (nos.1–4 *infra*), and hesitation between the two can be seen in a decree of 328/7 with *Αφιγναῖος, *Αφιδναῖος, and *Αφιδ[γ]ναῖος (no.5):

- 1) *Αφιγ(ναῖου) II² 5728 (ca. 350) sep. mon.;
- 2) *Αφιγναῖος II² 6218.6 (post 350) sep. mon., *Αφιγναῖου *ib.* 11;
- 3) *Αφιγναῖος II² 5752 (340–317) sep. mon.;
- 4) *Αφιγναῖος II² 3852.5 (ca. 300) ded.;
- 5) *Αφιγναῖον *Agora* 15, p.59, no.49, line 48 (= *AE* 1917, p.40, no.92) decree; *Αφιδναῖο(ς) *ib.* 24; *Αφιδ[ν]αῖος *ib.* 42; *Αφιδ[γ]ναῖ(ος) *ib.* 5.

Lit.: Schwyzler, *GG* 1, pp.208, 215, 434; Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* pp.171, 198; Schulze, *GGA* 1896, pp.236ff. (= *KS*² pp.699–700); Wilhelm, *Beiträge* pp.63–66, 136.

46.035 ντ, νδ

The Attic tribute documents have both Κυλλάνδιοι and Κυλλάντιοι as the ethnic of the Carian town Κυλλανδα.

Κυλλάνδι[οι]: I² 191.20 (= *ATL* 2, no.1) (454/3).

Κυλλάντιοι: I² 194.40 (= *ATL* 2, no.4, col.1.32) (451/0).

Κυλάντιοι: I² 198.21 (= *ATL* 2, no.8) (447/6).

Ambiguous: Κυλλαν[, I² 193.9 (= *ATL* 2, no.3) (452/1).

A text of much later date from Karpathos has the expected -νδ- cf. *IG XII.1*, no. 1036 (ca. 196). The -ντ- in the tribute lists is perhaps due to the influence of -αντιοι elsewhere, as in Βυζάντιοι, Αιγάντιοι.

The same tribute texts always have -νδ- in the Carian ethnics Ἀμυνανδεύς, Καρ-
βασσανδεύς, Καρυανδεύς, Ληψιμανδεύς, Ληψυανδεύς, Πασσανδεύς; Κινδυεύς
(Κυνδυεύς); Κλαύνδιος, Μύνδιος; Ἰσίνδιος (Pisidia); Κελένδερις (Cilicia); and in
the Rhodian Αίνδιος, Βρικινδάριος. For the latter, cf. Βρυγινδάριος (with sub-
sequent change of κ to γ, cf. 35.02b, p. 438 *supra*) in two Rhodian texts: *IG XII.1*,
no. 730 (106–78); no. 166 (precise date unknown, but certainly later than 300 B.C.).
The tribute documents have -νδ- elsewhere in Ἀσπένδιος (Pamphylia); in the name
of the river (in Mysia, Bithynia) Ῥύνδαξ, cf. *I²* 63.132, *I²* 64.82; and in Μενδαῖοι,
Τινδαῖοι, the ethnics of towns in the Chalcidice.

But -ντ- is universal in these texts in Γεντίνιοι (= Γεντίνος in the Troad); Αιγάντιοι
(a town Αιγαί(ι) on Pallene in the Chalcidice, cf. *ATL* 1, p. 464); Βυζάντιος; and Βρι-
κούντιος (= Βρικούς on the island of Karpathos; -ντ- is regular in local texts also,
e.g. *IG XII.1*, nos. 995 ff.).

The tribute texts may preserve in Αίνδιος, Βρικινδάριος vs. Βρικούντιος an isogloss -ντ-/
-νδ- between Rhodes and Karpathos.

For the prevalence of -νδ- [nd] in Asia Minor, especially in Caria and adjacent areas, cf.
A. Debrunner-A. Scherer, *Geschichte* 2 (1969) p. 79; Schwyzler, *GG* 1, pp. 60–61, 123.

Later Attic examples of -νδ- are the following: Ἀσπένδιος *II²* 1956.65 (fin. s. IVa.) cat. (cf.
II² 8391, *II²* 8393); Ἀλαβανδεύς *II²* 2314.15, 23 (182/1 et 178/7) cat.; Ὀροανδεύς *II²* 1011,
col. 5.112 (106/5) decree; Μενδαῖος, e.g. *II²* 9335 ff.; Βυζάντιος (never with -νδ-), e.g. *II²* 43.83
(378/7) decree; *II²* 8434 ff. Note also Κενταῖβιος, patronymic on a sep. mon. of a man from
Herakleia, cf. *II²* 8801.2 (s. IIIa.) (L.); a Κενδεβοῖος is known from literary sources.

Although -ντ- = [nd] in MG no examples of -νδ- or -δ- for -ντ- in Greek words occur in
Attic inscriptions.

46.036 Treatment of δμ (δμ→σμ)

The normal Attic development of -δμ- (when not initial) to -σμ- (cf. ἵσμεν, ὁσμή,
etc.) may also be seen in frequent spellings with -σμ- among the dipinti and the regular
use of -σμ- on stone texts in the name Φράσμων. Thus Ἀσμετος occurs on the
François vase, *ABV* p. 76, Kleitias no. 1 (= *HBF* p. 152) and on two rf. vases of the
late fifth century, *ARV²* p. 1319, Aristophanes nos. 2, 3 (= *HRF* 1, p. 53, no. 2; p. 54,
no. 5); these inscriptions were republished by Immerwahr, *Sprunt Studies* p. 25,
no. 8 (= *SEG* 22.84g). Cf. Ἀσμετος on another rf. vase, *ARV²* p. 632, Methyse
painter no. 1 (for -σσμ-, cf. 43.021, no. 90, p. 530 *supra*). -σμ- is also attested in
a text on stone, cf. Ἀσμήτο (Athenian citizen), *REG* 73 (1960) p. 88, line 42 (= *SEG*
23.87) (ca. 390–375) pryt. cat.

The same -σμ- can be seen in Κάσσωμος on an Attic bf. lekythos by the Diosophos
painter, *ABL* p. 239, no. 135 (with note) and pp. 96–97 (inscriptions genuine) (= *Paralipomena*
p. 248); this vase is illustrated *Gymnasium* 64 (1957) plate 2; and Κάσσωμ[ι]α on a fr. of an Attic rf. lekythos of 450–400 B.C., CVA, Germany 22,

plate 148.4 (= AA 1891, p.119, no.17) (mentioned Haspels, *ABL* p.144, note 2). Occasional retention of -δμ- in these names on vases is due to the influence of epic, cf. Κόδμος on a rf. vase of the later fifth century, ARV² p.1187, no.33 (= Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* no.2634), although dipinti on the vase are Doric. The Καδ-μείων of the decree, II² 37.12 (post 383), is presumably the common Greek (originally Theban) form unaffected by the Attic tendency towards [sm].

A name Πολυφράσ(σ)μων occurs twice on a vase of Douris, ARV² p.438, no.132 (= HRF 1, p.284, no.81), spelled Πολυφράσμον (cf. 43.021, no.90, p.530 supra). In this name stone inscriptions also normally have -σμ-, e.g.: Φράσμων in a decree, II² 32.19 (385/4) (L.); an inventory, II² 1534B.248, 308 (247/6, cf. SEG 16.118) (L.); on a sep. mon., II² 5849/50 (s. III a.); cf. Πο]λυφράσμ[ων in a cat., II² 2325.3 (ca. 250); Θεοφράσμων on a sep. mon., II² 7781–2 (s. III/II a.); and φρασμοσύναι on a ded., I² 503 (init. s. Va.?, cf. DAA p.272, no.236), alongside a poetical Dorism, the dative in -αι (cf. 6.041, p.131 supra). A unique example of -δμ- in the name Φράδμων occurs in a catalog dated slightly later than 350 B.C., II² 1927.126, where Φράδμονος is the father of an Athenian citizen. This text is known only from a copy of Chandler, who may have regularized the spelling here. If -δμ- is correct, it is either another example of retention of original -δμ- or some type of learned spelling.

The tendency was to retain -δμ- in certain cases in the literary language, cf. Schwyzler, GG 1, p.208 with literature, especially Zusatz 1.

Attic vases have the spellings Ἀγαμέσμων, Μέσμων: cf. Ἀγ[α]μέσμο[ν ARV² p.458, Makron no.2 (= HRF 2, p.80, no.25; AJA 38 [1934] plate 14); Ἀγαμέσμον ARV² p.460, Makron no.13 (= HRF 2, p.82, no.26); Μέσμον (identifying the hero Memnon; for the kalos-name Μέμνον, cf. p.532 supra) ABV p.288, Würzburg no.199 group no.8 (= C. Albizzati, *Vasi antichi dipinti del Vaticano* [Rome, 1925–1939] plate 55, no.389; the dipinto is wrongly transcribed as μέμνον on p.172 of the text). These spellings in -σμ- have been taken as evidence of original *μεδμων here, cf. W.Prellwitz, *Bezenberger Beiträge* 17 (1891) p.172; 20 (1894) pp.306ff.; accepted by Schulze, *GGA* 1896, p.236 (= KS² p.699). But this etymology is rejected by Kretschmer (Lit. infra) and E.C. Hamp (Lit. infra pp.22–23) in favor of -μέσμων developing from -μένσμων*, an Attic variant for -μέμνων (← μένμων*). The derivation from -μεν- is also supported by Heubeck (Lit. infra).

A development of -δμ- to -μν- can be seen in μεσόμνη, attested only in this form; it occurs several times in an inventory of the year 347/6, cf. II² 1668.48, 51, 53, 74, 78, 85, and in another of a few years later, cf. II² 1673.35 (333/2? cf. AE 1971 p.112). Cf. Hamp (Lit. infra p.24).

There is no evidence for the Attic spelling of ἑυθμός as ἑυσμός (normally used in Ionic, cf. LSJ s.v. ἑυθμός); the name Πύθμος occurs in the eph. cat., II² 2167.4, where the man is probably an Athenian, but the text is of the late period, i.e. of the second century A.D. Note also ἦθμός in an inv. of the temple of Athena on Aegina (in Attic), cf. IG IV, no.39, line 20 (410); ηεθμών in the Attic version of the sep. mon. of Phanodikos from Sigeion, cf. DGE p.356, no.731 (ca. 550? cf. AAG² pp.165ff.; LSAG pp.366–367, p.371, nos.43–44).

For ἰσθμός, ἰσμός, Ἰθμόνικος, cf. 47.013, p.573 *infra*.

Lit.: MS³ p.85, note 722; pp.88–89, note 767; Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* p.168; A.Heubeck, *Gedenkschrift Brandenstein* (Innsbruck, 1968) pp.357–361; E.C.Hamp, *Glotta* 49 (1971) pp.21–24.

46.037 Κλυταιμήστρα

Κλυταιμήστρα is the only spelling found on Attic vases, e.g.: ARV² p.204, Berlin painter no.109 (= HRF 1, p.445, no.25; CVA, Austria 2, plates 68–69); ARV² p.257, Copenhagen painter no.6 (= HRF 1, p.200, no.3); ARV² p.805, Followers of Douris no.89 (= Smith, *Catalogue* 3, p.365, no.E773); ARV² p.1142, Xenotimos painter no.1 (= HRF 2, p.476, no.1). This spelling is also found in some codd., and there is no ancient evidence for *ny* in this word. The unwanted *ny* was probably current by early Byzantine times and was the work of misguided attempts to make an etymology for the word, cf. Schulze, *GGA* 1896 p.234 (= *KS*² p.697 and note 3). The word is a compound of κλυται- (← κλέος) like κραται-, παλαι-, etc. and a feminine counterpart of -μήστωρ (← μήδομαι), cf. Chantraine, *DEG* 2, p.541; Schwyzler, *GG* 1, p.448.

46.038 -μυ- for -μν-

Assimilation of -μν- to -μυ- may be behind the spelling ῥαμμούσιος, cf. II² 7339 (s. II/Ia.) sep. mon. (L.); but a careless omission probably lies in ῥαμούσι(ος) in the inv., II² 1623.48 (333/2). The spelling Μέμων occurs on two rf. vases of Oltos, cf. ARV² p.64, no.98; p.66, no.128, but it seems doubtful that Μέμων is indicated here. The usual spellings of this kalos-name are Μέμων and Μέμμων (for the examples, cf. 43.021, p.532 *supra*).

46.04 Other simplifications of dyadic clusters

Since graphically the absence of a letter is involved, it is often difficult to determine whether a simple clerical omission has occurred or an actual tendency to simplify a given cluster existed.

It seems doubtful that many other clusters of two consonants were ever simplified by the mere loss of one of the two consonants. Spellings like the following are isolated examples and are best explained as careless graphic mistakes:

Certain omissions of nasals which look like clerical mistakes, e.g. σταθόν, σταόν for σταθμόν, διογήτ[(= Διογνήτ[ου?]), λύχον (the correct λύχον on the other copy of the same text); for these examples cf. 41.012, p.488 *supra*.

[E]ύχαρίσου *Hesperia* 23 (1954) p.273, no.118 (s. IIp.) sep. mon.

εἰσπραθέν for εἰσπραχθέν II² 1534A.95 (291/0, cf. SEG 16.118) inv., has many careless omissions.

μιθῶσαι *AM* 49 (1924) pp.1ff., no.1, line 7 (ca. 350) decree (deme) (L.).

Συρίσο, alongside Συρίσκο in the same line, *IG* III.3, no.70.4 (400–350) defixio.

χεῖσαι (probably for χεῖσθαι) II² 11952.8 (s. Vp.) sep. mon. (L.). Etc.

Cf. the dipinto Νικοθένης on a rf. vase, ARV² p. 468, Makron no. 146 (= Richter-Hall plate 52) (also has Νικοστράτε, cf. 47.011, p. 572 *infra*); Ἐρυσθς for Εὐρυσθεύς on another rf. vase, ARV² p. 62, Olto no. 83 (= CVA, France 17, plates 5, 6), where Ἐρυ[.]θς is not a likely reading, since it is very unlikely that a sigma would have been placed on top of the arm of the figure of Eurystheus on the vase; probably the sigma was carelessly forgotten, cf. the rendition of ευ as E and as Y (cf. pp. 346–347 *supra*), alongside Ὀλυτεύς (also on this vase is Στενελος, cf. p. 559 *supra*).

For a few cases of -τ- for -στ-, cf. 42.021, p. 506 *supra*; for deletion of the nasal in Latin -ns- as Κησωρίνος, etc., cf. p. 488 *supra*.

A nasal is omitted sufficiently often before a following stop, e.g. νύφη, Νέαδρος, etc., to suggest that some persons may have tended to delete nasals before stops, possibly with nasalization of the preceding vowel (for the examples, cf. 41.011, pp. 485–488 *supra*). But the normal treatment of nasals before stops externally and in internal composition was simple assimilation to the following stop. Except in exceptional cases, e.g. before σ + C as in ἐστήλη, σύστρεμμα (cf. 48.0561b, pp. 634ff.; 48.04245, pp. 615–616 *infra*), there was no further simplification after the assimilation of the nasal.

It seems doubtful that the occasional occurrence of μικός for μικρός is due merely to cluster simplification (cf. 40.023, no. 4, p. 483 *supra*). Other instances of omission of -ρ- or -λ- after simple stops are due to dissimilation or are clerical omissions, cf. 40.022c, p. 481 *supra*.

The variation between στ and τ in στεγ- is probably very old; that in (σ)μικρός may be also (cf. 42.0211–42.0212, pp. 507–510 *supra*). For occasional simplification of ξ, ψ to [s], cf. 45.01, 45.02, pp. 551–553, 555 *supra*; ξύν→σύν, 45.011, p. 553 *supra*. The obstruent cluster [zd] was eventually assimilated to [zz], cf. 44.02, p. 547 *supra*.

π- for πτ- is rare in Attic, cf. Πολεμαίου Π² 469.3 (306/5) decree; Πολεμαίωι Π² 7930 (s. IIa.) sep. mon. of a man from Ankyra. Cf. Πολεμαῖος at Pergamum, cf. Schwyzler, *Gram. pergamenischen Inschriften* p. 104.

There may be a case of -ττ- for -πτ- in Λετίνης (= Λεπτίνης?) in the sep. mon., Π² 9255 (s. I/IIp.), unless a simple graphic mistake (L.).

Quite marked is the tendency to separate certain clusters, especially those consisting of [s] + stop, producing such spellings as -σστ-, -σσκ-, etc., cf. 43.021, p. 527 *supra*.

For [ηη] simplified to [n] in certain words, cf. 46.033, 46.034, pp. 562–565 *supra*.

46.05 Aspirate clusters

The aspirate clusters φθ and χθ occur in ἐχθρός; in compounds of ἐκ, e.g. ἐχφέρω, ἐχφορά, etc.; and in aorist passives in -θη, e.g. ἐτάχθην, ἐτάρφθην, etc. In Attic inscriptions the spellings φθ and χθ are universal except in compounds of ἐκ, where in the Classical Period there is hesitation between e.g. ἐχφέρω and ἐκφέρω for the normal spelling, with ἐκφέρω normal thereafter (cf. 48.0213, p. 583 *infra*); and there are rare variants ἐγφ- (twice) and ἐκχφ- (once only), cf. 48.0217, p. 586 *infra*.

The comparative rarity of true aspirate clusters [p't'], [k't'] in the languages of the world has led many to doubt that Greek φθ and χθ were aspirated for the full length of the cluster. The popularity of the spellings φθ and χθ (except in cases involving composition such as ξκθεις, etc.) would be due to the relaxation of the articulation of π and κ before θ from a fortis (or tense) stop to a lenis (or lax) stop, i.e. from [k] to [k̠] (for lenis and fortis stops, cf. Heffner, *Phonetics* p.120; Lejeune, *Lit. infra*). Presumably the aspirates were normally lenis stops, as is often the case, and hence the choice of Φ and Χ as graphemes for [p], [k]. The same explanation has been proposed for the φσ and χσ of the pre-403 Attic script (cf. 1.011, p.20 *supra*), and the preference of πφ, τθ, κχ over φφ, θθ, χχ (cf. 43.05, p.541 *supra*) may also support this view. Note also that the normal transliterations in Latin were cth and pth, rather than chth, phth, cf. Schulze, *Orthographica* (Marburg, 1894) pp. xxvii ff. The unusual spelling Ἐκχφάντος (cf. *supra*) cannot be used as evidence one way or the other; it merely shows hesitation between the etymological spelling Ἐκφάντος and the assimilated one; cf. spellings like ἐκχ Μυρρινούτης (cf. 48.0217, p.586 *infra*; for examples of this type from elsewhere in Greece, cf. Dow, *Lit. infra*). One might argue that the rare cases of ἐγφ- are evidence for this view, as voiced stops are normally lenis, not fortis, although it must be remembered that even before voiceless stops ἐγ is sometimes used (cf. 48.0211, p.579 *infra*), although usually in the vicinity of a liquid, where it would not be unreasonable to expect a lenis stop. The combined evidence makes the view that φθ and χθ are for [p't'] and [k't'] rather than true double aspirates slightly more attractive. There is scarcely agreement, however, and others believe that these clusters were [p't'] and [k't'] (cf. Sturtevant, p.83; W.S. Allen, *Vox Graeca* pp.24–26).

Lit.: Lejeune, *Phonétique* p.69, cf. pp.72, 54 (= *Traité*² pp.59, 62, 45); S. Dow, *Gotta* 45 (1967) pp.202–221; Schwyzler, *GG* 1, pp.210–211 with literature; Gignac pp.88–89.

47.00 Simplification of clusters of three or more consonants

Certain clusters of three or more consonants appear simplified in the same way enough times to justify the assumption that a tendency towards their simplification was present.

47.011 -στυ-; -σχυ-

A handful of examples of -στυ- for -στυ- can be assembled, chiefly on sep. monuments:

- 1) Σωσράτο II² 8871 (ante 350) sep. mon. (L.);
- 2) Λυσισράτη II² 12013 (ca. 350) sep. mon.;
- 3) Δημοσφ[άτη II² 12973 (ca. 350) sep. mon., Δημοστράτη, Φιλόστρατος *al.*;
- 4) Χαυρεσράτη II² 13035 (s. IV a.) sep. mon. (L.);
- 5) Νικόσφρατος II² 1792.53 (ca. 192/3 p.) pryt. cat. (L.).

The fourth-century date of most of the examples may not be significant; the phenomenon is found earlier among graffiti and dipinti, e.g.: Πισίσρατος graffito on a sherd, *Hesperia*, suppl. 8 (1949) pp.405–408, plate 60 (= *Hesperia* 8 [1939] p.63) (most likely ca. 550, cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 8, p.407); dipinti: ηευχσιράτ-, Δαμασιράτε *ABV* p.76, Kleitias no.1 (= *HBF* p.152); Νικόσρατος *ABV* p.671, Vatican 381; Ναυσόσρατος *ARV*² p.1602, Oxford frag. 333.

The cluster -στρ- occasionally appears as -στ- (for the examples, cf. 40.022 a, p.480 supra) and rarely as -τρ-, e.g. Λυσιτράτ|ο *I*² 1003.2–3 (ante 450?) sep. mon.; Σωτράτου *II*² 1996.130 (84/5–92/3 p.) eph. cat. (L.). So also on vases: Σότρατος (but also Σόστρατος) *ARV*² p.24, Phintias no.11 (= Caskey-Beazley, plate 32); Νικοτράτε, also Νικοθένης, Κελιτράστε (= Καλλιστράτε), Λρακίας (= Λακρίας, cf. p.478 supra) *ARV*² p.468, Makron no.146 (= Richter-Hall plate 52). It is possible that the omission of the σ was caused by dissimilation from the other σ in these words (cf. 42.021, p.506 supra). For -σστρ- for -στρ-, cf. 43.021, nos.7, 13, 15, 16, 31, 33, 39, 43, p.528 supra.

Αἴχρωνος appears for Αἴσχρωνος in a cat., cf. *II*² 2370.4 (ca. 360); Ἀσχίον is a dipinto for Αἰσχρίον on a rf. vase, cf. *ARV*² p.63, Oltos no.92 (= CVA, England 3, plate 1.2). For one case of -σχ- (Καλλαίσχου), cf. 40.022 a, p.480 supra.

Lit.: *MS*³ p.79, note 680.

47.012 -μπτρ-; -κτρ-

The -μπτρ- of Λαμπτρεύς is occasionally simplified to -μπτρ-:

- 1) Λαμπτρεύς *II*² 1612.370 (356/5) inv.;
- 2) Λαμπτρεύς *Agora* 15, p.59, no.49, line 9 (= *AE* 1917, p.40, no.92) (328/7) decree;
- 3) Λαμπτρεύς *II*² 6684 (ca. 250) sep. mon. (L.); cf. addenda;
- 4) [Λ]αμπτρεύς *II*² 6646.3 (s. IIa.) sep. mon. (L.);
- 5) Λαμπτρεύς *II*² 6702 (s. Ia.) sep. mon.;
- 6) Λαμπτρεῖσι *II*² 2776.201 (aet. Trajani, cf. *Hesperia* 41 [1972] p.476) financial record. The stone is now too worn for confirmation of the reading; Miller read Λα...ρεῖσι, cf. *Hesperia* 41 (1972) p.74.

But in *II*² 1796.32 (= *IG* III, no.1042) read ΛΑΜΠΠΕΥΣ (cf. p.109 supra) (L.).

Elsewhere there is simplification to -μπτρ-:

- 7) Λαμπτρεῖς *II*² 2638.7–8 (= *AM* 67 [1942] p.35, no.37) (s. IVa.?) horos (of a mine at Laureion);
- 8) Λαμπτρεῶν *II*² 6675.3 (s. IIp.) sep. mon. (L.);
- 9) Λαμπτρεῖς *Deltion* 25 (1970) p.72, no.10 (s. IIIp.) sep. mon.

A further simplification to Λαμπρεύς has been recorded for a decree, *II*² 204.75 (352/1), but the stone is now so worn only Λαμπρεύς or Λαμρεύς can be read; the correct Λαμπτρεῖς in *ib.* 83, 84 (L.). The ἐλαπτέων recorded by Fourmont for the lost sep. mon., *II*² 6639 (ca. 200 p.), might be for ἐ(κ) Λαμπτρεῶν (cf. 48.0217, p.587 infra).

The spelling Λαμπρετεύς is also attested on two sep. monuments:

- 10) Λαμπρετέω[ς] II² 6715 (ca. 350) sep. mon.;
- 11) Λαμπρετέω[ς] II² 6700 (s. III a.) sep. mon. (L.).

For the Λαμπρ[] of II² 6702, Λαμπρ[έω]ς is more likely than Λαμπρ[τέω]ς (cf. no. 5 supra).

Such spellings might indicate that the pronunciation of the cluster was facilitated by metathesis, but the suspicion remains strong that they are only graphic mistakes: -τ- was first forgotten, then remembered and added in the wrong place (cf. also 40.012, p. 478 supra).

The man's name Λαμπρύας never has tau (e.g. PA nos. 8988–8990).

-κτϞ- appears as -κϞ- in ολ[κϞ]ά II² 13087.2 (init. s. IV a.) sep. mon., where the stone-cutter was correcting something. For ολκτρός, cf. II² 12335.4 (ca. 360), II² 7447.13 (fin. s. II p.) sep. monuments.

Lit.: MS³ p. 79, note 679.

47.013 Other triadic clusters, etc.

Simplification of other consonant clusters is very rare. A graffito on a mid-sixth-century well-cover has ἴσιμον, cf. *Hesperia* 18 (1949) pp. 117–119 (L.), which might indicate simplification of -σθμ- to -σμ-; but in such a crude text it might not be an accurate rendition of the individual's pronunciation (elsewhere on it πρέατος = φρέατος, cf. 38.012b, p. 453 supra). But a fifth-century ded. has the same word with a different simplification, ἴσθια II² 3123 (450–440? cf. DAA p. 207), cf. 41.012, p. 488 supra. And a masc. anthroponym Ἰθμόνικος is attested in a cat., II² 1711.2, 13 (ca. 150) (L.), where the repetition is noteworthy.

For -σκλ- there is only one example from Attica of -σκ-, Ἀσκηπιάδου, cf. 40.022a, p. 480 supra, and -σλ- is not attested; -σσκλ- is frequent, cf. 43.021, nos. 50–53, 55–57, 63–66, 69, p. 529 supra. Cf. a single example of -σχ- for -σχϞ-, Καλλαίσχου (cf. 40.022a, p. 480 supra).

The cluster -νδϞ- was most often simplified by loss of the nasal (with vowel nasalization?) (cf. examples in 41.011, nos. 24–25, 27–30, pp. 486–7 supra; Τιμάδρα, Κατάδρα on vases, cf. p. 488 supra), but there are also two examples of -νδ- for -νδϞ- on stone texts, cf. 40.022a, p. 480 supra. The simplification to -νϞ- is found only on a rf. vase with Ἀνδρομάχε, viz. ARV² p. 369, no. 1 (= HRF 1, p. 119, no. 8). On ARV² p. 1213, Alexandre group no. 3, read Ἀνδρομάχε, cf. v. Bothmer, *Amazons* p. 186, no. 100. This vase was Kretschmer's second example of Ἀνδρομάχε, cf. *Vaseninschriften* pp. 183–184. The -d- in this cluster is of course itself an epenthetic consonant which developed to facilitate the pronunciation of [-nr-], and the original spellings in -νϞ- are also found in other parts of Greece; but whether these spellings are late survival of the original form or due to cluster simplification is uncertain. The development to -νδϞ- may have been pre-Mycenaean (cf. A. Heubeck, *Glotta* 48 [1970] p. 71). A number of other triadic clusters with a nasal first element are simpli-

fied by its deletion, e.g. Λαψακηνός, Σαλυπριανός, Λέτλος, etc., cf. 41.011, nos. 2, 4, 12, 22, pp. 485–486 *supra*. Cf. also σαλπικτής, etc. (cf. 47.021 *infra*).

For simplification of -κκλ- to -κλ- in ἐκκλησία, cf. 43.012, no. 1, p. 514 *supra*.

For simplification of -ρψ- to -ρσ-, cf. 45.02, p. 555 *supra*; for treatment of Latin -xt- (and a possible simplification to ξ), cf. 47.022 *infra*.

For Ὀρθ(ρ)αγώρας, cf. 40.013, no. 8, p. 479 *supra*.

A kind of cluster simplification takes place to produce ἐσκαμβωνιδῶν, ἐσκιάθου, etc. from ἐκ σ/—C, cf. 48.0216, p. 586 *infra*.

For Latin -nst- occur both -στ- and -νστ-, cf. Κωνστα[ντίνω? in Π² 3200 (ante 337 p.) ded., but Κωσταντ[ο]υ in Π² 5203 (305–306 p.) ded.

47.021 σαλπικτής, σαλπιστής, etc.

Attic texts of all periods have only the simplified cluster -κτ- in σαλπικτής; a variant σαλπιστής in the Roman Period merely shows the use of the common suffix -ιστής.

σαλπικτής: Π² 1635.69 (post 374/3) inv. (L.); Π² 956.44 (161/0) decree (L.); Π² 957.42 (157/6) decree (L.); Π² 958.40 (154/3) decree (L.); Π² 2295.4–5, etc. (aet. Claudii) cat.; Π² 2300.2 (aet. Claudii) cat. (L.); Π² 2303.7 (ca. 50 p.) cat. (L.); Π² 2308.15 (ca. 50 p.) cat.:]ΚΤΗΞ.

σαλπιστής: Π² 2297.9 (aet. Claudii) cat. (L.); Π² 2292.23 (post 45/6 p.) cat. (L.).

Lit.: MS³ p. 84, note 719.

47.022 Σέξτος, Σέξστος, etc.

For the Roman name Sextus and its derivatives the following spellings are found in Attic texts:

1) Σέξτος:

Π² 11522 (s. Ia.) sep. mon.; *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p. 186, no. 116, line 33 (ca. 20) decree; Π² 4101 (ante 89) ded.; Π² 4705.3 (17?) ded. (priv.); Π² 12901 (init. s. Ip.) sep. mon.; Π² 4161.2 (init. s. Ip.), Π² 4171.2 (ca. 27–30 p.), Π² 4186 (ca. 50 p.) dedications; Π² 11757 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.; Π² 12706 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.; Π² 2024.129 (112/3 p.) eph. cat.; Π² 3013.1–2 (165/6 p.) ded.

2) Σέξστος:

Π² 2037.80 (125/6 p.) eph. cat.: Σέξστος; Π² 1790.19 (L.), 20 (ca. 197 p.) pryt. cat.; *Hesperia* 16 (1947) p. 180, no. 85, line 6 (ca. 180 p.) pryt. cat.: Σέ]ξστου, *ib.* 7: Σ]έξστου.

3) Σέξκτος:

Π² 4100 (118/7) ded.: Σεξκτ; Π² 1756.18 (= *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 [1937] p. 171, no. 102, line 45) (ca. 50) pryt. cat.: Σεξκτ[ος].

4) Σέκστος:

Π² 1782.37 (177/8 p.) pryt. cat. (L.); Π² 3814.4 (ca. 250 p.) ded.

5) Σῆστος:

Π² 10347 a (in text).6 (s. IIp.) sep. mon.: Σηστιάς, stone rediscovered, cf. *Deltion* 25 (1970) *Chronika* p. 71, plate 64 a.

Cf. also Π² 1722.12 (post 9/8) catalog, where the copies on which the text depends disagree between Σέξστος and Σέξτος.

Here is seen a characteristic fluctuation in the rendition of the unfamiliar sound. The -ξστ- spelling shows the same tendency seen in Ἀριστο-, cf. ὑπεξοτησόμενος (cf. 43.021, no. 45, p. 529 supra). The use of -κστ- would be due to slight difference in sound between Latin x and Greek ξ. The -στ- spelling might indicate the influence of the substandard [st] pronunciation of Latin -xt- (cf. Sturtevant p. 175) or be influenced by the Greek words Σηστός, Σήστιος. Latin -xt- seems to be simplified to -ξ- in the spelling Σεξίλιος in an eph. cat., Π² 2059.100 (ca. 147/8 p.) (L.), unless the omission of tau is just a careless graphic mistake.

Lit.: MS³ p. 93, note 833; Eckinger pp. 125 ff.

47.023 Ἀνγδιστις, Ἀγδιστις, etc.

There is considerable variation in the spelling of the name of this foreign deity. In Attica are attested Ἀνγδίσει, cf. Π² 4671.1 (s. IV/III a.) ded. (priv.); Ἀγδίστεως *Hellenika* 1 (1928) pp. 233 ff., line 10 (83/2) cat. and decree. Variation is due to characteristic difficulties with a foreign cluster.

Elsewhere Ἀνγδ-, Ἀνδ- are found on dedications from Phrygia of Roman date, cf. *MAMA* 6, pp. 135 ff., nos. 390–399.

48.00–49.00 Phenomena of fusion

48.00 Treatment of final consonants

48.01 Haplography

48.011 True haplography (Archaic Period)

True haplography occurs only in the period of the earliest texts, in which two identical consonants in succession are systematically indicated with a single letter. Thus in the earliest state decree, I² 1 (fin. s. VI a., cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 25, no. 14), ἐάμέ is for ἐάμ μή, ἐᾷΣαλαμῖνι for ἐᾷς Σαλαμῖνι (ἐᾷς for ἐᾷν by assimilation, cf. 48.03 d, p. 594 infra), etc. For the examples, cf. 43.011, pp. 511 ff. supra. Exceptional is Κεραμῶς στέλε on a sep. mon. of the seventh century, cf. p. 513 supra.

These haplographic spellings are a writing convention and indicate no more about the pronunciation of Attic at this time than the failure to write out geminates internally (e.g. ἄλο for ἄλλο, etc.) from which they cannot be separated.

5) Σῆστος:

Π² 10347 a (in text).6 (s. IIp.) sep. mon.: Σηστιάς, stone rediscovered, cf. *Deltion* 25 (1970) *Chronika* p. 71, plate 64 a.

Cf. also Π² 1722.12 (post 9/8) catalog, where the copies on which the text depends disagree between Σέξστος and Σέξτος.

Here is seen a characteristic fluctuation in the rendition of the unfamiliar sound. The -ξστ- spelling shows the same tendency seen in Ἀρισστο-, cf. ὑπεξοτησόμενος (cf. 43.021, no. 45, p. 529 supra). The use of -κστ- would be due to slight difference in sound between Latin x and Greek ξ. The -στ- spelling might indicate the influence of the substandard [st] pronunciation of Latin -xt- (cf. Sturtevant p. 175) or be influenced by the Greek words Σηστός, Σήστιος. Latin -xt- seems to be simplified to -ξ- in the spelling Σεξίλιος in an eph. cat., Π² 2059.100 (ca. 147/8 p.) (L.), unless the omission of tau is just a careless graphic mistake.

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These haplographic spellings are a writing convention and indicate no more about the pronunciation of Attic at this time than the failure to write out geminates internally (e.g. ἄλο for ἄλλο, etc.) from which they cannot be separated.

48.012 Later haplography

After the consistent haplography of the earliest texts is abandoned (by ca. 480) haplographic spellings are abnormal except in certain limited cases. The geminate -σσ- produced when a word terminating in -ς precedes a word with initial σ-, σκ-, σπ-, στ-, or σφ- was frequently simplified, and this shows up in the orthography occasionally at all periods. Normally the first word is one which goes closely with the following in sense such as the prepositions εἰς and ἐξ and the definite article, but there are several exceptions (cf. nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 11–13 *infra*).

The geminate -κκ- produced by ἐκ followed by initial κ- is rarely simplified to -εκ- in a few demotics, but only during the Roman Period (cf. nos. 51–55 *infra*).

There are perhaps a few similar simplifications involving an assimilated final -ν, e.g. ἐλουσῆται, cf. 48.055 d, p. 633 *infra*; but τὰ(ς) ναῦς, τοῦ(ς) μέν are probably only careless omissions, cf. 48.08, pp. 639 ff. *infra*.

For ἐξάμου, etc., where no geminate simplification has occurred, and for ἐσχύρου with cluster simplification, cf. 48.0216, p. 586 *infra*.

Lit.: MS³ pp. 90–91, notes 806–822; p. 109, note 1017; Lademann p. 120.

Examples:

Simplification of -ς σ-:

Before vowels:

- 1) ὄροσήματος II² 2581 a (in text).1–2 (now OP[? cf. *Hesperia* 17 [1948] p. 35, no. 19) (init. s. IV a.) horos;
 - 2) ξφυσοφῆται II² 11387.6 (ca. 350) sep. mon.;
 - 3) Καρπόδωροσώτου II² 1820.24 (ca. 200 p.) pryt. cat. (L.).
- εἰς:
- 4) εἰσικυωνίας *Hesperia* 8 (1939) p. 35, no. 9, line 12 (303/2) decree.

Doubtful:

οἰμ' ἀνδρὸς Σίμου II² 1534 B.235 (247/6, cf. *SEG* 16.118) inv., Ἀντιπατρι Σμάκιον *ib.* 234. But this text contains many abbreviatory curtailments of final letters, cf. δέκ Φιλίστας in *ib.* 235.

Corrections:

In the decree, II² 974.22 (137/6), the sense demands that παννυχίδα be singular in παννυχίδα συνετέλεσεν, cf. *Hesperia* 28 [1959] p. 193. In the sep. mon., II² 10118 (= *IG* III, no. 1356), read τίς σοι, not τί σοι.

Before σκ-:

- 5) ἀρχοντοσκηροφοριῶνος II² 1656.1–2 (part of II² 1656–II² 1664, a building inv. dated ca. 394–391).
- εἰς:
- 6) ἐσκίαθον I² 118.12 (408/7) decree.

ἐς←έν:

- 7) ἔΣκαμβονί I² 373.106 (409/8) inv. (L.);
 8) ἔΣκαμβωνιδῶν II² 1672.179, 238, 241 (329/8) inv. (L.); cf. nos. 17, 42, 49 *infra*.
 ἐν Σκαμβωνιδῶν occurs: I² 374.61, 72, 320, 321 (408–406) (L.), II² 1673.11 (333/2? cf. AE 1971 p. 112), *Hesperia* 28 (1959) pp. 208 ff., line 522 (= II² 1557.80) (ca. 330–320), II² 1567.9 (ca. 330–320) inventories.

Before σπ-:

Definite Article:

- 9) τὰΣπονδάς II² 8.16 (paulo post 403/2, cf. SEG 19.16; 24.9) decree (L.);
 10) τοῖΣπεύρασιν II² 9713.10 (s. Πρ.) sep. mon. (L.).

Before στ-:

- 11) φιδᾶκνεΣτόμα *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p. 264, no. 5, line 34 (ca. 414) inv. (cf. *Hesperia* 25 [1956] p. 317; *Hesperia* 27 [1958] p. 173);
 12) ἀρετῇΣτήσα II² 7716.2 (fin. s. V a.) sep. mon.;
 13) φέρειΣτυγεράων II² 4533.37 (s. III p.) hymns in various metres (ded. [priv.]).

Doubtful:

Μ]νηοίστρατοΣτρατο--- II² 10134 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon. (known only from Fourmont's copy).

εἰς:

- 14) ἐΣτέλε[ν? I² 177.2 (446–403) decree; not]ιστελε[as in IG I² (L.);
 15) εἰΣτήλην *Polemon* 1 (1929) p. 227, no. 9, lines 26–27 (375–350) decree (deme);
 16) εἰΣτήλας II² 2492.20–21 (346/5, cf. SEG 24.202) loc.; but σσ- for σ- in δημάρχουσσῆσαι *ib.* 22, cf. SIG³ no. 966; 43.021, no. 20, p. 528 *supra*;
 17) εἰΣταθμὰ II² 1672.173 (329/8) inv. (L.); cf. no. 8 *supra*, nos. 42, 49 *infra*;
 18) εἰΣτήλην II² 542.13 (ante 303/2) decree (eranistai) (L.);
 19) εἰΣτεφάνους II² 1265.9 (cf. IG II, no. 615) (ca. 300) decree (eranistai) (L.);
 20) εἰΣτήλην II² 686.19 (266/5) decree (L.);
 21) εἰΣτήλας II² 1227.34 (131/0) decree (Salaminian cleruchs) (L.);
 22) εἰΣτήλην II² 1228.11 (116/5) decree (Salaminian cleruchs) (L.);
 23) εἰΣτήλην II² 1036.24 (108/7) decree;
 24) εἰΣτήλην II² 1011.51 (106/5) decree (L.); cf. no. 48 *infra*;
 25) εἰΣτήλην, εἰΣτήλην II² 1028.56, 104 (101/100, cf. SEG 24.188) decree (L.).

For εἰς στήλην, cf. II² 660.44 (281/0, cf. SEG 24.115), II² 674.22 (273/2) decrees; II² 1198.20–21 (326/5) decree (deme); etc.

ἐς←έν (all ἐΣτήλην):

- 26) I² 39.59 (446/5) decree (L.);
 27) I² 60.14 (427/6) decree;
 28) I² 82.16 (421/0) decree (L.);
 28 a) *Delion* 8 (1923) pp. 96 ff., no. 3, line 3 (= SEG 3.18; 10.101; Sokolowski, *Supplément* p. 19, no. 4) (ca. 420) *lex sacra*;
 29) I² 108.34 (410/9) decree (L.);
 30) I² 115.7 (409/8) decree (L.);

- 30 a) ZPE 25 (1977) p. 243, line 63 (post 403/2) sacred calendar;
 31) II² 27.9–10 (394–387) decree: ἐς|τήλητι;
 32) II² 53.7 (390–370, cf. SEG 24.77) decree;
 33) *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p. 262, no. 66, line 14 (= II² 25.8) (post 389) decree (L.);
 34) II² 44.15 (378/7) decree (L.);
 35) II² 141.14 (376–360) decree (L.);
 36) II² 298.3 (ante 336/5) small decree fr.;
 37) II² 1199.13–14, 29 (ca. 325) decree (deme), in 13–14: ἐς|τήλητι (L.).

ἐς|τήλητι has also been plausibly restored in several decrees of the fifth and fourth centuries B. C.; for these examples and instances of ἐς|στήλητι, ἐν|στήλητι, cf. 48.0561 b, pp. 634 ff. *infra*; for a doubtful case of εἰς|τήλητι, cf. p. 634 *infra*.

Definite article:

- 38) τὲς|τέλεν II² 56.28 (ca. 430?) decree (L.) (cf. 48.0562, p. 635 *infra*);
 39) τῶ|στρατ[ι]ᾶς II² 63.38 (425/4) decree (L.);
 40) τὸς|τ[ρ]ῶ|στε|γ|ός Meiggs-Lewis p. 267, no. 87, lines 33–34 (= I² 116.29–30, improved reading) (409/8 aut ca. 407, cf. Meiggs-Lewis *loc. cit.*) decree;
 41) τῇ|στήλης *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p. 14, no. 1, line 50 (367/6) inv.;
 42) τὸς|τρογγύλον II² 1672.20 (329/8) inv. (L.); cf. nos. 8, 17 *supra*, no. 49 *infra* (cf. 48.06, p. 637 *infra*);
 43) τῇ|στοῦς II² 1469.120 (post 320/19) inv. (L.);
 44) τοῖς|τρατηγοῖς II² 1479.65 (post 312/1) inv.;
 45) τῇ|στήλης II² 530.5 (fin. s. IV a.) decree (L.);
 46) τῇ|στήλης II² 643.10 (298/7) decree (L.);
 47) τῶ|στρατηγού|ς Meiggs-Lewis p. 48, no. 23, line 38 (= *Hesperia* 31 [1962] p. 311) (inscribed s. III a.?) Themistocles decree;
 48) τῶ|στρατηγούς II² 1011.49 (106/5) decree (L.); cf. no. 24 *supra*.

Before σφ-:

εἰς:

- 49) εἰς|φήνας II² 1672.9, 10, 303 (329/8) inv. (L.); cf. nos. 8, 17, 42 *supra*.

Definite article:

- 50) τὸς|φεκίσκος II² 373.248 (409/8) inv. (L.).

Correction:

In the sep. mon., II² 7520 (= IG II, no. 2577), read: ----Σ Κηφισοδώρδ Σφήττιος.

Simplification of ἐκ K-:

- 51) ἐ|κοίλης II² 6494 (s. Ip.) sep. mon. (L.);
 52) ἐ|κοίλης II² 6496 (s. I/II p.) sep. mon. (L.);
 53) ἐ|κυδαθηνέων II² 6594 (s. II p.) sep. mon.;
 54) ἐ|κεραμέων II² 6330 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.;
 55) ἐ|κηφισέων II² 6401 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon. (for the omission of iota, cf. 27.02, no. 12, p. 394 *supra*) (L.).

Doubtful:

--η Δωρεᾶς ἐ Κολ[ωνοῦ] Peek, AG 2, p. 15, no. 25 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.; but there are difficulties with the name Δωρεά.

Cf. ἐκλήσια, 43.012, no. 1, p. 514 *supra*.

48.02–48.07 Assimilation of final consonants

48.02 Treatment of ἐκ, ἐξ

48.03–48.07 Assimilation of -ν

48.03 Treatment of nasals/___C in the Archaic Period

48.04 Assimilation of internal nasals

48.041 Assimilation of internal nasals (not in composition)

48.042 Assimilation of internal nasals (in composition)

48.05 Assimilation of final -ν (cf. p. 616 *infra*)

48.06 Special types of assimilation: nasal deletion, geminate simplification

48.07 False assimilations

48.02 Treatment of ἐκ, ἐξ

48.021 Treatment of ἐκ (preposition and in internal combination)

ἐκ is frequently assimilated to the consonant immediately following, and there is little difference in treatment in external (as preposition) and internal (in compounds) combination. The close fusion of the proclitic preposition with the following word can also be seen in spellings like ἐκκ τοῦ, etc. in 43.021 (nos. 91–97, 100, p. 531 *supra*). Assimilation is never universal, however, even in the Classical Period, when it is most frequent, and occasionally more than one treatment may be found within a single text (e.g. ἔκγονος, ἔγγονος in an inv. of ca. 414, cf. 48.0212 *infra*). Most of the assimilated spellings are at least attested in Roman times, but they are all abnormal except those before λ and μ. Assimilation before the aspirates is abandoned after the early Hellenistic Period. The spelling ἐξ is universal before vowels, but it may also appear before ρ, λ, σ, and ζ (cf. 48.0215–48.0216 *infra*). ἐγ is found (instead of ἐκ or ἐχ) very rarely before voiceless and aspirated stops, usually in the vicinity of a liquid (cf. 48.0211, 48.0217 *infra*). Other rarities are ἐχ τῶν, ἐκγ, ἐ + λ- (cf. 48.0211, 48.0217 *infra*).

Lit.: MS³ pp. 105–109, notes 944–1018; p. 158, note 1344; Lademann pp. 61–66; Mayser-Schmoll pp. 198–203; Gignac pp. 172–176.

48.0211 ἐκ before π, τ, κ

ἐκ is virtually universal before the voiceless stops. But there are rare cases of ἐγ before π, τ, and κ:

ἐγ Πειραιῶς II² 1672.125, 146, 150, 165 (329/8) inv., has ἐγκ Πειραιῶς *ib.* 173 (stone very worn, but readings confirmed for lines 150, 173, L.).

[ἐ] | γτρϕει II² 1670.17–18 (ca. 330) inv., but ἐκτυχιεῖ *ib.* 20.

ἐγλευσα[σῶν II² 506.10 (302/1, cf. SEG 21.339) decree (L.); but ἐκπλ- in another decree of the same year, cf. II² 505.18, 20.

ἐγ Κοίλης II² 1609.72 (ante 370/69) inv. (L.).

In all the foregoing cases there is a liquid nearby in the word. It is possible that the articulation of the κ of ἐκ was relaxed slightly in the vicinity of a liquid, i.e. that it became a lenis rather than a fortis stop (for lenis and fortis stops, cf. Heffner, *Phonetics* p. 120) or was even voiced. The spelling ἐγκ Περ- in II² 1672 shows hesitation between the etymological spelling ἐκ and the assimilated ἐγ used elsewhere in this text.

In the sep. mon. of a Phoenician, II² 8388 (= GVI 1, p. 479, no. 1601) (init. s. IIIa.), the sequence of letters περιδεγπρωιριγκτητάνυσται has been variously interpreted. The best interpretation is περι δὲ {ν} πρῶιϛ ἐ {γ} κτετάνυσται with an obtrusive nasal in two places (cf. 41.021a, p. 489 supra). Kaibel (no. 96) takes δεγ as for δ'ἐκ, with a gamma as in ἐγπλευσσαῶν, etc., and ιγκ- as ἐκ-, which seems harder. Other oddities of this text include εἰχθρολέων for ἐχθρολέων (cf. 16.011, p. 302 supra) and I for [ἔ] in ιγκ (cf. 7.012b, no. 12, p. 143 supra). All the irregularities of this monument stem from the foreign origin of the writer. IΓK might also be purely graphic, EEK left unfinished and the planned correction forgotten or concealed by paint.

ἐγ Κλαμαδοῖν in the decree, I² 101.5, is probably for ἐν Κλαμαδοῖν.

For ἐΚοίλης, cf. 48.012, nos. 51–55, p. 578 supra; ἐκκ τοῦ, cf. 43.021, nos. 91–97, 100, p. 531 supra; for a possible ἐχ τῶν, cf. 38.023, p. 468 supra (perhaps due to the writer's imperfect knowledge of the alphabet).

48.0212 ἐκ before β, δ, γ

a) Before the first century B.C., ἐγ is universal before β, both as preposition and in composition, cf. e.g.: I² 24.17 (ca. 448, cf. SEG 21.20), I² 57.35 (423) decrees; I² 343.84 (443/2), II² 1496.86 (334/3–331/0), II² 1672.280, 284, 289, 295, 297, 299 (329/8) inventories; II² 710.7 (init. s. IIIa.) decree; ἐγβ[άλεν I² 4.11 (485/4) decree; ἐγβολή II² 1241.15 (300/299) decree (phratry); ἐγβιβάζων II² 2314.38 (182/1 et 178/7), II² 2316.17 (ca. 166/5), II² 2317.49 (162/1 et 158/7) catalogs; ἐγβάτης II² 3148.3 (s. IIa.) ded.

In Roman times the use of ἐγ before β is rare, cf. ἐγ β-: II² 5900 (s. I/IIp.) (L.), II² 5909 (s. IIp.) (L.), *Hesperia* 21 (1952) p. 375, no. 28 (aet. Rom.) sep. monuments. But normally ἐκ, of which the earliest examples are: ἐκβάλλω in II² 2788.20 (fin. s. IIa.) public praise of the Athenians (ded.); ἐκβάλνω in II² 1338.29–30 (post 83) decree (technitai); ἐκ βασιλέως in II² 3426.1, II² 3427.3 (both 63/2–52/1), II² 3428.3 (52–42) dedications. For ἐκ, cf. ἐκ β-: II² 5880 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.; II² 4055.3 (s. I/IIp.) ded.; II² 6485 (ante 150p.), II² 5898 (ca. 150p.) sep. monuments; II² 2361.41 (init. s. IIIp.) cat.; II² 3669.12 (ca. 269/70p.) ded.; II² 5876 (aet. Rom.) sep. monument; ἐκβαλόντι II² 1368.95 (ca. 162/3p.) Iobacchi regulations; ἐκβάλλεσθαι II² 1369.42 (ca. 200p.) law (eranistai).

b) In the Classical and Hellenistic Periods *έγ* is universal before *δ*. Cf. *έγ δ*:- *Hesperia* 14 (1945) p.87, no.6, line 8 (ca. 434), I² 76.5, 26 (435–414? cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.222) decrees; I² 313.107 (408/7), I² 314.117 (407/6), II² 1635.29 (post 374/3), II² 1636.3 (ca. 350), II² 1496.144, 146 (334/3–331/0), II² 1672.271 (329/8), II² 1682.26 (285/4) inventories; II² 1283.6 (263/2, cf. SEG 24.155) decree (Thracian aliens); II² 1534B.153 (247/6, cf. SEG 16.118) inv.; also on a sacred law from the Eleusinion in Athens soon to be published by K. Clinton in *Hesperia*, cf. *έγ δὲ τῶν* in line ab50 of Face A (new fr. of *Hesperia* 26 [1957] p.52, no.9) (367–348); *έγδδν* I² 6.31 (ante 460); II² 244.42 (337/6) decrees; *έγδιδό[ναι]* II² 1241.14 (300/299) decree (phratry); *έγδοσις* II² 1299.39 (post 236/5) decree (troops and Eleusinians), II² 832.19 (229/8) decree; *έγδοχή* II² 1039.52 (79/8, cf. SEG 22.110) decree. In the Roman Period the use of *έγ* before *δ* is rare, cf. *έγ διαδοχῆς Eleusiniaka* 1 (1932) pp.223ff., line 38 (25/4–18/7, cf. *Mélanges Bidez* pp.819ff.) decree; *Συνέγδημος* II² 1996.101 (84/5–92/3p.) (L.), II² 2046.60 (paulo ante 140p.) eph. catalogs. But usually *έκ*, cf. *έκ δ*:- II² 6799 (s. IIp.), II² 7447.5 (fin. s. IIp.) sep. monuments; II² 2361.43, 57, 70 (init. s. IIIp.) cat.; II² 12701.9–10 (s. IIIp.) sep. monument; II² 4543.5 (aet. Rom.) ded. (priv.); *έκδικ*:- II² 1352.4 (s. IIp.) decree (synodos?), II² 1355.9 (s. II or s. IIIp.) decree (group?), II² 1121.23, 45 (305/6p.) imp. edict; *έκδηλος* *Hesperia* 10 (1941) pp.363ff., line 12 (= II² 1088.12) (132–138p.) decree (Panhellenes).

c) Except in the frequent compound *έκγονος/έγγονος* there are only a few possible cases of assimilation of *έκ* to following *γ* before Roman times. *έγ γ*- occurs in *έγ γαμετῆς* II² 1237.110–1 (396/5) decree (phratry); *έγ γειτόνων* in a defixio, cf. IG III.3, no.87.a1 (400–350?); but *έκγραφ*- in the decree, I² 84.28 (421/0). In Roman times both *έκ* and *έγ γ*- occur in about equal frequency. Cf. *έκ γ*:- II² 7080a (in add.)⁵ (fin. s. IIp.), II² 6154 (s. IIp.) sep. monuments; II² 2361.51 (init. s. IIIp.) cat.; *Hesperia*, suppl. 13 (1970) pp.3ff., line E34 (ca. 175p.) imp. letter; II² 8918.3 (ca. 250p.) (L.), II² 13168.2 (s. IVp.), II² 5939 (aet. Rom.?) sep. monuments; but *έγ γ*:- II² 5925 (post 50p.), *Hesperia* 23 (1954) p.261, no.59 (ca. 150p.), II² 5929 (s. IIp.) (L.), II² 5943.6 (s. II/IIIp.) sep. monuments.

The compound *έκγονος* is well attested at all periods. *έκγονος* is found at all periods from ca. 427/6 on, and is always more common than *έγγονος*. The latter first appears in a ded. dating ca. 520 B.C. and is well attested in the fourth and third centuries B.C. and in later Roman times; it is not attested from the late third century B.C. until the second century A.D. There is no evidence in Attic texts for any difference in meaning between *έκγονος* and *έγγονος*. The value of ΓΓ in *έγγονος* was probably [gg], not [ηg] as normally (e.g. *άγγέλλω*, *έγγύς*, *έγγράφω*, etc.). Both spellings do not normally occur in the same text, but there are exceptions; note *έκγονα* and *έγγονα* in lines 72 and 73 of *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p.268, no.6 (ca. 414) inv.; *έκγονον* and *έγγονον* in lines 8 and 18 of II² 3592 (165/6–168/9p.) ded.

Before 400. Usually *έκγονος*, but *έγγονος* is actually the earliest spelling found. Cf. [έ]γ[γ]ονου I² 834.2 (ca. 520? cf. SEG 21.93) ded.; *έγγονα* *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p.268, no.6, line 73 (ca. 414) inv., alongside *έκγονα* in the preceding line (cf. supra); *έκγονος*: I² 59.22 (ca. 427/6), I²

118.15 (408/7), I² 145.2 (424/3, cf. SEG 10.82) decrees; cf. τὸς ἐκ[γόνος in I² 154.9 (ca. 420, cf. SEG 10.98) decree.

400–300 B.C. ἔργονος: I² 10.A.5 (401/400), I² 13.12 (399/8), I² 17.34 (394/3), I² 19.a.10 (394/3), I² 20.10 (393/2), I² 29.9 (387/6), I² 32.23 (385/4), I² 49.5 (paulo post 385/4, cf. SEG 21.224), I² 53.3 (390–370, cf. SEG 24.77), I² 57.6–7 (ante 386), I² 80.11 (ca. 380–370, cf. SEG 24.78), I² 82.12 (ante 378/7), I² 103.32 (369/8), I² 105.11 (368/7), I² 109.11 (363/2), I² 117.13 (361/0), I² 141.12 (376–360), I² 152.12 (ante 353/2), I² 190.8 (ante 353/2), I² 222.18 (ca. 344), I² 285.13 (ca. 350, cf. SEG 24.89), I² 287.2 (ca. 350, cf. SEG 24.90), I² 252.12 (ca. 350), I² 226.4 (ca. 343/2), I² 235.19 (340/39), I² 237.17, 19 (338/7), I² 238.b.8 (338/7), I² 240.17 (337/6), I² 276.13–14 (ante 336/5), I² 339.b.9 (333/2, cf. SEG 21.277), I² 351.28 (330/29), I² 373.8 (322/1), *Hesperia* 13 (1944) p.231, no.5, line 10 (paulo ante 321/0), I² 426.3 (336–334, cf. SEG 24.97), I² 374.14 (post 319/8), I² 438.3 (post 336/5), I² 538.9 (ante 303/2), *Hesperia* 2 (1933) p.402, no.19, line 6 (fin. s. IV a.), I² 576.13, I² 581.3, I² 716.7 (all fin. s. IV a.) decrees; I² 1188.29 (ca. 350) decree (deme); I² 1361.2 (post 350) sacred law (orgeones); I² 2497.10 (post 350) loc.; I² 1560.8 (330–320) inv. ἔργονος; I² 51.10 (ante 387/6), I² 76.16–17 (ante 378/7), I² 77.15 (ante 378/7), I² 78.7 (ante 378/7), I² 81.3 (ante 378/7), I² 106.15 (368/7), I² 162.b.4 (360–350, cf. SEG 23.51), I² 149.10 (ante 355), I² 288.5 (ante 336/5), I² 360.18 (325/4), I² 448.20, 59, 66, 74 (323/2, 318/7), I² 343.12 (text wrong, cf. SEG 24.103) (323/2?), I² 505.52 (302/1), I² 507.9 (302/1), *Hesperia* 9 (1940) p.345, no.44, line 35 (319/8), I² 508.3 (fin. s. IV a.), I² 541.6 (post mid-330s, cf. ZPE 9 [1972] p.185), I² 551.11 (paulo ante 307/6, SEG 24.109), I² 570.3 (fin. s. IV a.), I² 613.7 (fin. s. IV a.), I² 582.2 (s. IV/III a., cf. SEG 24.118) decrees; I² 1186.26 (ca. 350) decree (deme), I² 1252.12 (post 350) decree (orgeones), I² 2496.23 (post 350) loc.

300–200 B.C. ἔργονος: I² 646.31 (295/4), Dinsmoor, *Archons* (1931) p.7, line 45 (= I² 649 + new fr.) (294/3), I² 657.64–65 (283/2), I² 682.82 (post 256/5), I² 739.14 (init. s. III a.), *Hesperia* 9 (1940) p.352, no.48, line 11 (280–278), I² 873.2 (s. III a.?) decrees. ἔργονος: I² 654.47 (285/4), I² 712.13 (295/4–276/5), I² 717.13 (init. s. III a.), I² 802.7 (= part of I² 768, cf. SEG 21.383; 24.126) (233/2), I² 843.14 (ca. 229/8?), I² 786.26, 27 (s. III/II a., cf. Pečirka, *Enktesis* p.106; SEG 24.133) decrees; I² 1275.11 (s. III/II a., cf. Sokolowski, *Supplément* p.210, no.126; SEG 21.534) decree (thiasotai); I² 1299.11, 36 (post 236/5) decree (troops and Eleusinians).

200 B.C.–100 A.D. ἔργονος: I² 844.68 (181/0, cf. TAPA 95 [1964] p.239), I² 971.22 (140/39) decrees; I² 1236.11, 17 (ante 150) decree (genos); *Eleusiniaka* 1 (1932) pp.223 ff., line 55 (25/4–18/7, cf. *Mélanges Bidez* pp.819 ff.) decree; I² 3445.3 (23–40p.), I² 3449.7 (ca. 50p.) dedications. ἔργονος: not attested.

After 100 A.D. ἔργονος: I² 3962 (post 128/9p.), I² 3609.5 (ca. 150p.), I² 3619.1 (ca. 150p.) dedications; I² 13188.11, I² 13191.7, I² 13194.20, I² 13197.13, I² 13198.15, I² 13200.11, I² 13201.18, AE 1961, *Chronika* p.23, no.1, line 13 (= SEG 21.1092; I² 13190) sep. curse-texts set up ca. 150p. by Herodes Atticus (ἔργονος on only one of these texts, cf. I² 13195 infra); I² 3592.8 (165/6–168/9p.), but ἐγγ- ib. 18; I² 4251/3.1 (fin. s. II p.), I² 3118.2 (L.), I² 4081.5 (both s. II p.), I² 3687.8 (init. s. III p.), *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p.260, no.65 (= I² 4007 + new fr.) (paulo ante 238p.), I² 3704.10 (ca. 250p.), I² 3814 (ca. 250p.) dedications; BCH 71–72 (1947–48) p.39, no.1, line 18 (aet. Caracallae) imp. letter. ἔργονος: I² 3734.7 (126/7p.), I² 3614.2 (ca. 150p.) dedications; I² 13195.14 (ca. 150p.) sep. curse-text set up by Herodes Atticus (but ἔργονος on eight others of these texts, cf. supra); *Hesperia* 29 (1960) p.29, no.37, line 8 (ca. 170–190p.) cat.; *Hesperia*, suppl. 6 (1941) p.108, no.24, lines 9, 11 (= I² 1108

+ new fr.) series of imperial letters dated ca. 176–180 p.; II² 3592.18 (165/6–168/9 p.), has ἐκγ *ib.* 8 (cf. *supra*), II² 3632.7 (post 150 p.), II² 4084.4 (ca. 200 p.), *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p. 255, no. 61, line 9 (ca. 200 p.), II² 4088.8–9 (init. s. III p.), II² 3689.2 (225–250 p.), II² 3715.6 (s. III/IV p.) dedications.

48.0213 ἐκ before φ, θ, χ

Before the aspirates both ἐχ and ἐκ occur in the fifth century, but there is no preference for one spelling or the other:

ἐχ φ-: I² 45.7 (439/8, cf. SEG 21.29; 10.34) decree.

ἐχ θ-: I² 6.15 (ante 460), I² 45.40 (439/8, cf. SEG 21.29; 10.34) decrees.

ἐχ χ-: I² 39.5, 17 (446/5) decree.

ἐκφερέν: AJP 88 (1967) pp. 29 ff., line 29 (= new fr. of ATL 2, no. D8; I² 65) (426/5) decree.

But ἐκ Χαλ[κ]ίδος I² 40.23 (ca. 446/5) decree; ἐκ Χερρονέσου I² 220.28 (= ATL 2, no. 34, col. 2.82) (421/0) trib. list; ἐκφέροσι I² 94.37 (418/7) decree; Ἐκφαντος: I² 530.1 (= DAA p. 126, no. 121) (ca. 475?) ded.; I² 955.24 (= AE 1955, p. 180, col. 4.12) (414 aut 413, cf. SEG 25.58) cas. list; ἐκχαλ[κ]όματα *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p. 268, no. 6, line 86 (ca. 414) inv.; cf. ἐκφεφορ[(= ἐκπεφόρηκα?), dipinto on a bf. pinax from the Acropolis, cf. AM 13 (1888) p. 441 (for the aspirate assimilation, cf. 38.0211 a, p. 460 *supra*).

In the fourth century both assimilated and etymological spellings are common. Note especially ἐκφέρουσι in the inv., II² 1672.292 (329/8), but ἐκφορη- in *ib.* 75, 76. Cf. ἐχ θ-: II² 7967 (init. s. IV a.) sep. mon.; II² 545.5, 9 (321/0? cf. SEG 24.106) decree; II² 1582.48 (cf. *Hesperia* 19 [1950] p. 244, no. 16) (342/1) inv.; II² 1496.143 (334/3–331/0) inv.; Ἐχφα[ντον] II² 33.9 (ca. 385) decree (L.); Ἐκφαντίδης II² 3091.2 (400–375) ded.; but ἐκ χ-: II² 230.b5 (ca. 341) decree; Ἐκφαντος II² 11252 (ante 350) sep. mon.; II² 1751.11 (post 350) pryt. cat.; II² 1570.46 (ca. 330–320) inv.; *Deltion* 11 (1927/8) p. 40, no. 4, line 1 (cf. AM 67 [1942] p. 9, no. 7) (ca. 350–300) decree (deme); Ἐκφαντίδης *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p. 267, no. 21, line 17 (350–300) inv.

The use of ἐχ virtually dies out at Athens by the end of the fourth century. The last examples of it are: ἐχ θάπτου II² 713.12 (init. s. III a.) decree (L.); ἐκφοράν II² 1275.7 (s. III/II a., cf. Sokolowski, *Supplément* p. 210, no. 126; SEG 21.534) decree (thiasotai).

For the peculiar spellings Ἐκκφαντος, ἐκφορήσαντα and ἐξ Φυλασίων, cf. 48.0217, *infra*.

48.0214 ἐκ before μ, ν

a) It is known that the Ancients gave the name ἄγμα to the velar nasal [ŋ] (according to Varro, citing Ion of Chios, cf. Sturtevant p. 64), and presumably this name would not have been appropriate unless the value of γ before μ were also [ŋ] rather than

[g]. But it is uncertain whether the assimilation of $\acute{\epsilon}\chi$ to μ - involved only the voicing of the χ of $\acute{\epsilon}\chi$, as is generally assumed for the assimilated $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma$ γ -, $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\omega\nu\varsigma$ (cf. 48.0212c supra), i.e. $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma$ μ - was pronounced [egm-], or the assimilation was to a nasal, i.e. [enm]. Before Roman times only $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma$ is attested before μ -, except for oddities like $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\gamma$ or $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma$ (cf. 48.0217 infra). In Roman times both $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\chi$ are found, with $\acute{\epsilon}\chi$ only slightly more frequent. Possible cases of $\acute{\epsilon}\chi$ before ν are very rare; thus far only $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma$ is attested in pre-Roman texts.

$\acute{\epsilon}\chi$ before μ - before 400 B.C.:

$\acute{\epsilon}\gamma$ μ -: I² 1085.3 (446, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.137, no.51) sep. mon. (set up by three Athenian tribes for Pythion of Megara); I² 947.1 (date unknown, perhaps ca. 431?) heading of a cas. list of Lemnian cleruchs; I² 105.15 (407/6) decree; I² 1041.3 (s. Va., has $\acute{\epsilon}$) sep. mon.; $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\mu[\alpha]\rho\tau\upsilon\rho\epsilon\nu$ *Hesperia* 14 (1945) p.98, line 11 (= I² 141/2a + I² 87f) (ca. 425) decree; I² 1951.203, 204, 206, 207 ($\acute{\epsilon}\gamma$ almost certainly is for $\acute{\epsilon}\chi$, rather than $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$) (406, cf. SEG 22.53) cat.

400–13 B.C. $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma$ μ -: Cf. e.g.: I² 4323.1 (ante 350) ded. (priv.); I² 1749.66, 84 (341/0) pryt. cat. (L.), I² 1673.28 (333/2? cf. AE 1971 p.112), I² 1672.276 (329/8), I² 1628.628, 638 (326/5) inventories; I² 1231.10 (fin. s. IVa.) decree (genos); I² 678.38 (256/5, cf. SEG 21.377) decree; I² 6921, I² 6911 (s. IIIa.) sep. monuments; I² 896.45 (186/5) decree; I² 2333.11, 54 (ca. 180) cat.; I² 956.60 (161/0) decree; *Hesperia* 29 (1960) p.40, no.51, lines 3, 5 (= I² 3894) (ca. 130?) ded.; I² 6920 (= I² 11689a, in add.) (post 150) sep. mon.; AM 67 (1942) p.22, no.25, line 8 (init. s. IIa.) cat.; I² 1132.65 (140/39) amphiktyonic decree (this part in Attic); I² 1009, col.1.93 (116/5) decree; I² 6912 (s. II/1a.) sep. mon.; I² 1036.40, 42 (108/7) decree; I² 1944.29 (62/1) cat.; I² 2338.24 (27/6–18/7) cat.; BCH 51 (1927) p.245, no.1, line 3 (27–18?) decree (genos); I² 1721.9 (14/3) cat.; I² 6764 (s. Ia.), *Robinson Studies* 2 (1953) p.352 (= SEG 13.110) (s. Ia.) sep. monuments; *Hesperia* 32 (1963) p.55, no.103 (s. Ia.) sep. mon.; cf. $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\mu\alpha\kappa\tau\omega\varsigma$ I² 1534.A.64 (291/0, cf. SEG 16.118) inv.

After 13 B.C. $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma$ μ -: I² 1722.10 (post 9/8) cat.; I² 9543 (s. Ia./s. Ip.), I² 6878 (s. Ip.), I² 7743.6 (s. I/Ip.) sep. monuments; I² 4942 (s. I/Ip.) ded. (priv.); I² 6919 (s. Ip.), I² 6924 (aet. Rom.) sep. monuments, *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p.268, no.100 (ca. 200p.) sep. mon.; I² 6856 (s. II/IIIp.) sep. mon.; I² 6916 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.; I² 9334 (date?) sep. mon.; cf. $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma$ [μ ? I² 2119.13 (180/1–191/2p.) eph. cat.

$\acute{\epsilon}\chi$ μ -: I² 1963.28 (13/2) eph. cat.; I² 6913 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.; I² 1765.34 (138/9p.) pryt. cat.; I² 4499.3 (s. I/Ip.) ded. (priv.); I² 6637 (post 150p.) sep. mon.; I² 2052.37, 38 (145/6p.), I² 2082.31 (post 150p.) (L.), I² 2081.16, 17 (ca. 160p.) (L.) eph. catalogs; I² 2097.55 (169/70p.) eph. cat.; *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p.48, no.11, line 44 (182/3p.) pryt. cat.; I² 6883, I² 6918, I² 6923 (L.) (s. Ip.) sep. monuments; I² 2361.75 (init. s. IIIp.) cat.; I² 3704.7 (ca. 250p.) ded.; I² 6914, I² 6917, I² 6915, I² 6868 (aet. Rom.) sep. monuments.

b) Examples of $\acute{\epsilon}\chi$ before ν - are rare. The assimilated spelling is more frequent:

$\acute{\epsilon}\chi$ before ν -: $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma$ ν [η]ων I² 123.16 (357/6) decree (L.); $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma$ $\nu\epsilon\omega\rho\iota\omega\nu$ I² 1673.12 (333/2?, cf. AE 1971 p.112) inv.; $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma$ $\nu\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\alpha\varsigma$ I² 9994 (s. Ia.) sep. mon.; $\acute{\epsilon}\chi$ $\nu\alpha\rho\beta\acute{\omega}\nu\varsigma$ I² 4193.7 (85/6–94/5p.) ded.; $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma$ $\nu\omicron\mu\eta\eta\nu\iota\alpha\iota$ I² 1366.19 (s. Ip.) regulations for the cult of Menes Tyrannos set up by Xanthus of Lycia.

For $\acute{\epsilon}$ $\mu\epsilon\lambda\iota\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ cf. 48.0217 infra.

48.0215 ἐκ before λ, ρ

a) Before λ, ἐγ was standard during the Classical and Hellenistic Periods, although ἐχς and ἐχ are each attested once (cf. 48.0217 *infra*). In Roman times both ἐγ and ἐκ are found, with ἐκ slightly more frequent.

Before 400 B.C. ἐγ λ-: I² 639.2 (= DAA p.227, no.193) (480–470) ded.; I² 204.59 (= ATL 2, no.14) (441/0), I² 213.46 (= ATL 2, no.23) (432/1), I² 218.12 (= ATL 2, no.25) (430/29) trib. lists; I² 52.1 (433/2) decree; I² 280.87 (422/1) inv.; II² 1373.3 (paulo ante 400) inv.; II² 2640.4 (ca. 400?) public horos; ἐγλο[γῆς ATL 2, no. D8, line 59 (= I² 65.58; cf. AJP 88 [1967] pp.29 ff.) (426/5) decree, ἐγλέχσοντες *ib.* 56 (= I² 65.55, corrected); ἐγλεγ- I² 76.8, 16 (435–414, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.222) decree; ἐγ|λοτήριον IG IV, no.39, lines 18–19 (410) inv. of temple of Athena at Aegina; cf. EΛ|E[- on a bronze ded., I² 453 (fin. s. VI a.?).

400–31 B.C. ἐγ λ-: *Hesperia* 40 (1971) p.162, no.23, lines 7, 15, 40 (= II² 30 + new frr.) (387/6) decree; II² 1424 a (in add.) 331 (369/8) inv.; II² 106.7 (368/7) decree; II² 6737 a (in add. nova) (ca. 350) sep. mon.; II² 1492.133 (post 311/0) inv.; II² 956.67 (161/0), II² 958.65 (154/3) (L.), II² 961.32 (ca. 140) decrees; ἐγλειπ- II² 2493.27 (ca. 340) loc.; ἐγλυθε- II² 1627.285 (330/29), II² 1629.12, 33, 55, 84, 115, 154 (325/4), II² 1631.651, 668 (323/2) inventories; ἐγλεγ- II² 1672.274 (329/8) inv.; II² 1206.5 (fin. s. IV a.) decree (deme); ἐγλειπ- II² 2499.16–17 (306/5) loc.; ἐ|γλέγεμ II² 1214.26–7 (300–250) decree (deme); ἐγλογιζομένους II² 1299.42 (post 236/5) decree (troops and Eleusinians); ἐγλειπ- *Hellenika* 3 (1930) pp.153 ff., lines 28–9 (ca. 235) decree (deme); ἐγλειπ- II² 1309.b8 (fin. s. III a.) decree (troops).

After 31 B.C. ἐγ λ-: II² 6752 (s. Ip.), II² 6695 (s. I/IIp.), II² 6733 (ca. 150p.), II² 6675 (s. IIp.) sep. monuments.

Ἐγλέκτου *Hesperia*, suppl. 12 (1967) pp.163 ff., line 127 (= II² 2003.53, improved reading) (init. s. IIIp.) cat.; ἐγλιπόντος *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p.231, no.31, fr. a, line 22 (= *Hesperia*, suppl. 6 [1941] p.120, no.25) series of imperial letters dated ca. 176–180p. (cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 6, p.108, no.24 [= II² 1108 + new frr.]); Ἐγλέκτου II² 2068.24 (155/6p.) eph. cat., has Ἐκλ- *ib.* 14, 23 (all readings confirmed, IG II² wrongly prints Ἐκλ- in line 24, L.).

ἐκ λ-: II² 6753 (s. Ip.), II² 6675 a (in add. nova) (s. II/IIIp.) sep. monuments; II² 2361.59 (init. s. IIIp.) cat.; II² 6618, II² 6633, II² 6623 a (in add.) (aet. Rom.) sep. monuments;

Ἐκλεκτός: II² 2068.14, 23 (155/6p.), but Ἐγλ- *ib.* 24 (cf. *supra*) (L.), II² 2113.164 (183/4–191/2p.), II² 2226.3 (ca. 218/9p.) (L.), eph. catalogs; II² 3169/70.2 (253–257p.) ded.; II² 2245.49 (262/3 aut 266/7p.) eph. cat.; ἐκλε[ιφθη II² 1078.23 (ca. 220p.) decree; ἐ|κλαμβά- νειν II² 1097.11 (aet. Rom.) imp. letter (?).

b) There are so few cases of ἐκ before ρ in pre-Roman times that it is impossible to decide what was normal. ἐξ occurs twice in classical times: ἐχς Ῥόδου I² 218.11 (= ATL 2, no.25) (430/29) trib. list; ἐξ Ῥηγείας II² 1635.27 (post 374/3) inv. ἐγ occurs in a decree of the third century, cf. ἐγ Ῥαμνοῦντος BCH 48 (1924) pp.264 ff., line 7 (= SEG 3.122) (262–256) decree.

In Roman times ἐκ was standard: ἐκ ρ-: II² 7349 (ca. 150p.) sep. mon.; ἐκρειζω- θ[ή]σετε II² 13210.16–17 (ca. 150p.), ἐκρριζωθήσεται II² 13209.9 (ca. 150p.) sep. monuments; ἐκ ριζῶν II² 1121.26 (305/6p.) imp. edict. For ἐ Λαπτρέων cf. 48.0217 *infra*.

48.0216 ἐκ before σ, ζ, ξ

Before σ/___V in the fifth century ἐκ has the form ἐχ: cf. ἐχ Σαμίων I² 101.17 (412/1) decree; ἐχ Σάμο I² 304.20, 34 (410/9) inv. After 403/2 B.C. this would be most accurately rendered by ἐΞ/___V, as in e.g. ἐΞάμο attested I² 1.24 (403/2) decree; this is the most frequent spelling thereafter: ἐΞαλαμῖνος (actually written ἐζαλαμῖνος, cf. 44.04, p.551 supra) I² 1672.274 (329/8) inv. (L.); ἐΞουνιέων I² 7701 (s. IIp.), I² 7441 (ca. 200p.), I² 7439 (s. IIp.) sep. monuments; ἐξο[?] I² 7420 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon. But a divided ἐκ σ- is also found: ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος I² 1596.12 (ca. 350) inv.; ἐκ Σημαχιδῶν I² 7389 (s. Ip.) sep. mon. (L.). Sometimes ἐξ σ- is used: ἐξ Σικελίας *Hesperia* 39 (1960) p.111, line 9 (= I² 174 + new fr.) (405/4) decree; ἐξ Σικ[ελίας] I² 283.8–9 (ante 336/5) decree (L.); ἐξ Σαλαμῖνος I² 1579.8 (init. s. IVa.) inv.; ἐξ Σουνιέων *AJA* 69 (1965) p.151 (= SEG 22.182) (s. Ip.) sep. mon. A unique (for Attica) case of ξξ is found on one sep. mon., cf. ἐξξυβαλητίων I² 7498 (ante 150p.) sep. mon. (L.); the spelling is due to hesitation about dividing the cluster [kss] (cf. pp.527, 531 supra).

Before σ + consonant examples are very rare. Both ἐκ σκ- and ἐσκ-, with simplification of -σκ- to -σκ-, occur in an inv., cf. ἐκ Σκαν(βωνιδῶν) I² 1672.94 (329/8), ἐσκύρου (almost certainly = ἐκ Σκύρου on the analogy of line 274, rather than ἐν Σκύρου) *ib.* 275. Doubtful: ἐξ[καμβονιδῶν] on an ostrakon of 417 B.C., cf. *Hesperia* 21 (1952) p.3, no.9.

In Roman times both ἐξ σφ- I² 7507 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.; ἐξ στ- I² 7467 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.; ἐξ σκ- I² 7396 (s. II/IIIp.) sep. mon. (L.); ἐκ σφ- I² 10368 (s. IIp.) sep. mon.; ἐκ στ- I² 7459 (post 150p.), I² 7458 (aet. Rom.) sep. monuments. Quite doubtful is the ἐξ Σκαμβωνιδῶν on a sep. mon. seen only by Chandler and Fourmont, I² 7399 (s. I/IIp.); they probably misread a xi of the form Ξ as elsewhere (cf. 45.01, p.552 supra).

Before ζ are attested ἐκ and ἐξ once each: ἐξ Ζέας I² 1611.327 (357/6) inv.; ἐκ Ζωίλου *IG* III, no.1386.2 (probably post 300p.) sep. mon.

Before ξ occurs ἐξ: cf. ἐχς Χσυπεταόνων on an ostrakon of the 480s B.C., cf. *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p.388, no.27. But later -ξ- for -ξξ-: ἐξυπεταιών I² 2059.45 (ca. 147/8p.) eph. cat. (L.); ἐξυπετεών I² 6937 (s. IIp.) sep. mon. (cf. 29.00c, p.409 supra) (L.).

Lit.: M.N. Tod, *AJP* 67 (1946) pp.329–333.

48.0217 Peculiarities in assimilation of ἐκ

Sometimes both the etymological and the assimilated spelling are combined: ἐκγ Μυρρινοῦτ(ης) I² 2409.20 (= part of I² 1924, cf. SEG 16.145) (330/29) cat. (L.); Ἐκγφάντου *Hellenika* 3 (1930) pp.153ff., line 1 (ca. 235) decree (deme) (L.); ἐκγ Μαρα[θωνίων] I² 6813.2 (s. I/IIp.) sep. mon.

The strange ἐκγ Περαιῶς in I² 1672.173 (329/8), inv. (L.), is probably a combination of the ἐγ Περαιῶς normal in this text (cf. *ib.* 125, 146, 150, 165) and the correct ἐκ (cf. 48.0211

supra). The ἐγγ Μυρρινούτης on a sep. mon., *Geras Keramopoulou* p.514, no.13 (= SEG 13.92) (s. II/Ia.), is probably the same sort of gemination as that in ἐκκ τοῦ (cf. 43.021, no. 102, p.531 supra); it is uncertain whether ἐγ before μ- was nasal or not, cf. 48.0214 a, p.584 supra.

For the otherwise universal ἐγ before λ attested once each are ἐξ and ἐχ: [ἐ]χς Λέγου Ι² 191.20 (= ATL 2, no.1, col.6.20) (454/3) trib. list; ἐχ Λέσβου Ι² 107.8 (368/7) decree, has in *ib.* 32 the spelling Λέσσβου showing an -σσβ- exceedingly rare in stone texts (cf. 43.021, no.88, p.530 supra) (L.).

ἐγ is occasionally found for ἐκ or ἐχ. Thus there are a few cases of ἐγ for ἐκ before voiceless stops, usually in the vicinity of a liquid (cf. 48.0211 supra), where perhaps ἐγ is for [ek] i.e. [k] was a lenis stop rather than a fortis stop as normally (for lenis and fortis stops, cf. Heffner, *Phonetics* p.120). As it is likely that voiceless stops were relaxed to lenis stops before aspirates, the same explanation may apply to two cases of ἐγ φ-, cf. ἐγφορήσα[ντα Ι² 1666.B55 (356/5–353/2) inv.; ἐγφερομένην Ι² 1053.11 (post 38/7, ante 31, cf. SEG 24.142) decree (L.). For an anomalous ἐχ τδν (perhaps due to the writer's imperfect knowledge of the alphabet), cf. 38.023, p.468 supra.

ἐξ is said to occur before φ- on a sep. mon. of Roman times, cf. ἐξ Φυλασίων Ι² 7762 (aet. Rom.); the text, however, is known only from an old copy which may not be accurate.

In extremely rare cases the stop of ἐκ disappears altogether. In ἐ Μελιτέων on the sep. mon., Ι² 6863 (s. I p.), γ could disappear by nasal deletion, cf. rare spellings like συγγραφάς, although this type of deletion is so rare that the few examples may be only due to omission in copying, i.e. purely graphic mistakes. Perhaps due to cluster simplification if not also graphic are: ἐ Λαπτέων Ι² 6639 (ca. 200 p.) sep. mon. (text seen only by Fourmont), for omission of μ, cf. 41.011, no.4, p.486 supra; CΦΛΥΕΩΝ (= ἐ Φλυέων) Ι² 7677/78.2 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.

For ἐκλησία, cf. 43.012, no.1, p.514 supra.

48.022 Treatment of ξξ (numeral and when in composition)

The tendency was apparently to employ ξξ before vowels, liquids, and all consonants for the numeral, but to use ἐκ- or ἐγ- in composition. Occasionally, however, exceptions occur. Thus in the fifth-century inv., Ι² 372 (409/8), occurs ἡἐκ ποδῶν in line 175, alongside the expected ἡἐχς πόδες in *ib.* 153, ξχς καὶ *ib.* 149–50; the anomalous spelling may be due to the presence of the compound ἡἐκποδ- in *ib.* 118, 162, 233, 234. The opposite phenomenon can be seen in another inventory with ξξ ποδῶν and the compound ξξποδας, cf. Ι² 1666.B2, B85 (356/5–353/2). The large inventory, Ι² 1672 (329/8), already cited for unusual treatment of ἐκ (cf. 48.0217 supra), has the anomalous ἐγγ δακτύλων (with γγ like -κκ- in ἐκκ τοῦ, cf. 43.021, no.101, p.531 supra) in line 147, and probably ἐκ χοίνικες in *ib.* 269 (for ξξ χ-, cf. *infra*); elsewhere occur the expected ξξ δραχμῶν *ib.* 287, ἐγδάκτυλοι *ib.* 154. This text also has the peculiar ἐγκάιδεκα in *ib.* 148 (the correct ἐκκαίδεκα in *ib.* 280), which is perhaps related to the strange ἐγ Πειραιῶς occurring four times in this same

text (cf. 48.0211, p.580 supra). The compound is spelled ἐξδάκτυλ- in Π² 1627.124, 130, 448, 472 (330/29), Π² 1631.265, 277, 420 (323/2), Π² 1632.4 (323/2) all inventories; but ἐγδάκτυλ- is better attested, cf. Π² 1675.7 (ca. 337/6), Π² 1624.118 (336–330); Π² 1628.311, 312, 316, 317, 587, 608 (326/5), Π² 1629.428, 429, 440, 441 (325/4) inventories.

For the expected spellings cf. e.g.: ἡῆς ταλ(άντις) Π² 324.109 (426/5–423/2) inv.; ἡῆς δραχμῶν Π² 373.205 (409/8) inv.; ἡῆς ἰόντα Π² 374.39 (408–406) inv. (L.); ἡῆς τῶν Π² 843.2 (= Sokolowski, *Supplément* p.26, no.9; SEG 21.94) (410–405) sacred calendar; ἡῆς χόες *Hesperia* 4 (1935) pp.19ff., no.2, line 1 (paulo post 403/2) sacred law; ἡῆς δακτύλων Π² 1665.15 (ante 350), Π² 1668.57 (347/6) inventories; ἡῆς δέ Π² 1673.48 (333/2? cf. AE 1971 p.112) inv.; ἡῆς στομῶματα *ib.* 56; ἡῆς δακτύλους Π² 1671.44 (ca. 330) inv.; ἡῆς δακ[τ]ύλων Π² 463.55 (307/6) decree, [ἡῆς] στο[ι]χους *ib.* 58; ἡῆς δακτυλ[AM 66 (1941) p.238, no.8, line 16 (fin. s. IVa.) inv.; ἡῆς λόφους Π² 1461.12 (post 330/29) inv.; ἡῆς ποδες, ἡῆς ποδε Π² 313.93, 94 (408/7) inv.

48.03–48.07 Assimilation of -v

The only nasal permitted as word final in Greek was -v, the dental nasal. But in two cases a final nasal was immediately followed by consonants other than dentals: in composition, when a word ending in -v was compounded with a word beginning with a consonant, e.g. ἐνπορος ← ἐν + πορ-, συνβάλλω ← σύν + βάλλω, etc.; when final -v was followed by a word beginning with a consonant with which it was joined closely semantically, e.g. ἐν πόλει, τὸν γραμματέα, καλὸν καί, etc. In both cases it was natural for the nasal to be assimilated to the following stop, to [m] before labials, to [ŋ] before velars. That such assimilations were normal can be seen by their frequent appearance in the orthography, e.g. ἐμ πόλει, τὸν γραμματέα, τὴμ μέν, etc., and they must be assumed to explain developments in the modern language. But in Athens as elsewhere there was often the greatest hesitation between the assimilated spellings, ἐμ πόλει, etc., and the etymological spellings which ignored the assimilation actually sounded, ἐν πόλει, etc. This hesitation in the orthography even extended to cases in which an internal nasal preceded a consonant, but there was no clearly recognizable composition, e.g. Ὀλύμπιος, ἀμφί, ἀγγέλλω, etc. instead of Ὀλύμπιος, ἀμφί, ἀγγέλλω, etc. In sections 48.03–48.07 are treated all phenomena related to assimilation of nasals, whether internally or involving final -v.

In the Archaic Period no nasal assimilation is indicated in the orthography, N being the grapheme in all cases, e.g. ἀμφί, Ὀλύμπιος, ἀγγέλλω, Ἐνπορίων, ἐγγύς, συν-μεΐξιν, τὸν Μαραθῶνα, ἐν πολέμῳ, etc. Exceptions are rare, especially in inscriptions on stone. The avoidance of the assimilated spellings is a writing convention, as the assimilations arise suddenly in the first large documents of the fifth century B.C. without the gradual development from ἀμφί to Ἐμπεδίων to τὴμ μέν, etc. one would expect if there had been no assimilations in the pronunciation earlier. The use of N may be a characteristic inaccuracy of the old Attic writing system comparable to the simplex writing of geminates (cf. 43.011, pp.511ff. supra). The nasal may have been

somewhat more weakly pronounced before a consonant, cf. spellings like *νύφη*, *ἀφί*, *Ὀλυπιόνικος*, *Νέαδρος*, etc. common in this period, especially in dipinti (cf. 41.011, pp. 485 ff. supra). For the Archaic Period, cf. 48.03, pp. 592–595 *infra*.

After the Archaic Period the assimilation of nasals is one of the areas in which the greatest amount of variation is observable; in some cases there is hesitation between two spellings even in Roman times. In general assimilation is more frequent before labials (*π*, *β*, *φ*, *μ*) than before velars (*κ*, *γ*, *χ*), and where final nasals are concerned assimilation is quite a bit rarer before aspirates than before the other stops. The period in which the greatest degree of nasal assimilation occurs is ca. 480–323 B.C., especially the end of the fifth century and 400–350 B.C. Assimilation of final *-ν* drops off rapidly after 300 B.C. and is virtually extinct in Roman times.

Tables A–B on the following page show the main features of indication of assimilation before *π*, *β*, *φ*, *μ*, *κ*, *γ*, *χ* in Attic texts. These may be summarized here:

A. Internal nasals not in composition. Here the noteworthy feature is the difference between assimilation before labial stops and velar stops. From ca. 480 on spellings like *Ὀλύνπιος*, etc. are always rather rare, although they die out entirely at no period, but in the later Hellenistic Period and especially in Roman times the relative frequency of *ἀγγέλλω*, *τυγχάνω*, etc. to the unassimilated *ἀγγέλλω*, *τυγχάνω*, etc. is not sufficiently great to allow it to be said that there was any preference for the assimilated spellings. The spelling *-νμ-* for *-μμ-* was extraordinarily rare (only three examples, cf. pp. 596–597 *infra*). Cf. 48.041, pp. 595–601 *infra*.

B. Internal nasals in composition. Here there was always a pull between the etymological spelling and the assimilated one. *ἐμ-* is normal before *π-*, *β-*, *φ-* at all periods, but *έν-* is also found at all periods, slightly more frequently in Roman times. The same holds for *παν-*, *συν-* before *π-*, *β-*, *φ-*. Before velars there is more hesitation. There is no preference for *έγκ-*, *έγγ-*, *έγχ-* over *ένκ-*, etc. in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods, and in Roman times the unassimilated spellings are actually more frequent. *παγκ-* is the preferred spelling in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods, but *πανκ-*, previously a rare variant, is the preferred spelling in Roman times. Both *συγκ-*, *συγγ-* and *συνκ-*, *συνγ-* are frequent in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods, but the assimilated spellings have virtually passed out of use in Roman times. The assimilated spellings *έμμ-*, *παμμ-*, *συμμ-* are always normal, even in the Roman Period. Cf. 48.042, pp. 601–616 *infra*.

C. Final nasals. Here there is naturally a greater tendency to assimilate the proclitic *έν*, which joined closely to the following word. *έμ π-*, *έμ β-*, *έμ μ-* are certainly normal (i.e. considerably more frequent than the unassimilated spellings) in the period 480–100 B.C., but *έμ π-*, *έμ μ-* are the only assimilations found in Roman times and are extremely rare. But assimilation before velars is not normal, *έν κ-* and *έγ κ-* both being well attested in the fifth and fourth centuries, and all assimilation of *έν* before velars is virtually extinct after 300 B.C. Assimilation is also normal in the fifth and fourth centuries before *-περ*. The assimilation of the definite article in the accusative singular and in the genitive plural to the following word is most frequent ca. 425–300 B.C. Assimilation is never normal, and is most frequent before *π-*, *β-*, *μ-*, *γ-*, and (in the period ca. 400–350 only) *κ-*. It dies out by the end of the Hellenistic Period. Other assimilations are normally found only in the late fifth and in the fourth centuries; they are not statistically very common, but a tendency to use them may be seen in certain individual texts. They are virtually extinct after 200 B.C. Cf. 48.05, pp. 616–636 *infra*.

TABLE A: ASSIMILATION OF NASALS BEFORE LABIALS

	<i>Before 480 B. C.</i>	<i>480–323 B. C.</i>	<i>323–31 B. C.</i>	<i>After 31 B. C.</i>
Nasal not in composition	Ὀλύμπιος (γρῶμ(μ)α, cf. p. 593)	Ὀλύμπιος (Ὀλύμπιος abnormal)	Ὀλύμπιος (Ὀλύμπιος abnormal)	Ὀλύμπιος (Ὀλύμπιος abnormal)
Nasal in composition	Ἐνπεδίων	Ἐμπεδίων (Ἐνπεδίων abnormal)	Ἐμπεδίων (Ἐνπεδίων abnormal)	Ἐμπεδίων (Ἐνπεδίων well attested)
Final nasal	ἐν πόλει τὴν πόλιν	ἐμ/ ἐν πόλει τῆμ/ τὴν πόλιν	ἐν πόλει, τὴν πόλιν (ἐμ πόλει, τῆμ πόλιν abnormal)	ἐν πόλει τὴν πόλιν (ἐμ μ-, ἐμ π- barely attested)

TABLE B: ASSIMILATION OF NASALS BEFORE VELARS

	<i>Before 480 B. C.</i>	<i>480–323 B. C.</i>	<i>323–31 B. C.</i>	<i>After 31 B. C.</i>
Nasal not in composition	ἀγγέλλω, τυγχάνω	ἀγγέλλω, τυγχάνω (ἀνγ-, etc. abnormal)	ἀγγέλλω (ἀνγγέλλω well attested)	ἀγγέλλω/ ἀγγέλλω
Nasal in composition	συγγράφω, etc.	συγγράφω/ συγγράφω	συγγράφω, etc. (συγγράφω abnormal)	συγγράφω, ἐνγγραφ- (ἐγγγραφ- abnormal)
Final nasal	ἐν κ-, τὸν γ-	ἐν/ ἐγ κ-, τὸν/ τὸν γ-	ἐν κ-, τὸν γ-	ἐν κ-, τὸν γ-

TABLE C: ASSIMILATION OF NASALS BEFORE Λ

	<i>Before 480 B. C.</i>	<i>480–323 B. C.</i>	<i>323–31 B. C.</i>	<i>After 31 B. C.</i>
Nasal in composition	συνλ- (normal?)	ἐλλεῖτω, συνλ- (ἐνλείτω, συνλ- abnormal)	ἐλλ-, συνλ- (ἐνλ-, συνλ- abnormal)	συνλ-/συνλ-, etc.
Final nasal	τὸν λ-, ἐν λ- (normal?)	ἐν/ἐλ λ- τὸν λ- (τὸλ λ- abnormal)	ἐν, τὸν λ-	ἐν, τὸν λ-

TABLE D: ASSIMILATION OF NASALS BEFORE Σ

	<i>Before 480 B. C.</i>	<i>480–323 B. C.</i>	<i>323–31 B. C.</i>	<i>After 31 B. C.</i>
Nasal in composition	?	ἐνστ- rate, ἐστ- once συσση-, συνστ-ε-, συσσι- all barely attested	?	συσστ-/συνστ-
Final nasal	τὸς σεμάτων, εἰς Σαλαμῖνι (with -ς α- written σ) (assimilation normal?) ?	ἐν/ἐς Σάμωι ἐς abnormal by fourth c. τόν, etc.	ἐν Σάμωι, τόν, etc.	ἐν Σάμωι, τόν, etc.
		ἐν στήλῃ/ἐστῆλῃ ἐν Σκ-/ἐΣκ- (ἐς στήλῃ abnormal) τόν στ-, σκ-, etc. (τήστῆλῃ once only)	ἐν στήλῃ (ἐ(σ)στήλῃ abnormal) τόν, etc.	ἐν, τόν, etc.

Assimilation of a nasal to a following ρ , λ , or σ resulted in denasalization with a geminate consonant as the result, e.g. $\epsilon\rho$ 'Ρόδωι, $\epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota\pi\omega$, $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, $\epsilon\varsigma$ Σάμωι, $\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\lambda\eta\iota$, etc. The resulting geminate was simplified only in the case of $-\varsigma/_\sigma\breve{C}$, e.g. $\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\lambda\eta\iota$ ($\epsilon\varsigma$ $\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\lambda\eta\iota$ is much rarer), $\sigma\upsilon\sigma\tau-$ ($\sigma\upsilon\sigma\sigma\tau-$ is rarer and not found in Roman times), but always $\epsilon\varsigma$ Σάμωι, $\epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota\pi\omega$, etc. The spellings $\tau\omicron\sigma\epsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\nu$, $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\Sigma\alpha\lambda\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\nu\iota$ (cf. $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\epsilon}$ in the same text) are due to the practice of writing geminates simplex in the Archaic Period (cf. 43.011, p.511 *supra*). A single case of $\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\sigma\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota$ is found in a fourth-century inventory (cf. 48.055 d, p.633 *infra*). Tables C–D *supra* show practices involving assimilation of nasals before λ and σ in cases where there is sufficient data. For detailed analysis and evidence for assimilation before λ -, σ -, cf. 48.0421c–d ($\epsilon\acute{\nu}$ -), p.605 *infra*; 48.04244–48.04245 ($\sigma\upsilon\nu$ -), pp.615–616 *infra*; 48.055 c–d (final -v before ρ , λ), pp.632–633 *infra*; 48.0561–48.0562 (final -v before σ -), pp.633–635 *infra*.

Before ψ - and ξ - assimilation of final -v is very rarely found (cf. 48.055 a–b, p.632 *infra* for the examples). Before ζ only the expected -v is found, cf. $\epsilon\nu$ Ζέαι (examples in 7.03, no.1 e, p.152 *supra*); $\sigma\upsilon\nu\zeta\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\tau\iota$ II² 1673.36 (this part of the text re-found, cf. AE 1971 p.83) (333/2?, cf. AE 1971 p.112) *inv*.

Lit.: MS³ pp.110–113; Lademann pp.66–76; A.S. Henry, CQ n.s. 17 (1967) pp.284–293.

48.03 Treatment of nasals /___C in the Archaic Period

In the period of the earliest texts and until about 490–480 B.C. nasals are almost invariably written N when before consonants, whether in final position or internally, e.g. $\tau\omicron\nu$ Μαρ[α]θ[ο]νι, 'Ενπεδίο[ν]ος, ἀνφί, 'Ολυνπιόνικος, etc.

There are too few examples to allow certainty, but it is reasonable to suppose that -νμ- did not occur internally, e.g. γραμμα- was normal. Perhaps the final nasal before σ tended to assimilate more, as there are more examples of indication of assimilation in the writing in this instance ($\tau\omicron\sigma\epsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\nu$, $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\Sigma\alpha\lambda\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\nu\iota$, cf. d) *infra*).

The reason for these characteristic Attic spellings with N is probably not phonetic, but due to a writing convention analogous to the Attic writing of geminates as simplex during the same period (cf. 43.011, pp.511ff. *supra*). If one could see the development of nasal assimilation actually occurring in the writing system, the expected progression would be 'Ολύμπιος → ἔμπορος, συμβάλλω → ἐμ πόλει → ἔστησεμ πολλάς. But in fact some of the earliest examples of written indication of the assimilation of nasals involve final consonants, e.g. $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\alpha\mu$, $\xi\sigma\tau\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\mu$, where the assimilation would presumably have been last to develop. It is very doubtful that the nasals of $\epsilon\acute{\nu}\gamma\upsilon\varsigma$, ἀνφί, Πανφαίος, ἄγγελος, etc. were really pronounced [n] rather than [m] or [ŋ]. All pre-consonantal nasals were simply written N by convention: there was after all no separate letter for the -velar nasal, and there was also a tendency to write the etymological spelling in cases of composition, i. e. $\epsilon\nu$ influenced the spelling of 'Ενπεδίων.

a) Internal nasals (not in composition)

'Ολυνπιόνικω AM 78 (1963) p.110, no.2 (= SEG 22.68) (ca. 550) sep. mon.; πενπ[- I² 472.1 (= LSAG p.77, no.25) (ca. 550–540?) ded.

'Ρ[?]όνβος I² 469 (= LSAG p.77, no.17) (ca. 570–560) ded.; Στρώνβι[χ]ος I² 474.1, 2 (= DAA p.106, no.102) (490–480) ded.

Ἀνφιχάρες IGAA p. 118, no. 2 (= SEG 3.55; LSAG p. 77, no. 20) (ca. 560) sep. mon.; Ἀνφ[-- I² 995 (= IGAA p. 147, no. 68) (ca. 500) sep. mon.; νύμφει I² 773 (init. s. V a.?) ded.

Εὐάνγελος I² 583 (= DAA p. 75, no. 71) (ca. 500?) ded.; Ἀνγέλιος I² 495.1 (= DAA p. 26, no. 22) (paulo post 480) ded. (cf. p. 598 infra); ἄν[γελον--- I² 609 (= Meiggs-Lewis p. 33, no. 18) (just after 490) ded.

χινχά[ven *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p. 332, line 7 (fin. s. VI a.) decree (deme); ἀνχ(α)λομ πρῆσαι (note final μ!) Meiggs-Lewis p. 54, no. 26II (= I² 763 + new frr.) (post 480) publ. ded. set up after victories over the Persians.

For ἐνγύς, cf. b) infra.

Evidence is largely lacking for internal -μμ- not in composition, but -μμ- was probably normal. [έγ]ραμάτευε occurs on a ded., probably of the hieropoioi, dating possibly to the year 558 B. C., cf. I² 392.3–4 (cf. DAA p. 357, no. 328); here M is written for -μμ- (cf. 43.011, pp. 511 ff. supra). Slightly later than 480 B. C. is γραμμα[τικός, cf. I² 626 (= DAA p. 410, no. 383) ded. But later -νμ- is at least attested, cf. τρύνματα (cf. 48.0411a, p. 596 infra); κέκρυνμαι, ἐγγραμμάτευεν (cf. 48.0411b, p. 596 infra).

b) Internal nasals in composition

Ἑνπεδίονος IGAA p. 136, no. 42 (= SEG 3.56) (ca. 540) sep. mon.; ἰόνποριόνος (= ho Ἑνποριόνος) I² 508 (= DAA p. 408, no. 381) (init. s. V a.?) ded.

ἐνγύς I² 974 (= IGAA p. 130, no. 23) (ca. 550?); I² 1026a (= IGAA p. 140, no. 50) (ca. 550); I² 995 (= IGAA p. 147, no. 68) (ca. 500 aut paulo post) sep. monuments. Whatever the origin of ἐγγύς (cf. DEG 2, p. 309), it behaves as ἐγγυτήης, etc., and was most likely regarded as a compound of ἐν at this time.

So also only N before λ and μ in composition: συνλέχσαντες I² 393.2 (= LSAG p. 77, no. 21) (ca. 550?) bronze ded. of the tamiai; συνμείσ[χεν I² 920.3 (= GVI 1, p. 660, no. 2042) (ca. 500) sep. mon. (L.).

c) Final nasals

Before π, β, φ, κ, γ, χ:

ἐν πολέμοι I² 976 (= IGAA p. 133, no. 34) (ca. 560–550?) sep. mon.

--]ν: κ[-- *Hesperia* 17 (1948) pp. 86 ff., Block 1, line b2 (= LSAG p. 78, no. 44) (500–480) sacred law; --]ν: π[-- ib. Block 2, Face B. k11.

τὸ σὺν προσιδὸν γνόσεται I² 984 (= IGAA p. 118, no. 3) (paulo post 550) sep. mon.; κατέθεκεν καλόν I² 1012 (= IGAA p. 137, no. 44) (ca. 550–540?) sep. mon.; Κύλον παιδοι-ν|ἐπέθεκεν I² 1016 (= IGAA p. 136, no. 41; LSAG p. 77, no. 22) (ca. 540?) sep. mon.; πιτυτὸν πᾶσαν AM 78 (1963) p. 145, no. 12 (= SEG 22.73) (non post 530) sep. mon.; δρόμον ποίεσαν I² 817.3 (ca. 550?) ded.; κρατὲν ἀπτόδρα- I² 662.3 (= DAA p. 367, no. 332) (525–500?) ded.; δε[κὰτ]εν παιδί I² 623.2 (= DAA p. 270, no. 234) (fin. s. VI a.) ded.; γεραρὸν κτέρας AM 78 (1963) p. 141, no. 11, line 5 (ca. 510) sep. mon.; ἀνέθεκεν Κέτιος I² 650 (= DAA p. 43, no. 40) (ca. 500) ded.; ὑβ[β]ιν παιδὲς I² 394 II.1 (= LSAG p. 78, no. 43) (ca. 506) ded.; ἀνέθεκεν Γλανκίο I² 601.2 (= DAA p. 268, no. 233) (fin. s. VI a.) ded.; ἀνέθεκεν κιθαριδός I² 547 (= DAA p. 89, no. 84) (ca. 500) ded.; δεκάτεν παιδί I² 543 (= DAA p. 50, no. 48) (510–500?) ded.; ἡμένον προγόνον I² 622 (= DAA p. 282, no. 248) (init. s. V a.) ded.; Ἀριστομάχην καὶ I² 555.1 (= DAA p. 84, no. 79) (ca. 500) ded.; Γνάθον καὶ I² 514.1 (= DAA p. 221, no. 186) (ca. 500?) ded.; Ἀριστίον καὶ I² 552 (= DAA p. 101, no. 94) (490–480?) ded.; δεκάτην χοριοῦ, Ἀθμο-

νόθεν Χαιρεδέμο I² 661 (= DAA p.225, no.191) (ca. 500?) ded.; μαντειδὸν φρασμοσύναι I² 503 (= DAA p.272, no.236) (init. s. Va.?) ded. (L.); Περόσθιν κλινάμενοι I² 763 (= Meiggs-Lewis p.54, no.26) (post 480) ded., also has ἀνχι-, cf. a) supra; στῆσαι πρόσθε, ἀνχί(α)λομ πρῆσαι, cf. d) infra; ἀνέθηκεν β[- I² 716 (= DAA p.400, no.372) (ca. 480? arguments of DAA p.401 not entirely certain) ded.; etc.

Before μ:

τῶν μελίζονοι *Hesperia* 17 (1948) pp.86 ff., Block 1, lines a3–4 (= LSAG p.78, no.44) (500–480) sacred law; τὸν Μα[ραθον-., Ἀθηναίων μγ[- I² 609 (= Meiggs-Lewis p.33, no.18) (just after 490) ded.; παῖδον μνῆμ' ἔχοι I² 643 (= DAA p.53, no.53) (init. s. Va.) ded.; Φῶλον με I² 508 (= DAA p.408, no.381) (init. s. Va.) ded.; κτεάνον μοῖραν I² 585 (= DAA p.31, no.28) (490–480) ded.

Before λ:

ἰτὲν λο[-- *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p.332, line 9 (fin. s. VIa.) decree (deme).

Before σ:

εὐδοχσόν σε *AM* 78 (1963) p.145, no.12 (= SEG 22.73) (non post 530) sep. mon.

d) Exceptional cases of assimilation

Most of those on stone texts are of the early years of the fifth century and are the first examples of the assimilations found frequently after ca. 480 B.C.

νύμφαισιν I² 778 (cf. *Robinson Studies* 2, p.349, no.1) (fin. s. VIa./init. s. Va.?) ded. (L.); στῆσαι πρόσθε I² 763 (post 480) ded., also ἀνχί(α)λομ πρῆσαι on new fr. (note ἀνχι-, cf. a) supra), cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.54, no.26 II; Περόσθιν κλινάμενοι *ib.*, cf. c) supra.

ἐμ πόλει I² 4.1, 13, 14 (485/4) decree; the first examples of the normal fifth-century spelling; Λαμπτρέ[- I² 526 (= DAA p.101, no.94) (490–480?) ded.

πρὶμ μὲν I² 834.1 (ca. 520? cf. SEG 21.93) ded., but μὲν κ--- *ib.* 1.

ἐὰμέ, ἐᾷΣαλαμῖνι (= ἐὰμ μέ, ἐᾷς [- ἐᾷν] Σαλαμῖνι, cf. 48.011, p.575 supra) I² 1.4, 2 (fin. s. VIa., cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.25, no.14) decree (L.).

τῶσεμάτον (= τὸς σεμάτον, cf. 48.011, p.575 supra) *IGAA* p.136, no.42 (= SEG 3.56) (ca. 540?) sep. mon., has Ἐνπεδέονος, cf. b) supra.

οἰκτίρο προσορὸν for οἰκτίρον προσορὸν is probably a careless omission; so also τὸ πρῦτανιν in I² 4.24 (cf. p.636 infra); for the peculiar ἐπιδέμομ τρεῖς, cf. p.638 infra.

Many comparable spellings with N are found among the graffiti and dipinti. Cf. e.g.: ὀρχεσθὸν πάντων I² 919 (= LSAG p.76, no.1) (ca. 725?); ἐποίησαν σοφίαισιν καλὸν I² 522 (s. VIa.); ἔν γε δίκει I² 790 (s. VIa.); ἀνφοτέροισιν I² 484.2 (perhaps late eighth century, cf. LSAG p.76, no.2) graffiti; ---φον μάνεθηκεν I² 450 (post 550, cf. LSAG p.68, and note 1); --ἵνλαβόν[τ]ες I² 454 (fin. s. VIa./init. s. Va.) bronze dedications; Φαναφαῖος, Παναφαῖος are the normal spellings for this signature on vases, cf. *ABV* pp.235–236; *ARV*² pp.53–54, 125–130; *Paralipomena* p.109, p.333, for which Παμάφιος (cf. 29.00a, p.408 supra) is a rare variant; other dipinti, e.g. Ἀνβρόσιος *ARV*² p.174, Ambrosios painter no.17; Ὀλύνπιχος *ARV*² p.263, Syriskos painter no.54; Ὀλυνπιόδορος *ARV*² p.316, Proto-Panaetian group no.4; Ἀνφιτρίτε *ARV*² p.459, Makron no.3 (= CVA, England 5, plate 28.2); etc. Assimilated spellings are rarely found in the dipinti before ca. 480, e.g. Τλεμπόλεμος *ARV*² p.1625, Euergides painter no.52bis; Τλεμπόλενος *ARV*² p.1699, cup in Cervieto (but Τλενπολεμ-

twice on *ABV* p. 178, Tlempolemos potter no. 1) (cf. 41.022, p. 490 *supra*). Nasals are frequently omitted in the dipinti, e.g. νόφη, Νέαδρος, Ὀλυπι-, etc. (cf. 41.011, pp. 487–488 *supra*).

48.04 Assimilation of internal nasals

The examples are of two types: the nasal is not recognizable as the final element of a lexical item, e.g. πέμπω, Λαμψακηνός, ἀγγέλλω, τυγχάνω, etc. (48.041 *infra*); the nasal is the final consonant of an item used in composition, e.g. ἔμπορος, ἐμφανίζω, συγκλητικός, συγγενής, etc. (48.042 *infra*).

48.041 Assimilation of internal nasals (not in composition)

48.0411 Assimilation of internal nasals/___labials

a) ca. 480–323 B.C.

Assimilation to M is the rule before π, β, φ, and ψ. N is exceptional, but occurs sporadically throughout the period in all types of text.

Thus in the tribute lists: Λαμφασκενοί occurs in I² 195.22 (= *ATL* 2, no. 5, col. 4.10) (450/49); *Hesperia* 41 (1972) pp. 418 ff., line 17 (= *ATL* 2, no. 33 + new fr.) (418/7); cf. Λα|γφο[ακενοί in *ATL* 2, no. 8, col. 1.90 (447/6); elsewhere Λαμφασκενοί, e.g. I² 194.5 (= *ATL* 2, no. 4) (451/0), I² 196.3 (= *ATL* 2, no. 7) (448/7), I² 202.10 (= *ATL* 2, no. 12) (443/2), I² 212.31 (= *ATL* 2, no. 22) (433/2), I² 218.13 (= *ATL* 2, no. 25) (430/29), etc.

Σελυμβριανοί occurs in I² 194.14 (= *ATL* 2, no. 4) (451/0), but elsewhere Σελυμβριανοί, e.g. I² 198.58 (= *ATL* 2, no. 8, col. 1.57) (447/6), I² 200.21 (= *ATL* 2, no. 10, col. 1.26) (445/4), I² 202.9 (= *ATL* 2, no. 12) (443/2), I² 212.33 (= *ATL* 2, no. 22) (433/2), etc.; cf. Σελυμβριανός in I² 116.9 (409/8 aut ca. 407, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 267, no. 87), Σελυμβριανός in *ib.* 12, 26, 35, 38, a decree. Always Λαμπόνεια (Λαμπονειῆς), Θριαμβαῖοι, Ἴμβριοι in the tribute lists.

Other cases of failure to assimilate nasals/___π, β, φ, ψ

In fifth-century texts:

cf. e.g. Τρέμpton I² 928.15 (L.) (465/4) cas. list, but [Εύέ]ντολος *ib.* 92; πονπέξ, πεμφθῆι I² 84.26, 27 (421/0) decree, alongside λαμπαδ[--- *ib.* 34; [νύ]νφαις I² 190.17 (ca. 420) sacred law, alongside λα|μβανέτο *ib.* 37; ἀνφο|[τέρου]ς I² 106.15–16 (409/8, cf. SEG 24.16) decree, has also χουνπ-, σχυνβ-; Ἰανβος *Hesperia* 12 (1943) p. 45, Fragment L, line 60 (not part of SEG 10.424 = I² 964, etc., cf. SEG 21.131) (s. Va.) cas. list; [ν]υνφα|[ι]ο *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p. 38, no. 3 (500–450) horos; etc.

In fourth-century texts:

cf. e.g. νυνφῶν AM 67 (1942) p. 55, no. 89 (init. s. IV a.) ded. (priv.); πενψ[--- I² 179.3 (ca. 350, cf. *Staatsverträge* 2, p. 298, no. 321; SEG 21.260) decree, λ|ανβάνοντας *ib.* 15; Ἀνφ|ιαράου I² 338.27–8 (333/2) decree, but Ἀμφιαράου *ib.* 15; Ἀνφιαράου *Agora* 15, p. 59, no. 49, line 45 (= AE 1917 p. 40, no. 92) (328/7) decree, but in line 57 of the same text: Ἀμφιαράου; Ἀνφίς I² 347.11, 16 (332/1) decree; [πέ]νπτης I² 448.2–3 (323/2) decree; Ὀλυμπῖοι I² 1257.B6 (324/3) decree (συλλογεῖς τοῦ δήμου); Λάνπωνος REG 73 (1960) p. 88, line 27 (= SEG 23.87) (ca. 390–375) pryt. cat.; πένπτος I² 1425.162 (368/7) inv., but πέμπτος *ib.*

142, 152, 179, 191; Στρονβίχος *Hesperia* 32 (1963) p.36, no.33 (356/5) cat. of names; πένπτος Π² 1640.4 (354/3) inv., ἀντέλο *ib.* 11, ἀνφόρισκος *ib.* 19, but στρογγύλος *ib.* 22, has ἐνβολοι *ib.* 25 (L.); πένπτος Π² 1444.6, 12 (ca. 344/3) inv.; πένπτος *Hesperia* 5 (1936) p.393, no.10, line 139 (= new fr. of Π² 1582, cf. *Hesperia* 19 [1950] p.244, no.16) (342/1) inv.; ἀνφιδέαι Π² 1627.317 (330/29) inv., has σύνπαν *ib.* 230, but ἐμ πλώι, ἀμφοτερ-, ἐμ μέν, Πάμφιλος, ἐμ φιδανίωι *al.*; νυνφαικόν *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p.18, no. S7, line 9 (ca. 330?) inv.; Σκανβωνιδῶν Π² 1672.94, 132 (329/8) inv., but Σκαμβ- *al.*; Ὀλυμπίχου Π² 8883 (ante 350) sep. mon., alongside ἐτέκνωσεμ παῖδα (!); ἀνφε[- Π² 12378 (450–350) sep. mon.; νύνφαις Π² 4545 (ca. 400) ded. (priv.); νύνφαις *AJA* 57 (1953) p.281 (= SEG 12.166) (ca. 370–368; cf. SEG 19.218) ded. (priv.); Μεσημβριανός Π² 9338 (ca. 350) sep. mon.; ἄ-μνεπτος Π² 7195 (post 350) sep. mon. has ἀμφοτερ- twice; Λαν, Λανπτ, Λανπτρ Π² 3105.8, 10, 13, 15, 23, 35 (= Reinmuth p.51, no.13) (329/8 aut 324/3) ded., but Λαμ, Λαμπτ, Λαμπτρ, Λαμπτρε *ib.* 24, 26, 28, 43, 46, 47, 52; etc. Cf. Εὔποντιος on a rf. amphora of ca. 410 (dipinto), *Hesperia* 18 (1949) p.306, no.1; etc.

There seems to be only a single instance in this period of -νμ- for -μμ-, cf. τρίνματα in the inv., Π² 1672.303 (329/8) (L.). Perhaps -νμ- here is due to a pedantic attempt to avoid -γγ- and -μμ-, note στρογγύλος, ἔμπορος, etc. elsewhere in this text. Cf. κέκρυνμαι, ἐγρανάμτευν in b) infra.

b) 323–31 B.C.

Before π, β, φ, and ψ assimilation of the nasal to μ is again the rule. Failure to assimilate occurs sporadically in all types of texts:

Cf. e.g. πένπτ[ης] Π² 381.3 (320/19) decree, but Λαμπτρέυς *ib.* 2; πένπτ[ει] *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p.268, no.69, line 4 (319/8, cf. SEG 21.310) decree; συγγον[φώ]σας Π² 463.77 (307/6) decree, but γο]μφώσας *ib.* 57; ἀναπλόν[πο]ν Π² 477.3 (305/4) decree; πῆ[πι]ονφε Π² 502.15 (302/1) decree, alongside συμπεμφθεις in same line; πένπτ[τη] *Hesperia* 2 (1933) p.398, no.18, line 6 (307/6) decree; Ἀνφιδάης Π² 1954.5 (306/5) cat.; νυνφικά Π² 1485.54 (307/6) inv., has κόρυμβος *ib.* 41; πένπτει Π² 1363.2 (fin. s. IVa. aut init. s. IIIa.) sacred calendar; [πέ]νπτει, Ὀλυμπιάδο[ς] Π² 2326.5, 13 (ante 264) cat.; πονπτήν πένπειν Π² 1283.6–7 (263/2, cf. SEG 24.155) decree (Thracian aliens), πονπτήν *ib.* 14, alongside πέμπειν *ib.* 11, πομπήν *ib.* 11, 15, νυμφαίωι *ib.* 18; πονπής Π² 1247.7 (ca. 250) decree (mesogeioi), but πομπής *ib.* 24; πένπτον Π² 4675.5 (ca. 250) ded. (priv.); πονπής IG II, no.602.4 (= Π² 1245.4, needs correction) (249/8) decree (mesogeioi); Ὀλύνπιχος Π² 1958.16 (post 250) cat., Λαμπτρέυς *al.*; Στρονβί(χου) Π² 913.14 (ca. 211/0–202/1) decree, alongside Λαμπτρέις, Παμβωτάδα *ib.* 25, 22; πένπτ[ει] *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p.31, no.4, line 3 (193/2) decree, but συμ[π---] *ib.* 5; πένπτει *Hesperia* 3 (1934) p.21, no.19, line 3 (166/5) decree; πένπτει *Hesperia* 24 (1955) pp.220ff., line 3 (= *Hesperia* 15 [1946] p.201, no.41; *Hesperia* 4 [1935] p.71, no.37) (127/6) decree, ἐπόνπνευσαν *ib.* 22, λανπάδα *ib.* 23, etc. (-ν-/—π is normal in the first two decrees on this large stele, lines 1–100); Λανπτρέυς *Polemon* 4 (1949) p.33, no.29 (s. IIa.) sep. mon.; Ὀλυν[π--] Π² 1034d (not part of Π² 1034abc).32 (s. Ia.?) cat. fr., Παμφίλου *ib.* 15; πένπτεις *Hesperia* 17 (1948) p.25, no.12, line 1 (95/4) decree, but πέμπτης *ib.* 38; etc.

There are two examples of -νμ- for -μμ-: κέκρυνμαι, in the sep. mon. of a Phoenician, Π² 8388.8 (= GVI 1, p.479, no.1601) (init. s. IIIa.); this text contains a number of other peculiarities due to the foreign origin of the writer (e.g. I for ě, cf. 7.012b, no.12, p.143 supra; εἰχθρολέων, cf. 16.011, p.302 supra; δὲ{γ} πρῶιρ, ἰγκτε-

τάνυσται, cf. 41.021 a, p.489, and 48.0211, p.580 supra); ἐγρανμά|τευεν Π² 1046.3 (52/1) decree (L.). Cf. τρίνματα in a) supra.

c) 31 B.C. and later

M is virtually standard. Thus in the more than 120 Attic dedications (on altars) of the year 132 A.D. to the Emperor Hadrian with the epithet Ὀλύμπιος, cf. *Hesperia* 32 (1963) pp.61 ff.; Π² 3228 (last part), Π² 3288, Π² 3290–Π² 3301, Π² 3303, Π² 3304, Π² 3306, Π² 3307, Π² 3311, Π² 3313–Π² 3316, Π² 3318, Π² 3319, Π² 3324–Π² 3383 (= SEG 21.705–732), only five have the spelling Ὀλυνπι-: Π² 3338 (= *Hesperia* 32, plate 26, no.53); Π² 3367 a (in add.) (= *Hesperia* 3 [1934] p.75, no.73; *Hesperia* 32, no.82); *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p.60, no.24 (= *Hesperia* 32, no.27); *Hesperia* 23 (1954) pp.257–8, nos.43–4 (= *Hesperia* 32, nos.34 and 33); both Ὀλυνπι- and Ὀλυμπι- have been recorded for the now lost Π² 3381.

The unassimilated spellings with N occur occasionally, but chiefly in private texts. Cf. e.g. Λανπτρεύς Π² 2338.19, 21, 22 (27/6–18/7) cat., has παμβ- and πανβ-, Παμμένης; ὀρθόνφαλον, δωδεκόνφαλον Π² 1367.10, al. (7 times, ὀμφ- twice) (fin. s. Ip.?) sacred calendar, also has πανκ-, cf. p.608; Πονπώνιος *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p.44, no.13, line 1 (130–150p.) cat.; Πονπίων Πονπίων(ος) Π² 2073.41 (ca. 150p.) eph. cat.; Ὀλυνπία Π² 1828.28 (post ca. 218p.) pny. cat.; Νυνφᾶς, Νυνφόδοτος Π² 2231.4, 26 (ca. 230p.) eph. cat., has παμφ-; Ὀλυνπος Π² 2237.158 (230–235p.) eph. cat., -μπ- elsewhere (L.); Ἀνφίων Π² 9396 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.; Ὀλυνποκλέους Π² 10093 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.; Ἐπ[ιτυ]νβαία Π² 11518 (s. Πp.) sep. mon.; Θε]ο- πών[που] Peek, AG 1, p.13, no.35 (= Π² 6772) (s. Πp.) sep. mon.; Ὀλυνπος Π² 9824 (s. Πp.) sep. mon.; Ὀλυνπίας Π² 4521 a (in add.) (s. Πp.) ded. (priv.); Ὀλυνπία BCH 71–72 (1947–48) p.425, no.4 (s. Πp.), Σκανβωνίδης Π² 7402 (s. Πp.), Σκανβωνιδῶν Π² 7396 (s. Π/Πp.) sep. monuments; τύνβω Π² 11267 (s. Π/Πp.) sep. mon.; Σανβατίδα Π² 10590 a (in add.) (s. Π/Πp.) sep. mon., has συνβ-; ἀνπελουργός SEG 19.295 (s. Πp.) sep. mon.; Ἀνβροσίου Π² 9087 a (in add.) (s. Π/Πp.) sep. mon.; νύνφαι Π² 4876 (aet. Rom.) ded. (priv.); Ὀλυνπιόδωρος Π² 6048 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.; χρυσανπελίδος *Geras Keramopoulou* p.515, no.15 (= SEG 13.224) (s. III/IVp.) horos; etc.

48.0412 Assimilation of internal nasals/_velars

a) ca. 480–300 B.C.

After ca. 480 B.C. γκ, γγ, and γχ are normal. Cf. e.g. Ἀγκυλεεύς, etc.: I² 379.8 (420/19) inv.; *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p.240, no.1, lines 27, 29 (= I² 329.8, 10) (ca. 414) inv.; I² 301.24 (409/8, cf. SEG 23.35) inv.; ἐπάνανγκες I² 71.12 (ca. 436? cf. SEG 21.30), I² 63.34 (= ATL 2, no. A9) (425/4), I² 70.4 (424/3?), I² 76.61 (435–414, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.222), I² 114.48 (410/9, cf. SEG 24.15), I² 75.18, 69 (430–420?) all decrees; ἔχσ[ε]νε|γχετο I² 63.33 (= ATL 2, no. A9) (425/4) decree; ἄγγελτοι I² 113.2 (ca. 410) decree; Στρογγυλίων Εὐαγγέλο I² 535 (= DAA p.208, no.176) (ca. 425–420) ded.; -αγγέλλω I² 76.19, 30, 58 (435–414, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.222) decree, has -νκ- (cf. infra); I² 108.25 (410/9) decree; Ἀγγελῆθεν I² 124.4 (406/5) decree; λόγγας I² 1085.4 (446, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.137, no.51) sep. mon. set up by three Athenian tribes for Pythion of Megara; τυγχάνω I² 63.52 (= ATL 2, no. A9) (425/4) decree; etc.

Exceptions are not frequent in decrees. Cf. ἐχσενενκέτο I² 76.61 (435–414, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.222), already cited *supra* for ἀγγέλλω and ἐπάναναγες, a text which also has both χσυνγ- and χσγγ-; ἀπ[εν]ἐνχθε occurs in the inv., *Hesperia* 43 (1974) p.319, no.2, line 21 (ca. 414).

The fifth-century tribute lists are somewhat unusual in making frequent use of the unassimilated spellings in certain ethnics:

Γρυγγῆς (Βρυγγειῆς): -γγ- only in [Βρυ]γγειῆ[ς] I² 198.70 (= *ATL* 2, no.8, col.2.69) (447/6); Γρυγγῆς I² 63.81 (= *ATL* 2, no. A9) (425/4); -νχ- occurs seven times (cf. *ATL* 1, pp.256–7).

Σίγγιοι: Σίνγιοι five times, cf. *ATL* 2, no.1, col.5.13 (= I² 191.13, corrected) (454/3), *ATL* 2, no.4, col.2.26 (= I² 194.35, corrected) (451/0), I² 198.66 (= *ATL* 2, no.8, col.1.65) (447/6), I² 199.21 (= *ATL* 2, no.9) (446/5), I² 200.13 (= *ATL* 2, no.10, col.2.18) (445/4); Σίγγιοι ten times in the period 453/2–425/4, cf. *ATL* 1, pp.402–3.

Συαγγεῖς: -γγ- in *ATL* 2, no.1, col.5.16 (= I² 191.16, corrected) (454/3), I² 200.25 (= *ATL* 2, no.10, col.3.30) (445/4); -γγ- in *ATL* 2, no.9, col.3.20–1 (= I² 199.22, corrected) (446/5), I² 205.75 (= *ATL* 2, no.15, col.2.78) (440/39), I² 222.7 (= *ATL* 2, no.28) (427/6 aut 426/5).

Ἀνγέλιτος in the ded. I² 495 (= *DAA* p.26, no.22) of shortly after 480 B.C. is early enough to be a survival of the earlier practice (cf. p.593 *supra*); Θεανγελίνος occurs in a sep. mon., cf. I² 11892a (in add.) (fin. s. Va.). Cf. Πλαν[γ]ῶνα in a defixio, *Kerameikos* 3, p.91, no.3, lines 56–7 (ca. 450?, cf. p.8 *supra*).

In the fourth century the unassimilated spellings occur sporadically for the usual assimilated ones; they are somewhat more frequent in the second half of the century.

Cf. e.g. Ἀνκυλῆθεν I² 5244 (ca. 350) sep. mon.; *Hesperia* 33 (1964) p.225, no.72, line 3 (post 350) ded. (priv.); ἄνκοινα: *Hesperia* 9 (1940) p.343, no.43, lines 354, 374 (= new fr. of I² 1628) (326/5) inv., but ἀγκύρας in *ib.* 357, 377, and I² 1628.588, 319, 322, 606; I² 1479.52, 60 (post 312/1) inv.; ἄνκυρα, etc.: I² 1609.101 (ante 370/69) inv., has εἰσίνενκεν *ib.* 73, but ἄγκυρα, ἤνεγκε *passim al.*; I² 1622.293, 55, 181, 309, 327, 341, 254, 718, 261, 431 (ca. 342/1) inv., has εἰσίνενκεν *ib.* 395–6, ἄγκυραι, etc. *ib.* 210, 225, 470, εἰσίνενκεν *ib.* 473, 477, etc.; I² 1631.665, 669, 673 (323/2) inv., but ἄγκυρα *ib.* 276, 421, -γγ-, -γγ- *al.*; κατανακτη- ρίαις I² 1672.304 (329/8) inv., has στρογγύλος, etc. (cf. *infra*); ἤνεκον, etc.: I² 103.11 (369/8), I² 204.34–5 (352/1), I² 294.6 (ante 336/5) decrees; I² 1209.10 (post 319) decree (deme); *Hesperia* 29 (1960) p.51, no.67, line 4 (post 350) inv. (?), I² 1582.77 (cf. *Hesperia* 19 [1950] p.244, no.16) (342/1); *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p.260, no.19, line 4 (339/8?); I² 1483.17 (ca. 315) inventories (cf. also I² 1609.73, I² 1622.396 cited *supra*); ἀνκυλ-ητων I² 1487.95 (post 307/6) inv., has Πανφ- *ib.* 60 (cf. p.607 *infra*), σύμπας *ib.* 95 (cf. p.610 *infra*); etc.

ἀγγέλλω: I² 116.10 (361/0), *Hesperia* 8 (1939) p.30, no.8, line 21 (318/7), I² 479.13 (ca. 305/4), I² 505.22 (302/1), has συνπ- and συνβ-, all decrees; *AE* 1961, *Chronika* p.23, no.2, line 2 (= *Hesperia* 17 [1948] p.142, no.3; *SEG* 22.117) (ca. 330) decree (deme), has Ἐκατονβαιών; Πυθανγέλου *Hesperia* 6 (1937) p.462, no.10, line 2 (350–325) ded.; but read Θεαγγέλου in I² 360.28 (325/4) decree (L.); Εὐάγγελος Θεανγέλου *Hesperia* 28 (1959) pp.208ff., line B8 (= I² 1556.33) (ca. 330–320) inv.; Θεανγελίς I² 1956.98 (fin. s. IVa.) cat.; Ἀγγελῆθεν *Hesperia* 13 (1944) p.229, no.3, line 4 (357/6) decree; I² 349.1 (331/0) decree; στρογγύλος I² 1672.20, 228 (329/8) inv., στροφίνγων *ib.* 145, κατανακτηρίαις *ib.* 304 (cf. *supra*), but ἀπίνεγκαν *ib.* 273–4; I² 1470.17 (320) inv.; Πλανγών I² 8532a (in add. nova) (ca. 350), I² 12461 (post 350) both sep. monuments; σλεγγίς I² 1487.15 (fin. s. IVa.) inv., σλεγγί *ib.* 19; etc.

λανχάνω: *Hesperia* 7 (1938) pp.1ff., no.1, lines 14–5 (363/2) decree (genos), has -νβ-, συνβ-, συμβ-, etc., but ἐγγράφαι; Π² 1232.17 (fin. s. IVa.) decree (genos); τυγχάνω: Π² 110.16–7 (363/2) decree, has συνπ-, ξυνβ- (L.); Π² 226.11–2 (ca. 343/2) decree, but τυγχ- *ib.* 17; *Kerameikos* 3, p. 1, no. 1, line 8 (s. IVa.?) decree; etc.

b) 300–31 B.C.

In the third century the unassimilated spellings become considerably more frequent, especially for -γγ- and -γχ-. Thus ἦνεγκον is normal in decrees, while ἦνεγκον is an infrequent variant, cf. Π² 725.2 (init. s. IIIa.), Π² 793.15 (post 255), cf. ἵνκε θέντας in *Praktika* 1958 p.35, line 28 (= SEG 22.128) (ca. 240–235) decree (troops at Rhamnus) with ἐνφανεῖς; Π² 1311.8 (fin. s. IIIa.) decree (troops at Rhamnus); cf. *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p.284, no.37, line 3 (ca. 300–290) inv. But on the other hand ἀγγέλλω, etc. are nearly as frequent as ἀγγέλλω, etc. and λανχάνω, τυγχάνω are more common than the assimilated spellings in decrees. Cf. ἀγγέλλω in Π² 652.8 (paulo post 286/5, cf. SEG 23.65), Π² 653.46 (285/4), alongside ἀγγέλλω *ib.* 24; Π² 654.30–1 (285/4), has ἐμπ-, συμπ-; Π² 665.11 (266/5, cf. SEG 15.103), Ἀνγελῆθεν *ib.* 48, has ξυμβ-; *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p.57, no.21, line 5 (init. s. IIIa.); Π² 672.25 (279/8), has συμφ-; *Hesperia* 32 (1963) p.5, no.6, line 6 (279/8); Π² 774.b23 (ca. 250), has συνκ-, all decrees; Π² 1299.40 (post 236/5) decree (troops and Eleusinians), but ἀγγέλλω *ib.* 14, has τυγχάνω *ib.* 73; Πυθάνγελος *Hesperia* 38 (1969) pp.459ff., line 265c (281/0) cat.; Ἀνγελῆθεν *Hesperia* 37 (1968) p.73, no.1, line 3 (222/1) cat. of metronomoi; Εὐανγέλιου Π² 8301 (post 300) sep. mon.; etc. τυγχάνω: cf. Π² 657.29 (283/2), has συμπ-, συμφ-; Π² 858.3 (fin. s. IIIa.) decrees; Π² 1299.73 (cf. supra) decree (troops and Eleusinians). The assimilated τυγχάνω occurs in Π² 777.14 (252/1, cf. SEG 21.381) decree; Π² 1263.39 (300/299) decree (thiasotai), has συνφ-; λαγχάνω in Π² 1314.11 (213/2) decree (orgeones).

Note also Ἀνκυλῆθεν Π² 700.30 (258/7, cf. SEG 21.375) decree, Π² 5257 (s. IIIa.), Π² 5249 (ca. s. IIIa.) both sep. monuments; cf. ἰγκυλῆθεν *Agora* 15, p.120, no.129, line 36 (Π² 848.28) (222/1) decree; Ἀνκυρανός Π² 7923, Π² 8671 (both s. III/IIa.), Ἀνκυρεῖτης Π² 7921 (s. III/IIa.) all sep. monuments; ἀποπεφάνκασι *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p.43, no.9, line 16 (256/5) decree; ἀτενγής Π² 12236 (ca. 300) sep. mon.; Σανγάριος BCH 87 (1963) p.700 (s. IIIa.) sep. mon.; etc.

The lack of standardization in the orthography can be seen after 200 B.C., when the assimilated spellings are again more frequent. Thus in decrees (of all types) of this period ἀγγέλλω occurs more than 35 times; for ἀνγέλλω cf. *Hesperia* 16 (1947) p.163, no.61, line 14 (173/2, cf. *Hesperia* 26 [1957] p.39), Π² 992.13 (post 196), Π² 1042.a–b1 (ca. 41/0), but τυγχάνω *ib.* c8, -νβ- *ib.* d5, ἐμ πᾶσιν *ib.* d2; all decrees; etc. Cf. also Ἀνκυλῆθεν: Π² 5243 (s. IIa.), Π² 5253 (ca. s. IIa.), Π² 5247 (s. II/IIa.), sep. monuments; Ἀνκυρανός: Π² 7896 (s. IIa.), Π² 7905 (s. IIa.), Π² 7890, Π² 7906, Π² 7914, Π² 7918 (all s. II/IIa.), *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p.29, no.8 (s. II/IIa.?), Π² 7915 (s. Ia.) all sep. monuments; ἦνεγκον: Π² 1329.10 (175/4) decree (orgeones), ἀγγέλλω *ib.* 17–8, ἐνλ- *ib.* 6, συνλ- *ib.* 15, συνφ- *ib.* 18, etc.; *Praktika* 1958 p.29, no.6 (= SEG 22.130) (init. s. IIa.) decree; but normally ἦνεγκον, cf. e.g. Π² 968.44 (143/2), Π² 1011.7 (106/5), Π² 1023.22 (fin. s. IIa.) decrees; Π² 1134.61 (117/6) decree (amphik-

tyones, in Attic); II² 1228.6 (116/5) decree (Salaminian cleruchs); II² 1332.16 (post 125/4) decree (technitai?); II² 1343.23 (ca. 37/6) decree (soteriastai), has τυγχάνω *ib.* 42–3; etc.; τυγχάνω: II² 850.6 (init. s. IIa.) has ξυνβ- *ib.* 10; II² 979.14 (ca. 150), II² 980.24 (ca. 150), AM 66 (1941) p. 181, no. 2, line c59 (= SEG 21.469) (129/8) decrees; but usually τυγχάνω, cf. II² 908.3 (181–170), II² 938.6 (ca. init. s. IIa.), II² 945.12 (168/7), II² 995.5 (ca. 150), II² 1028.36 (101/100, cf. SEG 24.188), II² 1029.22 (96/5), II² 1039.27 (79/8, cf. SEG 22.110), II² 1042.c8 (ca. 41/0), has ἀνγγέλλω (cf. *supra*), decrees; II² 1343.42–3 (ca. 37/6) decree (soteriastai), has ἥνεγκον (cf. *supra*); etc. Cf. also Ἐπιτυγχάνων Ἐπιτυγχάνοντος II² 10005 (s. IIa.), Ἐπιτυγχάνων II² 11299 (s. II/Ia.) sep. monuments; λαγχάνω II² 1328.6, 16 (183/2) decree (orgeones); φ[α]ρανγ[ι]α *Hellenika* 8 (1935) p. 220, no. 2, lines 2–4 (s. Ia.) horos; ἀνκωνοφόρος *Hellenika* 1 (1928) pp. 233 ff., line 5 (83/2) cat. and decree, alongside ἀγκωνοφόρος *ib.* 4; etc.

c) 31 B.C. and later

In Roman times spelling remains unstandardized. When words are well attested usually the unassimilated spellings are only slightly if at all less frequent than the assimilated ones.

Cf. Ἀγκυλῆθεν: II² 1995.5 (ca. 80 p.) eph. cat.; II² 5254 (s. Ip.), II² 5246, II² 5248 (both aet. Rom.) sep. monuments; but Ἀνκυλῆθεν II² 2776.6, 94, 142 (aet. Trajani?, cf. *Hesperia* 41 [1972] p. 476) financial doc.

Ἀγκυρανός: II² 7931 (s. Ia./s. Ip.), II² 7901, II² 7886, II² 7916, II² 7888 (all s. Ip.), II² 7909 (s. Ip.), II² 7912 (aet. Rom.) all sep. monuments; Ἀνκυρανός: II² 7883, II² 7910, II² 7885 (all s. Ip.), II² 7895, II² 7907, II² 7913, II² 7903, II² 7922 (all aet. Rom.) all sep. monuments.

ἀνανκαῖος II² 1368.51 (ca. 162/3 p.) Iobacchi regulations, also ἐπάνανκες *ib.* 86; also has ἐνκ-, συνκ-, πανκ- (cf. 48.042 *infra*); ἀνανκαῖον II² 2221.22 (217/8 p. aut paulo post) eph. cat. (L.); etc. Cf. ἀνανκαῖον in *Hesperia*, suppl. 13 (1970) pp. 3 ff., line E3 (ca. 175 p.) imp. letter, alongside ἀναγκασθῆ in *ib.* E 27.

Both -νκ- and -γκ- are used in transliterating Latin -nc-, both -νγ- and -γγ- for Latin -ng-: e.g. Ἰοῦνκος *Hesperia* 36 (1967) p. 44, no. 2, lines 3, 5 (100–150 p.) ded.; Ἰοῦγκον II² 4210.6 (post 128/9 p.) ded.; Ἰοῦνκου II² 4512.1, 2 (ca. 150 p.) ded.; Ὠροῦνκω II² 1349.8 (138–161 p.) letter (of technitai?) to an emperor; ὄνκίαι II² 3199 (s. III p.) ded. (L.); Ἰοῦγκ[ος] II² 3194.4 (144/5–149/50 p.) ded.; Λόγγος II² 2051.37 (144/5–149/50 p.) eph. cat.; Λονγο[ς] *Hesperia* 33 (1964) p. 224, no. 70 (fin. s. II p.) cat. fr.; Ἰνγένουος *Hesperia*, suppl. 13 (1970) pp. 3 ff., lines E 43, E 56, E 81, E 85 (ca. 175 p.) imp. letter.

Σάνκτος: II² 2132.4 (ca. 192/3 p.): [Σά]νκτος; II² 2223.23 (ca. 218/9 p.), Σά]νκτου *ib.* 78, Σάνκ[τος] *ib.* 79 (L.) both eph. catalogs; Σάγκτος: II² 1773.32 (166/7 p.) pryt. cat. (L.); etc.

Ἀγαθάγγελος: II² 2051.99 (144/5–149/50 p.) eph. cat.; II² 2199.152 (ca. 200 p.) eph. cat., has Ἐπιτυγχάνων; Ἀγαθάνγγελος: II² 2018.95 (init. s. II p.), II² 2133.14 (paulo post 192/3 p.), *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p. 179, no. 3, line 6 (s. III p.) eph. catalogs; ἄγγελος: II² 2052.63 (145/6 p.) (L.), II² 2067.127 (154/5 p.) eph. catalogs; σπήλυνγα II² 4840 (s. II/IV p.) ded. (priv.); etc.

Ἀγγελῆθεν: II² 1996.40 (84/5–92/3 p.) eph. cat. (L.); II² 1773.51 (166/7 p.) (L.), II² 1776.51 (169/70 p.) pryt. catalogs; II² 2130.111 (192/3 p.) eph. cat. Ἀγγελῆθεν: II² 2018.27 (init. s. II p.), II² 2050.54 (143/4 p., cf. SEG 24.191), II² 2068.58 (155/6 p.), II² 2208.49, 50 (212/3 p., aut paulo post) eph. catalogs; *Hesperia* 34 (1965) p. 96, no. 6, line 34 (aet. Rom.) pryt. cat. Cf.

ΠΑΡΑΝΤΕΛΛΕΙΝ (= παραγγέλλειν) *Hesperia*, suppl. 13 (1970) pp.3 ff., line E 12 (ca. 175 p.) imp. letter; ἀγγεῖον Π² 7080 a (in add.) (fin. s. II p.) sep. mon.; etc.

Ἐπιτυχαν-: Π² 1760.5 (ante 150 p.) pryt. cat.; Π² 2024.86 (112/3 p.), Π² 2068.246 (155/6 p.) (L.), Π² 2086.24 (163/4 p.) eph. catalogs; Π² 1782.22, 23 (177/8 p.), Π² 1792.34 (ca. 192/3 p.) pryt. catalogs; Π² 2094.68 (ca. 166/7 p.) (illegible now, L.), Π² 2113.188 (183/4–191/2 p.), Π² 2144.11 (s. II p.), Π² 2205.32 (init. s. III p.), Π² 2237.160 (230–235 p.) (L.), Π² 2242.37 (238/9 aut 242/3 p.), Π² 2245.216 (262/3 aut 266/7 p.) eph. catalogs; etc.

Ἐπιτυχαν-: Π² 8008 (s. Ia./s. Ip.) sep. mon.; Π² 1973.86 (40/1–53/4 p.) eph. cat.; Π² 9575 (bis) (s. Ip.), Π² 9572 (s. I/II p.) sep. monuments; Π² 1764.49 (138/9 p.) pryt. cat. (L.); Π² 2050.57 (143/4 p., cf. SEG 24.191), Π² 2059.32 (ca. 147/8 p.): Ἐπιτυν[χαν- (L.) eph. catalogs; Π² 9576 (ca. 150 p.) sep. mon.; Π² 2085.98 (161/2 p.), Π² 2127.21 (190–200 p.), Π² 2199.168 (ca. 200 p.), has also Ἀγαθᾶγγελος; Π² 2171.6 (s. II p.), Π² 2239.213, 215, 216 (bis) (238/9–243/4 p.) (L.) eph. catalogs; Π² 8172 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.; etc.

For the correction of an alleged Ἐπιτυχάνων to Ἐπιτυγχανών in Π² 2067, cf. 41.011, p.487 *supra*.

48.042 Assimilation of internal nasals (in composition)

48.0421 Compounds of ἐν-

a) ἐν-/—labials

Before labial stops assimilation of ἐν- to ἐμ- is normal at all periods after ca. 480 B.C.; exceptions occur infrequently at all periods, but are particularly rare in the Classical Period.

Cf. e.g.: Ἐμπορίων Π² 9202 (ca. 400) sep. mon. (L.); ἔνβολοι Π² 1640.25 (354/3) inv., has πένπτοξ, etc. (L.); Ἐμπορίων Π² 1533.6 (post 338/7) inv., has ἐμ πινακ- *passim al.*, Παμφ-; ἔνποροι Π² 337.33 (333/2) decree, alongside ἐμπόροις *ib.* 39, has ξυνβαλλ- (rare) *ib.* 17, ἔνκτηις *ib.* 40; ἐνπόρου Π² 1672.90 (329/8) inv.; Ἐνπεδος *Agora* 15, p.59, no.49, line 13 (= AE 1917, p.40, no.92) (328/7) decree; Ἐνπεδ[ω]ν Π² 2410.24 (s. IV/III a.) cat., has πομπ-, Ὀλυμπ-; ἐνπόρων Π² 360.10 (325/4) decree, alongside ἐμπόρων *ib.* 30–31 (L.); ἐν[β]αλῶν Π² 463.50 (307/6) decree, has ἐνκ- *ib.* 59, 62; ἐνφανεῖς *Praktika* 1958 p.35, line 16 (= SEG 22.128) (ca. 240–235) decree (troops at Rhamnus); ἐνβολίμωι *Hesperia* 23 (1954) p.236, no.7, line 4 (214/3) decree, has συνπρόεδροι *ib.* 6, συλλ- *ib.* 15, ἀπαγγ- *ib.* 7; ἔνπροσθεν Π² 1304.24 (post 211/0) decree (troops), also has συμφέροντα *ib.* 9–10, τῶι μεγάλων *ib.* 25; ἐνφανίζει Π² 1046.11 (52/1) decree; ἐνφανίζου[σιν] Π² 1043.17 (spelling regularized, cf. IG II, no.482) (38/7), alongside ἐμφανίζουσιν in *ib.* 62, decree (L.); Ἐμπορικὸς Π² 1996.238 (84/5–92/3 p.) eph. cat. (L.), συμφ-, Παμφ-, παγκ- *al.*; Ἐμπορι(κοῦ) Π² 11268 (s. I/II p.) sep. mon.; Ἐνπειρικὸς Π² 9548.B1 (ca. 150 p.) sep. mon.; Ἐνπορικοῦ Π² 3607.17 (ante 161 p.) ded., Ἐνπειρικοῦ *ib.* 31; ἐνφύτου *HSCP*, suppl. 1 (1940) pp.521 ff., line 5 (= Π² 1076.5) (196–217 p.) decree; Ἐνπορικὸς Π² 2160.38 (s. II p.) eph. cat.; Ἐνπίρ[ικος] Π² 2184.5 (s. II p.) cat. fr.; Ἐνπορίων Π² 7292 a (in add.) (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.; ἐνβεβληκόσιν *Hesperia*, suppl. 13 (1970) pp.3 ff., line E 67 (ca. 175 p.) imp. letter (has ἐνκ-, etc.); etc. Cf. ἐνφερόμενα (reading confirmed by D. Jordan) in the defixio, *Hesperia* 6 (1937) p.389, no.3, line 16 (found in a deposit of s. Ip. material, but orthography and writing look like s. III p.), has ἀναναζόμενος, ἀνφόδου.

There is certainly an increase in *έν/*labials in Roman times. For the normal *έμπ-* in Roman times, cf. e.g. *Έμπεδών* Π² 7973.1 (init. aet. Rom.) sep. mon.; *έμπορον* Π² 13132 a (in text) (= *Hesperia* 7 [1938] p. 470, no. 29; GVI 1, p. 366, no. 1242) (s. Π p.) sep. mon.; *έμπόδιον* Π² 1099.29 (121 p.) imp. letter; *έμπορος* Π² 1100.41 (ca. 124 p.) imp. edict; *έμπλεον*, *έμπεδομητιν* Π² 12318 (= GVI 1, p. 629, no. 1996) (s. III p.) sep. mon.; *Έμπορικός*, cf. e.g. Π² 2019.8 (ca. 110 p.), Π² 2050.143 (143/4 p., cf. SEG 24.191), Π² 2085.25 (161/2 p.), Π² 2103.16 (172/3 p. aut paulo post), eph. catalogs; *Έμπο(ρίωνος)?* or *Έμπο(ρικου)?* Π² 2028.20 (110–120 p.) eph. cat.; etc.

έμ- is virtually universal at all periods before the nasal *μ-*.

Cf. *Έμμενίδο* I² 556 (= DAA p. 207, no. 175) (post 450) ded.; *έμμενα* ATL 2, no. D8.48 (= I² 65; cf. AJP 88 [1967] pp. 29 ff.) (426/5) decree; *έμμένω* I² 87.23, 25, 27 (424/3); Π² 230.6 (ca. 341), Π² 236.3, 6 (338/7) decrees; Π² 1196.12 (ca. 335–330) decree (deme); Π² 687.55 (265/4) decree; *Έμμενίδης* *Hesperia* 30 (1961) pp. 30 ff., line 262 (336/5) cat.; etc.

But there is no assimilation in *Ένμ[εν]ίδης*, occurring in the decree, Π² 208.4–5 (249/8) (L.).

b) *έν-/*velars

In the fifth century *ένκ-*, *έγκ-*; *ένγ-*, *έγγ-* occur with about equal frequency.

Cf. e.g. (h)ενκέαντι: I² 374.96, 261 (408–406) inv., (h)ενκαυταῖς *ib.* 75, 95 (L.);

ένκλημα: Π² 1.17 (403/2) decree, ξύνκειται and ἀγ γίγνηται in the same line, has συνπ-, συμπ-, συνβ-, συμβ-;

έγκολλ[έ]σαν[τι]: I² 373.208–209 (409/8) inv.;

έγκολά[φ]σαν[τι]: I² 313.166 (408/7) inv.;

έγκυκλ[ί]ο: I² 310.209 (429/8) inv.;

ένγραφοῖσι: AM 59 (1934) p. 35, no. 1, line b 4 (= SEG 10.10) (ca. 455/4) decree;

ένγρα[φ]οι: I² 949.76 (423, cf. SEG 25.57) cas. list, has έμ Π- twice;

άντενγραφάτο: I² 94.24 (418/7) decree, has έγγυετᾶς *ib.* 25;

έγγυτάτο: I² 77.6 (ca. 435, cf. SEG 21.31) decree;

έγγραφε[ι]: I² 75.22 (430–420?) decree;

έγγυησις: Π² 10.A 9 (401/400) decree, has also συνκ-, έμπορ-;

έγγυητής: I² 127.9 (post 433), I² 94.25 (418/7), I² 116.35 (409/7 aut ca. 407, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 267, no. 87), I² 38.8 (ante 446/5?) decrees; I² 374.100–101, 267–268 (408–406) inv. (L.); Π² 1172.22 (ca. 400) decree (deme); etc.

In the fourth century *έγγ-* and *ένγ-* are of about equal frequency; *ένκ-* is rather more frequent than *έγκ-*, but the number of cases is not large enough to assume that *ένκ-* was normal.

ένκαύσαντι: Π² 1672.186 (329/8) inv., ένκαυσις *ib.* 238;

ένκλημα: *Hesperia* 7 (1938) pp. 1 ff., no. 1, line 65 (363/2) decree (genos), ένκύμονα *ib.* 93, has Πανκλειδο *ib.* 78 and συμβ-/συνβ-, λανχάνω, άνφο-/άμφο-, έκατονβ-, but έγγράψαι *ib.* 82;

ένκλημα: Π² 207.a 15 (349/8) decree;

ένκαλῶσι: Π² 212.58 (347/6) decree;

ένκεχωμένην: Π² 244.82 (337/6) decree, has έγγυη- (cf. infra);

ένκύκλ[ί]ον: Π² 233.b 9 (340/39) decree;

περιενκεντρίσει: Π² 463.62 (307/6) decree, ἐγκατοικοδόμησε *ib.* 59–60, has ἐνβαλῶν (rare) *ib.* 50, but ἐγγυητής (cf. *infra*);

ἐνκεκολλη[]: Π² 1461.29 (post 330/29) inv.;

ἐνκτησις: Π² 162.b3 (360–350, cf. SEG 23.51) decree; Π² 337.36 (333/2) decree, has ξυνβάλλ-, ἐμπορος/ἐμπορος; Π² 396.3 (321–318) decree; *Hesperia* 43 (1974) p.322, no.3, line 17 (331–324?) decree, has τὸν γ-, τὸν κατὰ;

ἐγγράφω: Π² 1237.97 (396/5) decree (phratry), has πατρώθευ καὶ *ib.* 119; Π² 1140.15 (386/5) decree (tribe); Π² 1650.5 (ca. 350) inv.; Π² 478.10, 11 (305/4) decree;

ἐγγράφω: *Hesperia* 7 (1938) pp.1ff., no.1, line 82 (363/2) decree (genos); has ἐνκ-, λανχάνω, etc. (cf. *supra*); Π² 1249.6, 10 (ante 350) decree (thiasotai? or orgeones?); Π² 1159.7 (= Reinmuth p.119, no.19) (303/2) decree (tribe); Π² 1361.2, 22 (post 350) sacred law (orgeones);

ἐγγυητάς: Π² 111.46–47 (363/2) decree;

ἐγγύην: *Hesperia* 5 (1936) p.393, no.10, line 138 (= new fr. of Π² 1582, cf. *Hesperia* 19 [1950] p.244, no.16) (342/1) inv.; also has ἐγγύην *ib.* 124, ἀγγ- *ib.* 113, πένπτος, etc.;

ἐγγυητής: Π² 1641.a (in add.).8 (ca. 350) inv. (L.);

συνεγγυηταῖς: AM 59 (1934) p.42, no.4, lines 6–7 (350–300?) horos (mortgage);

ἐγγυητής, etc.: Π² 244.35 (337/6) decree, has ἔγκ- (cf. *supra*); Π² 463.112, cf. 102 (307/6) decree, has ἐνκ- (bis), ἐνβ- (cf. *supra*); Π² 1633.18* (init. s. IV a.) inv., has ἔγκ- *ib.* 5; Π² 1579.14 (init. s. IV a.) inv.; Π² 1635.102, 106, 108 (post 374/3) inv.; Π² 1590.18, 21 (343/2) inv.; Π² 1591.15 (ca. 343/2) inv.; Π² 1593.10, 12, 14, 16, 18 (ca. 350) inv.; Π² 1678.a A 21, 22 (ca. 350, cf. SEG 13.49) inv., has συγγραφ-, τετάρωμ π-, etc.;

ἐνχ[ε]ι[δ]ι[δ]ιον: Π² 1648.19–20 (ca. 350) inv.;

ἐγχειρίδιον: Π² 1425.256 (368/7), Π² 1428 (in add.).204 (367/6) inventories; etc.

In the Hellenistic Period there is still no pronounced preference for the assimilated or etymological spellings.

ἀνένκλητος: Π² 1271.8 (299/8?) decree (thiasotai); Π² 1165.25 (300–250) decree (tribe); Π² 1310.4–5 (237/6, cf. BCH 54 [1930] p.273) decree (troops at Rhamnus); Π² 1006.18 (122/1) decree, but ἀνεγκλητ- *ib.* 37, 61 (cf. *infra*).

ἀνέγκλητος: Π² 1235.9 (ca. 248/7) decree (genos); Π² 1302.5–6 (220/19) decree (troops); Π² 1292.4 (215/4, cf. Vidman p.4, no.2) decree (sarapiastai); Π² 1293.2 (ca. 250) decree (asklepiastai); Π² 1328.27 (175/4) decree (orgeones); Π² 1006.37, 61 (122/1) decree, alongside ἀνένκλητος *ib.* 18 (cf. *supra*).

ἐγκλήμα: Π² 2788.33 (fin. s. II a.) public praise of the Athenians (ded.).

ἐνκλημα: Π² 1051.c14 (= *Hesperia* 36 [1967] p.66, no.12) (post 38/7, ante 31) decree (L.), has ἐνγραφ- (cf. *infra*), συγγενεῖς, συμμ- *ib.* c.25, a.15 (cf. p.614 *infra*).

ἐνκτησις: *Hesperia* 13 (1944) p.242, no.7, line 13 (301/300–295/4); Π² 801.10 (ca. 250, cf. SEG 24.125); Π² 802.8 (= part of Π² 768, cf. SEG 21.383; 24.126) (233/2) decrees.

ἐγκτησις: Π² 786.27 (s. III/II a., cf. Pečirka, *Enktesis* p.106; SEG 24.133), Π² 835.26 (paulo post 229/8) decrees; Π² 1214.27–28 (300–250) decree (deme): ἐγκτητικόν; Π² 1283.5 (263/2, cf. SEG 24.155) decree (Thracian aliens), has συνκ-, τὸμ Π-; Π² 884.9–10 (ca. 200) decree.

ἐνγράφω: Π² 1298.20 (246/5) decree (thiasotai); Π² 1051.a11 (= *Hesperia* 36 [1967] p.66, no.12) (post 38/7, ante 31) decree (L.), has ἐνκλ- (cf. *supra*).

προενγραφίων: *Kerameikos* 3, p. 11, no. 7, line 4 (ca. 100) decree (technitai).

ἐγγράφας: *Hesperia* 45 (1976) pp. 296ff., lines 8, 24 (204/3) decree.

ἐγγράφ-: Π² 1006.6, 58 (122/1) decree, has ἐνκ-/ἐγκ- (cf. supra); Π² 1011.5 (106/5) decree; Π² 1028.6 (101/100, cf. SEG 24.188) decree.

ἐγγυητής: Π² 1168.3 (s. IIIa.) decree (tribe), alongside ἐγγυητ- *ib.* 15.

ἐγγυητής: Π² 1682.17 (285/4) inv.; Π² 1168.15 (cf. supra).

The pronounced preference for the unassimilated spellings in the Roman Period can best be seen in the ephebic lists, where πρωτέγγραφος and ἐπέγγραφος are only rare variants for πρωτέν-, ἐπένγραφος.

-εγγραφος: Π² 2103.175 (172/3 p. aut paulo post); Π² 2090, after lines 51, 109 (one example) (165/6 p.); Π² 2094.56 (ca. 166/7 p.), has Ἀνέγκλητος *ib.* 67 (L., 56 only); Π² 2097.90 (169/70 p.), has Ἀνέγκριτος Ἀνεγκλήτου *ib.* 161; the proximity in date of the last three examples makes it tempting to assume that one individual is responsible for the spelling preference.

-ενγραφος: e.g. Π² 2017.11, 44 (paulo post 102 p.), Π² 2027.7 (init. s. II p.), Π² 2044.35, 93 (139/40 p.), Π² 2046.16, 45 (paulo ante 140 p.), Π² 2059.69 (ca. 147/8 p.) (L.), Π² 2033.26 (ca. 150 p.) (now part of Π² 2064 and joined to it) (L.), Π² 2034.4 (ante 150 p.), Π² 2083.1 (post 150 p.) (L.), Π² 2068.17, 209 (155/6 p.) (L.), Π² 2085.86 (161/2 p.), Π² 2086.89 (163/4 p.), Π² 2102.96 (paulo post 169/70 p.), Π² 2106.7 (ca. 178/9 p.), Π² 2107.32, 73 (paulo ante 180 p.), Π² 2111/12.88 (182/3–190/1 p.), Π² 2113.152 (183/4–191/2 p.), Π² 2130.138 (192/3 p.), Π² 2160.5 (s. II p.), Π² 2193.151 (198/9–205/6 p., cf. Graindor, *Album* p. 55), Π² 2191.65 (ca. 200 p.), Π² 2199.144 (ca. 200 p.), Π² 2201.90 (paulo post 200 p.), Π² 2208.132 (212/3 p. aut paulo post), Π² 2214.34 (post 212/3 p.), Π² 2235.152 (226/7–234/5 p.), Π² 2237.168 (230–235 p.) (L.), Π² 2242.41 (238/9 aut 242/3 p.), Π² 2245.424 (262/3 aut 266/7 p.), etc.

Elsewhere the unassimilated spellings are also normal.

Cf. e.g.: Ἐνκόλιος: Π² 2018.119 (init. s. II p.) eph. cat.; Π² 2020.42 (not the same man) (ca. 110 p. aut paulo post) eph. cat.; Π² 2065.128 (150/1 p.) eph. cat.; ἐνκώμιον: *Hesperia*, suppl. 12 (1967) pp. 187–193, line 22 (= Π² 1112 + new fr.) (182–184 p.) imp. letter, has συνκ- *ib.* 25; Π² 2119.131, 164 (180/1–191/2 p.) eph. cat., alongside ἐγκώμιον in *ib.* 147, 189, 201 (cf. infra), has παγκράτιον *passim*.

ἐνκαλῶ: Π² 1368.93 (ca. 162/3 p.) Iobacchi regulations, ἐνγεγραμμένοι *ib.* 50, ἐνγραφ- *ib.* 61, has ἐπάνανκες, etc., συνκ-, παγκ-.

ἐνκλημάτων: *Hesperia*, suppl. 13 (1970) pp. 3ff., line C 15 (ca. 175 p.) imp. letter, has ἐνβ-, ἐνγ- (cf. infra), συνχ-, etc.

ἐνκεχαρ-: Π² 12794 (fin. s. II p.) sep. mon.

ἐνγεγραμμένον: *Hesperia* 10 (1941) pp. 361ff., line 4 (126 aut 127 p.) decree (Achaean league).

ἐγγρ[αφή]: *Hesperia*, suppl. 13 (1970) pp. 3ff., line E 78 (ca. 175 p.) imp. letter, has ἐνκ-, etc. (cf. supra).

ἐνγραφείς: Π² 1110.16 (180–192 p.) imp. letter.

ἐ]γγείνεσθαι: Π² 1086.21 (init. s. III p.?) decree.

ἐγγυητής: Π² 1113.25 (193–211 p.) imp. letter: ἐγγυητῶν; Π² 1118.b2 (ca. 209/10 p.) imp. edict: ἐγγυ[ητήν].

ἐνχαράξ-: *Hesperia* 10 (1941) pp. 363ff., line 11 (= Π² 1088.45) (132–138 p.) decree (Pan-hellenes): ἐνχαράξαι; Π² 1351.6 (ca. 170 p.) decree (orgeones): ἐνχαράξαν[τα]; etc.

The assimilated spellings are rather rarer.

E.g.: ἔγχρονου: II² 1096.8 (aet. Augusti) letter (of an Attic genos).

ἐγκώμιον: II² 1105.B.b 4 (aet. Hadriani) imp. letter: ἐγκώ[μιον; II² 2087.32–33, 64, 65 (163/4 p.) eph. cat., has παγκ-; II² 2119.147, 189, 201 (180/1–191/2 p.) eph. cat., alongside ἐγκώμιον *ib.* 131, 164 (cf. *supra*), παγκράτιον *passim*.

ἐγγνητῶν: II² 1104.11 (aet. Severianorum, cf. SEG 24.150) imp. edict.

Ἀνέγκλητος: II² 2094.67 (ca. 166/7 p.), II² 2097.161 (169/70 p.): Ἀνέγκριτος Ἀνεγκλήτου, both eph. catalogs with an atypical -εργραφ- (cf. *supra*).

ἐνεγκαμένη: II² 7447.4 (fin. s. II p.) sep. mon.; etc.

c) ἐν-/___λ

ἐλλ- is normal in ἐλλείπω, etc., well attested in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods:

ἐλλυπόσας: ATL 2, no. D 7.21 (= I² 66; Meiggs-Lewis p. 117, no. 46) (447?) decree.

ἐλλ[οί]π[οι]: I² 373.98 (409/8) inv.

ἐλλείπω: II² 120.31 (353/2, cf. *Hesperia* 7 [1938] p. 286) decree; II² 1455.38 (340/39), II² 1457.10, 11, 12 (post 339/8), II² 1534 A.97 (bis) (291/0, cf. SEG 16.118) inventories; AM 76 (1961) p. 127, no. 1, line 24 (= SEG 21.435) (187/6), II² 949.34 (165/4), II² 956.10 (161/0), II² 957.7 (157/6), II² 968.49 (143/2), II² 1006.82–83 (122/1), II² 1023.8 (fin. s. II a.) decrees; II² 1227.15 (131/0) decree (Salamian cleruchs); II² 1039.22 (79/8, cf. SEG 22.110) decree: ἀνελλ[υ]π[ώ]ς; *Hesperia* 34 (1965) pp. 255 ff., line 29 (= II² 1025, II² 1040 + new frr.) (46/5) decree.

Cf. ἐλλιμενίας label on a seat in the Theatre of Dionysus, II² 5148 (aet. Rom.).

Exceptions are rare:

ἐνλείπω: II² 1315.12 (211/0) decree (orgeones) (L.); AE 1953/54 Part 1, pp. 126–129, no. 2, line 9 (= SEG 15.113) (ca. 215) decree (paroikoi at Rhamnus); II² 1329.6 (175/4) decree (orgeones), has συνλ-; II² 1009.9 (116/5) decree.

d) ἐν-/___σC

Cases are rare. There is no assimilation in ἐνσπονδος II² 28.19 (387/6) decree (L.); ἐνστορνύναί I² 190.14 (ca. 420) sacred law; ἐνστήσαντι II² 1672.96 (329/8) inv.; the spelling ἐστήσαντι in line 164 of the last text is probably an assimilation and not just careless omission, as this text shows a fondness for ἐΣκαμβωνιδῶν οἰκῶν (cf. 48.0561 b, p. 635 *infra*), and it may have a similar assimilation in the spelling τὸ στρογγύλον (cf. 48.06, p. 637 *infra*).

48.0422 Compounds of ἑκατον-

a) Ἑκατομβαίων. The assimilated spelling is normal in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods, although Ἑκατονβαίων is also fairly well attested before ca. 250 B.C.

Ἑκατονβαίων: I² 76.53–54 (435–414, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 222) decree; *Hesperia* 7 (1938) pp. 1 ff., no. 1, line 88 (363/2) decree (genos); II² 2496.14 (post 350) loc.; II² 1672.33 (329/8) inv.; II² 1578.2 (ca. 330) inv.; AE 1961 Chronika p. 23, no. 2, line 4 (= SEG 22.117; *Hesperia* 17 [1948] p. 142, no. 3) (ca. 320) decree (deme); *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p. 282, no. 55, line 13

(= Sokolowski, *Supplément* p.54, no.20) (init. s. IIIa.) decree (orgeones); II² 1282.2 (261/0) decree (thiasotai?).

Ἑκατομβαιών: cf. I² 298.15–16 (411/0), I² 304.90, 91 (410/9) inventories; BCH 87 (1963) pp.603ff., lines Γ1, Δ1 (= SEG 21.541; Sokolowski, *Lois*² p.36, no.18) (375–350?), II² 1358.24, 34–35, 41 (375–350) sacred calendars; II² 1635.7 (374/3) inv.; II² 2492.6 (346/5), II² 2498.14 (321/0) locationes; II² 650.3 (286/5) decree; II² 1316.5 (272/1) decree (orgeones); AM 76 (1961) p.127, no.1, line 13 (= SEG 21.435) (187/6) decree; etc.

In Roman times the word is frequent, and the unassimilated spelling is comparatively rare.

Ἑκατονβαιών: II² 2097.36 (169/70 p.), II² 2111/12.42 (182/3–190/1 p.), II² 2239.102 (238/9–243 p.) (L.) eph. catalogs.

Ἑκατομβαιών: cf. II² 2024.24 (112/3 p.), II² 2037.20 (125/6 p.), II² 2042.5 (ca. 135 p.), II² 2046.11 (paulo ante 140 p.), II² 2050.29 (143/4 p., cf. SEG 24.191), II² 2034.2 (ante 150 p.), II² 2065.46 (150/1 p.) (L.), II² 2067.219 (154/5 p.), II² 2103.26 (172/3 p. aut paulo post), II² 2139.8 (s. II p.), II² 2208.103 (212/3 p. aut paulo post) all eph. catalogs.

· b) ἑκατόμπεδος. In the inventories and decrees of the fifth and fourth centuries in which this word is attested the assimilated spelling is normal; ἑκατόνπεδος is an occasional variant.

ἑκατόμπεδος: I² 4.11, 18 (485/4) decree; I² 256.4 (434/3), I² 257.11 (433/2), *Hesperia* 35 (1966) p.336, line 42 (= I² 262) (428/7) inventories of the Hekatompedon; II² 1371.5 (403/2, cf. SEG 23.81) inv.; II² 1423.9 (374/3, cf. SEG 21.549) inv.; II² 1424a (in add.) 387 (369/8) inv.; II² 1425.41, 389 (368/7) inv.; II² 1457.20 (post 339/8) inv.; *Hesperia* 40 (1971) pp.448 ff., line 9 (= II² 1477.9, corrected) (303/2) inv.

ἑκατόνπεδος: I² 267.92 (419/8), I² 270.135 (416/5) inventories of the Hekatompedon; II² 1443.10 (344/3), II² 1468.6 (321/0) inventories.

Cf. also ἑκατόμβην I² 304.7 (410/9) inv.; ἑκατόμβοια II² 3779.14 (ca. 250) ded.

48.0423 Compounds of παν-

a) Παμβωτάδης. Πανβωτάδης is a rare variant for Παμβωτάδης; it is attested from ca. 200 B. C. on.

Πανβωτάδης: *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p.218, no.15, line 18 (fin. s. IIIa.) decree; II² 2801.10 (ca. 150) ded.; II² 2338.13 (27/6–18/7) cat., alongside Παμβωτάδης *ib.* 20, has Παμμένης (cf. c) *infra*), Λανπτρεύς (cf. p.597 *supra*); II² 1721.8 (14/3) cat.; II² 2102.68 (paulo post 169/70 p.) eph. cat.; II² 7149 (s. II p.) sep. mon.; *Hesperia* 23 (1954) p.248, no.26 (200–210 p.) pryt. cat.: Πα|νβωταδ[.

For the normal Παμβωτάδης, cf.:

I² 1604.1 (ca. 376?) inv.; II² 7141.3, 6, 9 (ca. 350) sep. mon.; II² 223.B10 (343/2) decree; *Hesperia* 30 (1961) pp.30 ff., line 22 (336/5) cat.; II² 1570.91 (ca. 330–320) inv.; II² 1631.505 (323/2) inv.; *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p.206, no.52, line 4 (post 350) ded.; *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p.249, no.47, line 5 (s. IVa.) cat.; II² 7146.3 (post 300) sep. mon.; II² 791.d11 (247/6) decree (L.); II² 766.29 (246/5) decree; II² 1706.37 (fin. s. IIIa.) cat.; II² 7148 (fin. s. IIIa.), II² 7147 (s. IIIa.) sep. monuments; II² 2362.10 (ca. 200) cat. (deme names); II² 2332.65 (183/2) cat.;

Hesperia 28 (1959) p.179, no.5, line 9 (= Π^2 820.9) (190–170) decree: Παμ[βρωτάδην]; Π^2 1011.94 (106/5), Π^2 1028.113 (101/100, cf. SEG 24.188), Π^2 840.35 (s. Π a.) (L.) decrees; Π^2 2336.42 (102/1–97/6) cat.; Π^2 7142 (s. Π a.) sep. mon.; Π^2 1039.77 (79/8, cf. SEG 22.110) decree; Π^2 1757.43 (40–30, cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 [1937] p. 174, no. 106) pryt. cat.; *Ta Athenaiika* 21 (1962) p.33, no.7 (= SEG 21.907) (s. Π a./s. Π p.) sep. mon.; *Hesperia* 29 (1960) p.45, no.52, line 4 (s. Π a./s. Π p.) ded.; Π^2 3905 (ca. aet. Augusti) ded.; Π^2 2067.100 (154/5 p.), Π^2 2128.61, 63 (190–200 p.), Π^2 2129.9 (190–200 p.) eph. catalogs; AE 1950/51 p.48, no.30, lines 6, 9 (= Π^2 2247 + Π^2 2250 + Π^2 2484) (ante 192/3 p.) eph. cat.; Π^2 7144.3–4 (s. Π / Π p.), Π^2 7145.4 (s. Π / Π p.) sep. monuments; Π^2 2208.6, 80–81, 101 (212/3 p. aut paulo post) eph. cat.; Π^2 3763.2 (ca. 212/3 p.) ded.; Π^2 1832.9 (ca. 231/2 p.) pryt. cat.; etc.

b) Παμφιλ-. Πάνφιλος, Πανφίλη are infrequent variants for Πάμφιλος, etc. at all periods:

Π^2 10345 (bis) (ante 350), Π^2 12398/9 (ca. 350), Π^2 12401 (ca. 350), Π^2 5845 (post 350) sep. monuments; Π^2 448.31 (323/2), Π^2 473.5 (306/5) (same man called Πάμφιλος in Π^2 471.4, decree of the same year) decrees; Π^2 1487.60 (post 307/6) inv., also has ἀνκ- *ib.* 95 (cf. p.598 supra), σύμπας *ib.* 95 (cf. p.610 infra); Π^2 683.3 (248/7) decree; Π^2 7700 (bis) (s. Π p.) sep. monument; Π^2 3112.36 (75/6–87/8 p.) ded.; Π^2 2069.23 (ca. 150 p.), Π^2 2127.15 (190–200 p.) (his father is probably the Πάμφιλος of Π^2 2090.98, Π^2 2133.9, eph. catalogs of 165/6 p. and paulo post 192/3 p.) eph. catalogs; etc.

For the normal Πάμφιλος, Παμφίλη, cf. Indices to IG II, pp.41–42; to IG II.5, p.320; to IG III, p.367; BSA 47 (1952) pp.102ff., line 75 (= Π^2 10 + new frr.) (401/400) decree; Π^2 9834 (ca. s. Π p.), Π^2 10458 (s. Π p.), Π^2 10644 (fin. s. Π p.), Π^2 12402 (s. Π / Π p.), Π^2 7077 (aet. Rom.) sep. monuments; Π^2 4755 (s. Π / Π p.) ded. (priv.); Π^2 2923 (s. Π p.) ded.; Π^2 7665.11 (s. Π p.) sep. mon.; Π^2 2035.17 (ante 150 p.), Π^2 2062.5 (ca. 150 p.), Π^2 2063.2 (ca. 150 p.), Π^2 2081.11 (ca. 160 p.) (L.), Π^2 2166.10 (s. Π p.), Π^2 2229.19 (ca. 220 p.), Π^2 2231.49 (ca. 230 p.), Π^2 2261.2 (s. Π p.), *Hesperia* 23 (1954) p.247, no.25, line 4 (s. Π p.) eph. catalogs; etc.

But πάνπαν in the decree, Π^2 6.117, must be corrected to h[έ]λος ἀν, cf. *Hesperia* 15 (1946) p.253, line C34 (ante 460).

c) παν-/—μ-

Assimilation is universal.

παμμέλας Π^2 1358.18 (375–350) sacred calendar; π[α]μμέλαιναν BCH 87 (1963) pp.603ff., lines A9–10 (= SEG 21.541; Sokolowski, *Lois*² p.36, no.18) (375–350?) sacred calendar; Παμμένης Π^2 1339.4 (57/6) decree (heroistai); Π^2 2338.22 (27/6–18/7) cat.; Π^2 1096.12 (aet. Augusti) letter (of an Attic genos); etc.

d) παν-/—velars

παγκ- occurs in παγκράτιον and several personal names; παγχ- in a few names. The assimilated spellings are certainly normal in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods.

παγκράτιον: Π^2 2311.35 (400–350) cat.; Π^2 3147.3, 7 (6 examples) (init. s. Π a.) ded.; Π^2 2313.31, 39 (194/3 et 190/89) cat.; Π^2 2314.6, 16, 32, 64 (182/1 et 178/7) cat.; Π^2 2315.21, 31 (post 180) cat.; Π^2 2316.2 (ca. 166/5) cat.; Π^2 956.69, 71, 73, 75, 76 (161/0) decree; Π^2 957.37, 39, 41, 43, 45 (157/6) decree; Π^2 958.62, 64 (154/3) decree; Π^2 960.17, 19, 21, 23, 25 (ca. 142/1) decree; *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p.81, no.38, crowns 1, 2, 8, 15, 16, 17, 21, 22, 23, 24, 28,

29 (= Π² 3147 + Π² 3150 + new frr.) (paulo ante 130) ded.; Π² 3149 a (in add.).8, 10, 18, 22 (ca. 100) ded.; etc.

παγκρατ-: Π² 846.13, 15 (post 446) cat.

Παγκρατείδες: Π² 951.9 (ca. 412/1) cas. list.

Παγκράτεια: Π² 1612.294 (356/5) inv.

Παγκράτης: Π² 1011, col. 4.118 (106/5) decree; Π² 11248 (date?) sep. mon.: Παγρότου.

Παγχαρών: Π² 5797.1 (bis) (400–350) sep. mon.

The unassimilated spellings occur occasionally in this period.

Πανώλειδο: *Hesperia* 7 (1938) pp. 1ff., no. 1, line 78 (363/2) decree (genos), has ἀνφ-, λανχάνω, συνβ-, etc.

πανκρατι[αστή]: Π² 3125.5 (ante 350) ded.

Πά]νκαλος: Π² 1556.42 (ca. 330–320) inv.

πανκ[: Π² 1954.4 (306/5) cat.

πανκράτιον: *Praktika* 1953 p. 55, fig. 5 (s. IV a.); *Praktika* 1953 p. 57, fig. 7 (s. IV a.?).; *Praktika* 1953 p. 56, fig. 6 (s. IV/III a.); *Praktika* 1953 p. 57, fig. 8 (late Hellenistic) (= SEG 16.180–183, needs correction); *Praktika* 1954 p. 48, fig. 6 (= SEG 22.164, text wrong) (s. IV a.) dedications; Π² 4661 (s. IV/III a.) ded. (priv.).

πανκρ[: *Hesperia* 32 (1963) p. 43, no. 50, line 5 (init. s. II a.) ded.

Πανώλους: Π² 844.23, 47 (181/0, cf. TAPA 95 [1964] p. 239) decree.

In Roman times there is a distinct increase in the unassimilated spelling.

Π]ανκράτου: *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p. 186, no. 116, line 73 (ca. 20) decree; Π² 3112.24 (75/6–87/8 p.) ded.

Πάνκαλλος: AM 67 (1942) p. 108, no. 208 (s. I p.) sep. mon.

πανκραπίαν: Π² 1367.15 (fin. s. I p.) sacred calendar, has -ονφαλος *passim*.

[Π]ανκράτης: Π² 2011.6 (s. I p.) eph. cat. fr.

πανκράτιον: Π² 2038.6 (ca. 125/6 p.) eph. cat.: πανκρατίου; Π² 2115.19, 20, 21, 39, 40, 41 (180/1–191/2 p.) eph. cat., has ἐνκώμιον *ib.* 27, 46; Π² 2120.15, 20, 21, 27 (fin. s. II p.) eph. cat.; Π² 2268.5 (aet. Rom.) eph. cat. fr.

Πάνκαρπος: Π² 2097.92 (169/70 p.) eph. cat., has ἐπέγγραφοι, Ἄνεγκ-, συμφ-.

Παγκράτης: Π² 1996.39 (84/5–92/3 p.) eph. cat., has Παγχάρης *ib.* 15 (L.).

Πάγκαρπος: Π² 2015.7 (part of Π² 2094 of ca. 166/7 p., cf. SEG 12.110) eph. cat.

παγκράτιον: Π² 2087.66 (bis) (163/4 p.) eph. cat., has ἐγκώμιον; Π² 2119.142 (bis), 143, 157, 158, 160, 172, 173, 174, 186, 197, 198, 208, 219, 221 (180/1–191/2 p.) eph. cat., exhibits an unusual preference for -γκ-, has ἐγκώμιον *ib.* 147, 189, 201, but ἐνκώμιον *ib.* 131, 164.

Παγχάρης: Π² 1996.15 (84/5–92/3 p.) eph. cat., also has Παγκράτης (cf. *supra*) (L.); Π² 2037.19 (125/6 p.) eph. cat.

Note also πανγενε[Ι] Π² 13210.17 (ca. 150 p.) sep. mon.; παγγενε[Ι] on a similar text, Π² 13209.10 (ca. 150 p.), known only from early copies.

48.0424 Compounds of συν-

48.04241 συν-/—π-, β-, φ-

a) In the fifth century the assimilated spellings are normal.

For συμ-, cf. e.g.:

σύμτας: ATL 2, no. A 9, col. 1.118 (= I² 64.8) (425/4) trib. list; I² 91.23 (434/3) decree; I² 324.101 (426/5–423/2), I² 313.148 (408/7) inventories.

χουμπ[λῆν: I² 99.10 (416/5) decree.

ξυμβάλλω: I² 128.4 (432/1? cf. SEG 21.37), I² 114.53 (410/9, cf. SEG 24.15) decrees.

(χ)συμβολ-: I² 16.12, 13 (469–450, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 66, no. 31); ATL 2, no. D 7.11, 16 (= I² 66; Meiggs-Lewis p. 117, no. 46) (447?); I² 113.23 (ca. 410), I² 116.22, cf. 18 (409/8 aut ca. 407, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 267, no. 87), I² 136.1 (s. V a.) decrees; etc.

Exceptions occur infrequently.

συν[βολεύειν: I² 22.6 (450/49 cf. SEG 23.7) decree (L.); but χ[συν]γγρα[φῆς virtually certain in *ib.* 3 (cf. 48.04243 a, p. 612 *infra*).

συνπράξοντας, ξυνβουλεύσαντας: Both in I² 106.18, 19 (409/8, cf. SEG 24.16) decree.

συνπρυτάνειων: II² 1.7, 32 (403/2) decree, συνβολεύειν *ib.* 25, συνπράττεν *ib.* 46, alongside συμβολάς *ib.* 18, συμπτέμνεν *ib.* 24.

b) In the fourth century and during the Hellenistic Period the assimilated spelling is normal before all labials.

α) For the frequent ξυμβάλλεσθαι, there is a rare variant ξυνβάλλεσθαι.

For ξυνβάλλεσθαι, cf. e.g.: II² 106.10 (368/7), II² 110.11 (363/2) (L.), II² 218.12–13 (346/5), II² 223.10 (343/2), II² 337.17 (333/2) (has *ἐν πορῶ* *ib.* 33, cf. p. 601 *supra*), II² 394.7 (321–318), II² 659.18 (283/2), II² 850.10 (init. s. II a.), II² 862.3 (fin. s. III a./init. s. II a.), II² 1042.d5 (ca. 41/0) decrees; cf. συμβάλλεται II² 1361.20 (post 350) sacred law (*orgeones*); συνβάλλειν II² 2631.3, II² 2632.3 (s. III a.?) two *horoi* of a deme, in the same hand; συνβολ[II² 1685.A, 4 (init. s. III a.) *inv.*, has *συνπλ-* *ib.* B₃7, B₄6.

Instances of συνβ- in other words are fairly rare in the same period, cf. II² 246.3 (ca. 350) decree; II² 466.32 (307/6) decree, has *συνπ-* *ib.* 24 (L.); II² 1671.3 (ca. 330) *inv.*, has *συσστ-* *ib.* 7, *ἐπεμβάσεις* *ib.* 10, 13; cf. *Praktika* 1954, p. 69 (text on *eikon* no. 6) (fin. s. IV a.) decree; II² 1241.51 (300/299) decree (*phratry*); II² 1322.2 (fin. s. III a./init. s. II a.) decree (*amphieraistai*); II² 1327.15 (178/7) decree (*orgeones*), has *ἐμ πᾶσιν* *ib.* 16, *ἐμ πῖνακι* *ib.* 24, *εὐσενβείας* *ib.* 19 (cf. 41.021, no. 4, p. 489 *supra*) (L.).

The rarity of συνβ- in this period cannot be accidental as ξυμβάλλεσθαι, συμβαίνω, σύμβολον, etc. are well attested.

β) Failure to assimilate συν- before φ is more frequent. Thus in the fourth century, cf. *συνφῆρω* in II² 179.a 11 (ca. 350, cf. *Staatsverträge* 2, p. 298, no. 321; SEG 21.260), *Hesperia* 7 (1938) p. 289, no. 17, line 11 (= *Hesperia* 2 [1933] p. 395) (340/39?), II² 467.11 (306/5), has *συνμάχων* *ib.* 10 (L.), II² 492.21 (303/2) decrees; II² 1238.4 (ca. 350) decree (*phratry*).

For συμφέρω, cf. II² 233.b22 (340/39), II² 428.6 (post 336/5), II² 483.14 (304/3), II² 505.12 (302/1), II² 557.27 (post 306/5), II² 558.35 (ca. 303/2), II² 563.13 (307–300) decrees; II² 1260.4 (307–304) decree (troops at Sunium); etc.

συνφ- is comparatively well attested in the last three centuries before Christ.

συνφέρων: II² 641.25 (299/8), Dinsmoor, *Archons* (1931) p. 7, line 25 (= II² 649.25) (294/3), II² 655.16 (285/4) (L.), II² 844.14 (181/0, cf. TAPA 95 [1964] p. 239), has συμφερ- *ib.* 18, συνφωνηθέντα *ib.* 9, συνπραγματεύονται *ib.* 17, II² 1055.27 (ca. 100) decrees; II² 1263.14 (300/299) decree (thiasotai); II² 1264.10 (300/299) decree (hippeis).

τὸ συνφέρον: AM 67 (1942) p. 11, no. 9, line 6 (250–200) decree (troops at Rhamnus); II² 1329.11 (175/4) decree (orgeones), συνφροντιεῖν *ib.* 18–19, has συνσταλ- *ib.* 11, συνλειτ- *ib.* 15, εἰσήγενκεν *ib.* 10; II² 1343.10 (ca. 37/6) decree (soteriastai), has συλλογῆς *ib.* 11.

Cf. σύμφ[ω]να II² 1013.37 (fin. s. II a.) decree, has σύμβολα *ib.* 8, ἐμπορικ- *ib.* 29, 34, 35, etc.; ἀσύνφορον II² 1062.10 (ca. 50) decree (L.).

But the assimilated spellings were certainly normal throughout this period; συμφέρω occurs more than twice as often as συνφέρω in groups of decrees dated to any half-century within the period 300–50 B. C.

γ) It is before the voiceless stop π that failure to assimilate σύν is proportionally more frequent. Cf. the following examples from before 300 B. C.:

συνπολεμοῦντα: II² 110.7 (363/2) decree, has ξυνβάλλεσθαι *ib.* 11 (L.).

[σ]υνπ[ρ]ό[α]τ[ω]σι: II² 235.25 (340/39) decree, has συμπρ[ό]αττει *ib.* 13.

συνπρόεδροι: II² 336.b9 (333/2, cf. SEG 21.278) decree, cf. II² 455.5 (307/6) decree; II² 489.7 (303/2) decree; II² 494.10 (303/2) decree; II² 502.7 (302/1) decree, has συμπεμφθεῖς *ib.* 15.

συνπτομπευ-: II² 466.24 (307/6), has σύνβολα *ib.* 32 (L.).

σύνπασιν: *Hesperia* 8 (1939) p. 35, no. 9, line 30 (303/2) decree.

σύνπαν: II² 1647.3 (ca. 350) inv.; II² 1627.230 (330/29) inv., has ἀνφιδέαι *ib.* 317, but ἐμ πλῶι e.g. *ib.* 278, ἐμ μέν *ib.* 275, Παμφίλου *ib.* 433, ἐμ φιδανκίω *ib.* 313, 315–316, ἀγκυρα *passim*.

συνπληρῶν: II² 1668.71 (347/6) inv., has συνκ- *ib.* 82, συνστο- *ib.* 72, συμβαλῶν *ib.* 73.

But the assimilated spellings were certainly normal, cf. more than fifteen cases of συμπρόεδροι in decrees of 315–300 B. C.; σύμπας in naval inventories, II² 1624.125 (336–330), II² 1612.232, 236 (356/5); etc.; σύμπας also in II² 1487.95 (post 307/6), alongside ἀνκ- (cf. p. 598 supra), Πανφ- (cf. p. 607 supra) inv.

συνπ- occurs occasionally throughout the period 300–31 B. C.:

συνπληροῦντα: II² 1685.B₃7, B₄6 (init. s. III a.) inv., has συνβαλ[] *ib.* A₁4.

συνπλεύσαντες: AE 1953–54 Part 1, p. 130, no. 3, lines 11, 34 (cf. SEG 15.112) (ca. 225) decree.

συνπέμψαντες: II² 1006.15 (122/1) decree, has ΣΥΝΕΔΡΟΙ = συνπρόεδροι *ib.* 5, ἐμβολίμωι *ib.* 3, ἐμ Μου[νιχίαι] *ib.* 29, etc.

συνπρωτρεψάμενος: II² 1039.29 (79/8, cf. SEG 22.110) decree, has συμμέτρους *ib.* 30, ἐμ πειρίας *ib.* 19, ἐμφανίζουσιν *ib.* 14, etc.

συνπ[ρ]ο[ε]ύ[φ]ωγται: *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p. 65, no. 31, line 25 (s. I a.) lex sacra.

συνπρόεδροι: Not rare in decrees throughout the period: II² 641.10 (299/8); Dinsmoor, *Archons* (1931) p. 7, line 6 (= II² 649.6) (294/3); *Hesperia* 7 (1938) p. 100, no. 18, line 8

(282/1); Π² 666.5 (266/5, cf. SEG 15.103), συμφέρωντι *ib.* 13; Π² 685.8 (265/4); Π² 781.6 (250/49); Π² 832.6 (229/8); Π² 837.7 (227/6); Π² 838.9 (226/5); *Hesperia* 23 (1954) p. 236, no. 7, line 6 (214/3); Π² 886.5 (181/0, cf. TAPA 95 [1964] p. 239; SEG 16.78); Π² 890.5 (188/7); *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p. 59, no. 14, line 38, where συμπρόεδροι is incorrectly printed, cf. plate 11 (= Π² 912.4) (ca. 210/9–201/200); Π² 948.7 (init. s. II a.); *Hesperia* 33 (1964) p. 192, no. 41 A, line 6 (ca. 130?); Π² 1005.5 (122/1); Π² 1006.5 (cf. *supra*) (122/1); Π² 1008.3 (118/7), alongside ξυμβ- *ib.* 66, 79, Σύμμαχος *ib.* col. 2.107; Π² 1009.31 (116/5), has ἐνλείποντες *ib.* 9, ξυμβάλλεσθαι *ib.* 13, 49; Π² 1011.4 (106/5), alongside συμπρόεδροι *ib.* 33, 65, ξυμβάλλεσθαι *ib.* 24, 46, 56, σύμμαχος *ib.* 18, 68, 78; Π² 1012.9 (112/1); Π² 1034.a–c 5 (98/7); Π² 1046.6–7 (52/1), has ἐγρανμάτευν (cf. p. 597 *supra*); Π² 1043.5 (38/7), has ἐφφανίζουσιν *ib.* 17, συνμέτρους *ib.* 29, but συμμάχων *ib.* 9, 12, ἐμφανίζουσιν *ib.* 62 (all L.).

In the third and second centuries B.C. συμπ- was certainly normal, cf. συμπρόεδροι, more than twice as frequent as συνπρόεδροι; in the first century B.C. examples of συνπ- are about as frequent as συμπ- but attestations are few.

c) In Roman times only συμφ- and συνφ- are frequent. The assimilated spelling was certainly normal: cf. the names Συμφέρων, Σύφορος, etc., where spellings in συνφ- account for slightly less than 20% of the attestations. Both spellings may occur in the same text, cf. Σύνφορος Π² 2212.16 (init. s. III p.) eph. cat., alongside Συμφόρου *ib.* 48, Συμφέροντος *ib.* 21.

συνβ- is rare in Roman times:

σύνβιον: Π² 10590 a (in add.) (s. II/III p.) sep. mon.

συνβούλοιο: Π² 13189.27–28, Π² 13202.10 (L.) (both ca. 150 p.) sep. curse-texts set up by Herodes Atticus; contrast six instances of συμβάλοιο in other texts of this type: Π² 13188.21, Π² 13191.30–31, Π² 13192.17–18, Π² 13193.33–34, Π² 13196.26, Π² 13203.6 (all ca. 150 p.) and one case of συμβούλοιο, Π² 13195.27–28 (ca. 150 p.).

Cf. σύμ[β]ολα in an imp. letter which otherwise consistently avoids assimilation (has ἐνβ-, συνκ-, ἀνανακίων, etc.), cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 13 (1970) pp. 3 ff., line E 6 (ca. 175 p.).

Both συμπ- and συνπ- are fairly infrequent; συνπ- occurs sufficiently frequently that it may be assumed that the unassimilated spelling of συν- was more common before the voiceless stop than elsewhere, as it had been in the Hellenistic Period. Cf. e.g. συνπλεῦσαντες Π² 3003.5 (init. s. I p.) ded.; συνπρόεδροι Π² 1072.4 (166/7 p.) decree; σύνπαντος Π² 1074.8 (cf. *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 [1937] p. 193, no. 121) (ca. 120 p.) decree; συνπνεῖν Π² 2291.b 22 (fin. s. II p.) oration of ephebes; σύνπασα Π² 3692.7, Π² 3699.12 (both ante 250 p.) dedications; etc.

48.04242 συν-/—μ-

a) In the fifth century assimilation is the rule.

Cf. e.g. (χ)συμμαχ-: I² 39.27 (446/5), I² 50.23 (440/39), I² 51.1 (433/2), I² 55.6 (cf. BSA 49 [1954] p. 29) (ca. 430, cf. SEG 14.7); I² 57.42 (423), I² 71.45 (ca. 436, cf. SEG 21.30), I² 97.18 (416), I² 98.5 (416/5), I² 102.3 (412/1), I² 116.15 (409/8 aut ca. 407, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 267, no. 87) decrees; I² 301.14 (409/8, cf. SEG 23.35) inv.; etc. σύμ[μει]κτον: I² 310.302–303 (429/8) inv.

Failure to assimilate is rare:

χσυ|νμάχος: I² 86.6 (420/19) decree.

χ|συνμαχ(αν): I² 26.5 (ca. 448) decree.

χσύνμα[χ]ου: SEG 10.48.21 (= I² 52.21, corrected) (433/2) decree, alongside χσυμμαχ- *ib.* 2, 16.

Probably also χσυνμαχ- in I² 10.22, 23, 30 (453/2, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.89, no.40) decree from an early copy; for χσυμμαχ- recorded for *ib.* 40, cf. p.512 *supra*.

b) In the fourth century and Hellenistic times συνμ- is scarcely attested:

συνμάχων: II² 467.10 (306/5) decree, has συνφ- *al.* (L.).

Contrast συμμαχ- *passim* in decrees of the period 400–ca. 50 B.C. and σύμμεικτος, frequent in inventories of the fourth century B.C.

In a decree of 38/7 occur both συνμέτρους, cf. II² 1043.29, and συμμαχων *ib.* 9, 12 (L.).

c) In Roman times συνμ- again competes with συμμ-, cf.:

συνμαχ-: II² 10191 (s. Ip.) sep. mon.

Συνμαχών: II² 2167.21 (s. IIp.) eph. cat. (anthroponym).

συνμέτρους: *Hesperia*, suppl. 6 (1941) p.108, no.24, line 34 (= II² 1108.6) (ca. 176–180 p.) series of imp. letters.

But συμμ- is also found, cf. e.g.:

συμμαχ-: II² 3299.5 (132 p.) ded., alongside συνγ- (L.); II² 1091.8 (138–161 p.) decree (Pan-hellenes).

That συμμ- was normal is evident from many cases of the name Σύμμαχος in pryt. and eph. catalogs:

II² 1970.21 (45/6 p.); II² 1735.6 (40/1–53/4 p.); II² 1973.49 (40/1–53/4 p.); II² 1996.47 (84/5–92/3 p.); II² 2049.139 (142/3 p.) (L.); II² 2068.190, 255 (155/6 p.) (L.); II² 2097.265 (169/70 p.); II² 2111/12.46, 47 (182/3–190/1 p.); II² 1813.7 (ca. 200 p.); II² 2212.43 (init. s. IIp.); II² 2221.48 (217/8 p. aut paulo post) (L.); etc. Cf. also II² 3801.6 (ca. 150 p.) ded.; II² 6745 (s. Ip.), II² 11781 (act. Rom.) sep. monuments; etc.

For Συμαχία, cf. 43.012, no.3, p.515 *supra*.

48.04243 συν-/___velars

a) In the fifth century συγγ- is slightly more frequent than συνγ-; there are probably too few examples of συγκ- and συνκ- to allow a judgment whether one spelling was normal.

Hesitation between the assimilated and etymological spelling can probably be seen in χ|συνγ- γα[φῆς, occurring in a decree, cf. I² 22.3 (450/49, cf. SEG 23.7) (L.); the suggestion of Bradeen-McGregor p.32 that an Ionic χ|συνγγ- has been corrected to an Attic χ|συνγγ- by mere insertion of the ny without removal of the extra gamma is unjustified, as the evidence does not warrant the assumption that the assimilated spellings were 'Ionic' in this period.

χσυνγραφ- occurs in a decree, I² 76.48 (435–414, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 222), alongside χσυνγραφ- in *ib.* 3, 59.

Other cases of the unassimilated spellings are:

χσυνγεγραμμένα: AM 66 (1941) pp. 171ff., no. 1, line B 11 (= SEG 10.38; 21.27) (ca. 445) sacred calendar.

χσυνκείμενα: I² 18.4 (457–445, cf. SEG 21.7) decree.

χσυνγραφ-: I² 44.6 (ca. 445) decree.

χ[συν]κε[ί]μενα: *Hesperia* 7 (1938) p. 80, no. 8, line 15 (= I² 90 + new fr.) (422) decree.

συνγραφ-: I² 109.8 (410/9) decree (L.).

ξύνκειται: II² 1.17 (403/2) decree, has ἐνκλημα, συνπ-, συμπ-, συμβ- *al.*

For the assimilated spellings, cf.:

συνγλειόντον: I² 91.17 (434/3, cf. SEG 22.7; 24.3) decree.

χσυνγραφ-: I² 24.8, 14, 18 (ca. 448, cf. SEG 21.20) decree; I² 45.15 (439/8, cf. SEG 21.29; 10.34) decree; I² 377.19 (434–432) inv.; I² 81.16 (421/0) decree; I² 844/845.A 4 (410–405, cf. SEG 21.94) *lex sacra*.

συν[γγραφσά]μενος: I² 310.181–182 (429/8) inv.

b) In the fourth century and the Hellenistic Period there is certainly no preference for the assimilated spellings. *συνγ-* is somewhat more common than *συνγ-*, but before *κ* and *χ*, *συν-* is more frequent than *συνγ-*.

συνκείμενα: II² 1678.a A 8 (ca. 350, cf. SEG 13.49) inv., has *συνγ- al.*

σύγκλητος: II² 945.5 (168/7) decree, has *συνπ- ib.* 7; II² 1224.e 11 (ca. 166) decree (cleruchs), has *συνχαρήσονται ib.* ab 18 (cf. *infra*).

συνκαταστρέψομαι: II² 127.44 (356/5) decree.

συνκολλήσας: II² 1668.82 (347/6) inv., has *συνγ-, σγγ-, συνπ- al.*

συνκόλλητ-: II² 1533.29 (post 338/7) inv.

συνκατετάττοντο: II² 237.12 (338/7) decree.

συνκαθίζει: *Hesperia* 21 (1952) p. 355, no. 5, lines 14, 19 (337/6) law of the nomothetai, *συνκαταστήσει ib.* 8.

]συνκ[: *Hesperia* 28 (1959) pp. 208ff., line 37 (= II² 1559.12) (ca. 330–320) inv.

σύνκλινου: II² 2350.1 (fin. s. IV a./init. s. III a.) cat.

συνκαθίστημι: II² 1283.14 (263/2, cf. SEG 24.155) decree (Thracian aliens): *συνκαθίστανα]ι;* *συνκ[ατ]έστησεν* II² 774.b 8 (ca. 250) decree, has *συνβάντος ib.* 14.

συνκ[ομισθῶσιν: *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p. 287, no. 56, line 11 (= II² 791 + new fr.) (247/6) decree.

σύνκλητος: II² 897.4 (185/4) decree; Meritt, *Athenian Year* p. 195, no. 3 (= SEG 21.440) (181/0) decree.

βουλευτηρίω[ι σύ]νκλητος: *Hesperia* 41 (1972) p. 46, no. 2, line 2 (= II² 954 + *Hesperia* 37 [1968] p. 272, no. 11) (166/5) decree.

συνγονφώσας: II² 463.77 (307/6) decree, has *ἐνκ-* bis.

συγγραφ-: Π² 204.68 (352/1) decree; Π² 1540.51 (ante 350) inv.; Π² 1678.aA 15, 16, 18, 19, aB 39 (ca. 350, cf. SEG 13.49) inv., has συγχ- *al.*; Π² 1668.95 (347/6) inv., alongside συγγραφ- *ib.* 2, has συνκ-, συνπ- *al.*; Π² 244.7, 41, 42, 47 (337/6) decree.

συνγγραφ-: Π² 1668.2 (347/6) inv., alongside συγγραφ- *ib.* 95 (cf. *supra*), has συνκ-, συνπ-.

For συγγραφ- in Π² 1670.25, cf. 41.011, no. 38, p. 487 *supra*.

συγγένειαν: Π² 885.17 (ca. 200) decree.

συγγενείς: Π² 1051.c25 (= *Hesperia* 36 [1967] p. 66, no. 12) (post 38/7, ante 31) decree, has ἔνκλημα, ἐνγράφους *ib.* a 11, c 14 (cf. p. 603 *supra*), συμπ- *ib.* a 15 (all L.).

συνχωρήσαι: Π² 457.b 18 (307/6) decree.

συνχωρήσονται: Π² 1224.ab 18 (ca. 166) decree (cleruchs), has σύγκλητος *ib.* e 11 (cf. *supra*).

συνχορήσασθ[αι]: Π² 968.16 (143/2) decree.

συγχ- is not attested.

c) In Roman times the assimilated spellings have virtually passed out of use:

συνκλη-: *Hesperia* 10 (1941) pp. 72ff., no. 32, line 39 (85/6–94/5 p.) ded.; Π² 3610.6 (ca. 150 p.), Π² 4071.19 (ca. 150 p.) dedications; Π² 1368.126 (ca. 162/3 p.) Iobacchi regulations, has συνεχωρήσθω *ib.* 157, has ἀναγκαίως, ἐνκαλ-, etc.; Π² 3646.2, 11 (fin. s. II p.) ded.; Π² 4079.6 (s. II p.) ded.; Π² 2208.8–9 (212/3 p. aut paulo post) eph. cat.; *Hesperia* 12 (1943) p. 81, no. 25, line 10 (215–217 p.) decree; Π² 3709.13 (ca. 250 p.) ded.; Π² 1120.7 (301 p.) imp. edict.

Ἀσύγκριτος: SEG 19.295 (s. II p.) sep. mon., has ἀνπελουργός (cf. p. 597 *supra*).

συνκεχώρηται: Π² 1099.16 (121 p.) imp. letter.

συνκομιδής: Π² 1100.7, 12, 28 (ca. 124 p.) imp. edict.

συνκεχ[ώρηκα: *Hesperia*, suppl. 12 (1967) pp. 187–193, line 25 (= Π² 1112 + new fr.) (182–184 p.) imp. letter, has ἐνκομιῶν *ib.* 22.

συνκεχωρήσθω: Π² 1368.157 (ca. 162/3 p.) Iobacchi regulations, has συνκλη-, etc. (cf. *supra*); *Hesperia*, suppl. 13 (1970) pp. 3ff., line E99 (ca. 175 p.) imp. letter (has συγχ-, ἐνβ-, ἐνκ-, etc.).

συνκαθ[ύρῃσαι: *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p. 85, no. 37, line 6 (= Π² 1081/5 + Π² 1116 + new fr.) (203 p.) decree.

συνκτη[: Π² 1086.24 (init. s. III p.?) decree, has συνφω[*ib.* 4.

συνγραφεύς: Π² 5506 (aet. Hadriani) sep. mon., the text is in Old Attic (archaizing) style with H = [h], etc.

συνγενίδος: Π² 3299.5 (132 p.) ded., alongside συμμάχου in the same line (L.).

συνγραφέα: Π² 3669.7 (ca. 269/70 p.) ded.

συνγε[νείας: Π² 6797.6–7 (s. III p.) sep. mon., has ἐμβάς in *ib.* 1.

Exceptional:

συνγραφέα: Π² 3806.2 (fin. s. II p.) ded.

συνχέαι, συνχυθῆναι are normal in the various sep. curse-texts set up (ca. 150 p.) by Herodes Atticus, cf. Π² 13188.22; Π² 13189.29; Π² 13190.29; Π² 13191.10; Π² 13192.20; Π² 13194.24, 40; Π² 13195.16, 30; Π² 13196.27; Π² 13197.16; Π² 13198.18; Π² 13200.13; Π² 13201.22; Π² 13202.12–13; Π² 13206.10. The only exception is συγχέαι in Π² 13208.2, known only from a copy of Lenormant, perhaps inaccurate. συγχέαι also in *Hesperia*, suppl. 13 (1970) pp. 3ff., line E15 (ca. 175 p.) imp. letter.

48.04244 σύν-/___λ-

The fifth-century cases are too few to allow judgment whether συλλ- or συνλ- was normal or both were used with about equal frequency.

χσ|υλλέγεται: ATL 2, no. D 7.8 (= I² 66; Meiggs-Lewis p. 117, no. 46) (447?) decree.

χσ|υλλέφσμαι: I² 39.7 (446/5) decree.

χ|συλλέφσε[ος]: I² 42.24 (ca. 446) decree.

συνλ[ογέας: I² 129.3 (ante 415?) decree.

συνλέβδεν: *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p. 268, no. 6, line 107 (= I² 325.21) (ca. 414) inv.

Failure to assimilate is rare in the period 400–31 B. C.:

συνλογῆς: *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p. 73, no. 29, line 19 (228/7) decree.

συνλειτουργῶν: II² 1329.15 (175/4) decree (orgeones), has συνφ-, συνστ- *al.*

Contrast the following:

συλλογ-: II² 411.17, 19 (post 336/5) decree; II² 1254.22 (post 350) decree (paraloi); II² 1257.B3 (324/3) decree (συλλογῆς τοῦ δήμου); II² 1425.126, 129, 225 (368/7) inv.; II² 790.20 (235/4) decree; *Hesperia* 23 (1954) p. 236, no. 7, line 15 (214/3) decree; II² 890.14 (188/7) decree; II² 1004.12 (122/1) decree; II² 1343.11 (ca. 37/6) decree (soteriastai); etc.

For the Roman Period, cf.:

συ|λλήβδην: II² 2291 b.23 (fin. s. II p.) oration (ephebes), has συνπνεῖν *al.*; but cf. συνληφθέντα: *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p. 78, no. 34, line 6 (s. II p.) letter of a Roman official; συνλήπτορες: II² 10699 a (in add.) (s. II/III p.) sep. mon.

48.04245 σύν-/___σ-

Not frequent enough in pre-Roman texts to allow a judgment as to what was normal, cf.:

συσεμαινόσθον: I² 91.17 (434/3, cf. SEG 22.7; 24.3) decree.

συσστοιβ[ῶν]: II² 1671.7 (ca. 330) inv.

-- συστάσεις: II² 1051.c4 (= *Hesperia* 36 [1967] p. 66, no. 12) (post 38/7, ante 31) decree (L.).

But cf. also:

συνστρώσει: II² 1668.61, 72 (347/6) inv.

συνσταλῶσιν: II² 1329.11 (175/4) decree (orgeones).

In Roman times usage was not standardized, and both συστ- (συσστ- is not found) and συνστ- are well attested. Normally a single text is consistent in its choice of the assimilated spelling or the etymological one, but a ded. of the third century A.D. has both, cf. οἱ συσ[τάται], τὸν συν[στρεμμα]τάρχην in II² 3768.2–4 (post 243/4 p.) (L., line 2 now broken: οἱ σ[υστάται]).

Cf. e.g.:

συστάτης: II² 1970.15 (45/6 p.), II² 2024.9 (112/3 p.), II² 2104.5 (173/4 p.) all eph. catalogs.

συνστάτης: II² 2023.63, 67, 70, 73, 76, 79, 82 (ca. 112 p.) eph. cat.; II² 3740.20 (142/3 p.) ded.

σύσπρεμμα-, συσπρεμματάρχης: Π² 2055.4 (145/6 p.), Π² 2087.26 (163/4 p.) eph. catalogs; Π² 3749.8 (169/70 p.) ded.; Π² 2124.6 (190–200 p.); Π² 2129.3 (190–200 p.); Π² 2197.11, 13 (paulo post 200 p.); Π² 2222.7 (217/8 p. aut paulo post); Π² 2233.10 (ca. 230 p.); Π² 2237.62 (230–235 p.); Π² 2239.191 (238/9–243/4 p.) (L.) eph. catalogs.

συνσπρεμμα-: Π² 2047.7 (140/1 p.), Π² 2113.40, 43, 44, 45 (183/4–191/2 p.), Π² 2127.6 (190–200 p.), Π² 2203.76 (paulo post 200 p.), Π² 2208.82, 90, 92, 111, 112 (212/3 p. aut paulo post), Π² 2245.301 (262/3 aut 266/7 p.), *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p. 71, no. 37, line 24 (= *Hesperia* 2 [1933] p. 505, no. 17) (fin. s. III p.), *AE* 1950/51 p. 48, no. 30, line 5 (= Π² 2247 + Π² 2250 + Π² 2484) (ante 192/3 p.) all eph. catalogs.

συνστέη: Π² 1121.44 (305/6 p.) imp. edict.

συνστέφανοι: Π² 2025.7 (112/3 p.) eph. cat.

For συνζεύξαντι, cf. p. 592 *supra*.

48.0425 -νβροτος/-μβροτος

Both ν and μ are found in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods, cf. Δεξίνβροτος in Π² 494.9, but Δεξίμβροτος (the same man) in Π² 493.9, two decrees of the year 303/2. Cf. also [Κ]λεόνβροτος Π² 929.28 (ca. 460, cf. *SEG* 14.19) cas. list, has [Σ]υνφέρμιος *ib.* 46; Ἐχεν[βρότωι Π² 365.b 14 (323/2) decree. But Ἐχεμβρότο Π² 63.2, cf. 8 (ante 378/7) decree; Στησιμβρότο Π² 1635.104 (post 374/3) inv.; Φιλομβρότου Π² 674.26 (273/2) decree.

48.05 Assimilation of final ν

Examples are most frequent in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., and the phenomenon has ceased by the beginning of the Roman Period. Assimilation is well attested before the labials π, β, φ, and μ, and the velars κ, γ, and χ. Assimilation of ἐν before στ- is also well attested in the phrase ἐν στήλῃ (cf. p. 634 *infra*). Assimilation before ῥ, λ, ξ, ψ is rare (cf. pp. 632–633 *infra*).

48.051–48.054 Assimilation of final nasals/—π, β, φ, μ, κ, γ, χ

Assimilation is better attested before labials than before velars.

The large number of examples can be divided into four groups:

a) Assimilation of ἐν. As might be expected, the proclitic ἐν shows the greatest amount of assimilation to the following word (pp. 617–620 *infra*).

b) Assimilation of ἐάν, ὅταν, etc.; ἄν. Well attested, especially in phrases like ἐὰν μή, ὡς ἀμ βούληται, etc. (pp. 620–624 *infra*).

c) Assimilation of the definite article. Very frequent, especially in the fourth century; rare before 425 and after 300 B.C. The assimilated spellings never comprise as much as 50% of the instances (cf. pp. 624–629 *infra*).

d) Other types. Certain texts show particular fondness for assimilations of other types, but examples are otherwise not of great frequency (pp. 629–632 *infra*).

For σύν sufficient data is lacking to justify analysis. Note σύν κακῶι in verses on a public sep. mon., AM 57 (1932) p. 142, no. 1, line 7 (= SEG 10.410) (446, cf. SEG 21.123).

48.051 Assimilation of ἐν/—π, β, φ, μ, κ, γ, χ

a) ἐν π-, ἐμ π-.

α) Assimilation is frequent before π in the fifth century from the 480s on. Thus in the frequent formula ἐμ πόλει the spelling ἐν πόλει is unusual: cf. I² 82.18 (421/0); I² 106.22 (409/8, cf. SEG 24.16); I² 112.5 (410/9): ἐν πό[λει?]; I² 146.6 (fin. s. Va.?): ἐν πό[λει?]; all decrees. But normally ἐμ πόλει, from the decree of 485/4 on, cf. e.g.: I² 4.1, 13, 14 (485/4); I² 6.33, 119 (ante 460); I² 32.5 (451/0, cf. SEG 21.9); *Hesperia* 14 (1945) p. 85, no. 4, line 9 (ca. 450); I² 27.9 (450/49, cf. SEG 21.15); *Hesperia* 16 (1947) p. 78, no. 1, line 9 (= I² 36 + new fr.) (ca. 447/6); I² 35.19 (ante 445) (decree fr.?): I² 45.18 (439/8, cf. SEG 21.29; 10.34); I² 91.15, 21, 30 (434/3); I² 55.3 (cf. BSA 49 [1954] p. 29) (ca. 430, cf. SEG 14.7); I² 76.50–51 (435–414, cf. Meiggs–Lewis p. 222); I² 56.24 (ca. 430?); I² 153.2 (post 446, ante 430); *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p. 230, no. 42, line 7 (430/29, cf. *Hesperia* 21 [1952] p. 349); *Hesperia* 13 (1944) p. 211, no. 2, line 11 (= II² 55 + new fr.) (428/7); *AJP* 88 (1967) pp. 29ff., line 26 (= new fr. of *ATL* 2, no. D8; I² 65) (426/5); *Hesperia* 14 (1945) p. 115, no. 10, line 3 (425/4); *Hesperia* 14 (1945) p. 106, no. 9, line 38 (= I² 68 a + I² 69 b–c + new fr.) (424/3); I² 90.23 (422, cf. SEG 21.46); I² 117.8 (408/7): ἐμ [πόλει]; I² 157.6 (post 446/5); I² 170.4 (446–404) all decrees; I² 188.61 (= Sokolowski, *Lois*² p. 18, no. 10) (ante 460) law (deme); cf. ἐμ π[όλει] in I² 840.10 (cf. SEG 25.7) (init. s. Va.?) lex sacra; ἐμ πόλει also in the inventories, I² 372.1 (409/8), I² 313.5 (408/7), I² 314.4 (407/6); in a few fourth-century decrees, II² 53.7 (390–370, cf. SEG 24.77); II² 57.4 (ante 386); but ἐν πόλει in II² 8.2, decree of 424/3 inscribed shortly after 403/2, cf. SEG 19.16; 24.9.

ἐν is usually assimilated before π in other phrases in this period, cf. ἐμ πεδίοι I² 840.12 (cf. SEG 25.7) (init. s. Va.?) lex sacra; ἐμ πεδίοι I² 842.C7–8 (ante 446/5) sacred calendar; ἐμ πολέμοι AM 57 (1932) p. 142, no. 1, line 2 (= SEG 10.410) (446, cf. SEG 21.123) verses on a public sep. mon.; ἐμ πρυτανεῖοι I² 77.4 (ca. 435, cf. SEG 21.31) decree, alongside ἐν πρυτανεῖοι *ib.* 13; ἐμ πινακίωι I² 127.10 (post 433) decree; ἐμ Ποτ[ειδαί]αι I² 945.1 (432/1) cas. list, ἐμ πρ[ομάχοις] *ib.* 11; ἐμ Ποτειδ[αί]αι I² 57.28 (423) decree; ἐμ Ποτειδαίαι I² 949.40 (423, cf. SEG 25.57) cas. list, ἐμ Πύλοι *ib.* 48; ἐμ Περαι[εῖ] *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p. 240, no. 1, line 33 (= I² 329.14) (ca. 414) inv., but ἐν Προποντίδι I² 195.25 (= *ATL* 2, no. 5, col. 4.13) (450/49) tribute list.

β) In the period 400–100 B.C. assimilation of ἐν before π is certainly normal, although examples of failure to assimilate are not infrequent in all types of text. Occasionally texts contain both spellings: ἐμ Πειραιε[ῖ] II² 1388.68 (398/7) inv., alongside ἐν πινακίωι *ib.* 57. Note also the inv. of objects dedicated by manumitted slaves, *Hesperia* 28 (1959) pp. 208ff. (= II² 1554–II² 1559 + new fr.) (ca. 330–320), where only ἐμ Πε-, etc. occurs on Face A, cf. lines 100, 104, 112, 148, 371, 497, 501, but on Face B (in a more slovenly hand), both ἐμ Π-, etc., e.g. lines B 60, B 70, B 94, B 96, B 212, B 214, and ἐν Πειρ-, etc., e.g. lines B 19, B 37, B 40 (for ἐπ Πειραιεῖ in *ib.* B 35, cf. p. 637 *infra*). ἐμ Πειραιεῖ, ἐμ παντί *Hesperia* 5 (1936) p. 419, no. 15, lines 4, 8 (196/5) decree, but ἐν πρυ[τανεῖωι], ἐν πᾶσι *ib.* 34, 35.

This sort of inconsistency is more frequent in the first century B.C., cf. ἐμ πάσαις, ἐμ Πειραιεῖ II² 1029.19, 22 (96/5) decree, ἐν Πτολεμαίωι *ib.* 25; ἐμ πάσαις II² 1039.57 (79/8, cf. SEG

22.110) decree, alongside ἐν πᾶσι ib. 7; ἐμ Πειραιῶι Π² 2336.83 (102/1–97/6) cat., but ἐν Πειραιῶι ib. 140 (in the same hand; lines 1–51 in the other hand).

γ) In Roman times ἐμ π- is very rare: ἐμ Παλλαδίωι Π² 1096.3, 11 (aet. Augusti) letter (of an Attic genos); ἐμ Πειραιῶι Π² 5146 (aet. Rom.; Augusti?) label on a theatre-seat.

b) ἐν β-, ἐμ β-

ἐν is assimilated before β- in fifth-century texts: ἐμ Βυζαντίωι Π² 943.49 (440/39) cas. list; ἐμ Βοῦναι Π² 45.28 (439/8, cf. SEG 21.29; 10.34) decree; οἰκία ἐμ Βάττει *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p. 268, no. 6, line 94 (= Π² 325.9) (ca. 414) inv.; ἐμ [β]ολεῖ Π² 114.28 (410/9, cf. SEG 24.15) decree.

In the period 400–100 B.C. assimilation before β- is normal, but ἐν β- is sufficiently common that it cannot be described as rare. Thus in decrees ἐν βουλευτηρίωι is exceptional: Π² 361.5 (325/4); Π² 912.3 (210/9–201/200); *Agora* 15, p. 118, no. 128, line 43 (= Π² 917 + new fr.) (223/2); but normally ἐμ βουλευτηρίωι, e.g.: *Hesperia* 21 (1952) p. 367, no. 8, line 6 (303/2); Π² 847.6 (215/4); *Agora* 15, p. 132, no. 147, line 33 (= Π² 915 + new fr.) (203/2); *Agora* 15, p. 145, no. 168, line 27 (= Π² 920 + new fr.) (193/2); *Hesperia* 17 (1948) p. 17, no. 8, line 3 (ca. 190); Π² 897.4 (185/4); Π² 898.5 (185/4): ἐμ βουλ[ευτηρίωι]; Meritt, *Athenian Year* p. 195, no. 3, line 3 (= SEG 21.440) (181/0); *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p. 120, no. 64, line 29 (178/7); *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p. 33, no. 6, line 44 (173/2); *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p. 75, line 38 (= *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 [1937] p. 142, no. 79 + *Hesperia* 15 [1946] p. 140, no. 3 + new fr.) (164/3); Π² 948.5 (init. s. II a.); *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p. 148, no. 84, line 45 (= *Hesperia* 3 [1934] p. 31, no. 21) (155/4); Π² 1012.6 (112/1); etc.

Cf. ἐμ Βοιωτοῖς Π² 5221.1 (394/3) sep. mon. (publ.); ἐμ βεβαίωι Π² 43.11 (378/7) decree; but ἐν Βυζαντίωι in Π² 550.17 (307/6), Π² 555.13, 17 (307/6–304/3) decrees.

The rare cases of ἐν before β- after 100 B.C. do not show assimilation: ἐν βουλευτηρίωι Π² 1033.6 (94/3, cf. SEG 18.29), Π² 1046.5 (52/1) decrees; ἐν βιβλίοις Π² 1121.29 (305/6 p.) imp. edict.

c) ἐν φ-, ἐμ φ-

Occurrences of ἐν before words beginning with φ are too few to allow a statement about the frequency of assimilation that was normal: cf. ἐν Φοινίκει Π² 929.3 (ca. 460, cf. SEG 14.19) cas. list; ἐμ Φιλομηλιδῶν Π² 1582.71 (cf. *Hesperia* 19 [1950] p. 244, no. 16) (342/1) inv.; cf. the letters ΕΜΦ on Attic tetradrachms, an abbreviation for ἐμ Φιλομηλιδῶν, cf. Kirchner's note in *IG* Π² (p. 173); ἐμ φιδακνίωι, ἐμ|φιδακνίωι Π² 1627.313, 315–316 (330/29) inv., has ἀνφιδέαι, ἐμ πλῶι, etc. (cf. p. 596 supra).

d) ἐν μ-, ἐμ μ-

Assimilation occurs in the few fifth-century cases of ἐν before words beginning with μ: cf. *Hesperia* 14 (1945) p. 106, no. 9, line 42 (= Π² 68 a + Π² 69 b–c + new fr.) (424/3) decree; *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p. 249, no. 2, line 82 (ca. 414) inv., has ἐμ π-, ἐγ γ-, ἐλ λ-; *Hesperia* 22, p. 287, no. 10, line 17 (ca. 414) inv., has ἐγ γ-, ἐς σ-.

In the fourth century assimilation is normal: cf. Π² 204.37 (352/1), Π² 550.9 (307/6) decrees; *Hesperia* 9 (1940) p. 314, no. 31 G (ca. 375) ded.; and frequently in inventories, e.g. *Hesperia* 29 (1960) p. 54, no. 76, line 4 (init. s. IV a.); *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p. 206, no. 2, line 17 (post 367/6); *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p. 208, no. 3, line 2 (ante 350); *Hesperia* 5 (1936) p. 393, no. 10, line 52 (= new fr. of Π² 1582, cf. *Hesperia* 19 [1950] p. 244, no. 16) (342/1); *Hesperia* 15 (1946) p. 185, no. 32, line 21 (ca. 350); cf. the inventories of objects dedicated by manumitted slaves, all dated ca. 330–320: Π² 1553.26; *Hesperia* 28 (1959) pp. 208 ff. (= Π² 1554–Π² 1559 + new fr.)

9 cases of ἐμ μ- on Face A, none of ἐν μ-; on Face B (in a more slovenly hand) 7 cases of ἐμ μ-, 2 of ἐν μ- (lines B 14, B 15); II² 1561.22, 26; II² 1569.22, 26, 29, 45, 57, alongside ἐν μ- *ib.* 53; II² 1570.80, 85, alongside ἐν μ- *ib.* 15; II² 1571.8; II² 1576.15–16, 29, 32, 35, 38, 65; etc.; II² 1631.254 (323/2) naval inv.; etc.

In the period 300–100 B.C. assimilation to ἐμ before μ- is virtually universal, cf. II² 1243.21 (ca. 250) decree (Marathonian tetrapolis); II² 903.4 (176/5) decree; *Hesperia* 3 (1934) p. 67, no. 62 (post 166) ded.; *Hesperia* 5 (1936) p. 429, no. 17, line 19 (= *Hesperia* 3 [1934] p. 18, no. 18) (169/8) decree; II² 1224.abc6, 15, 17, 21, 24 (ca. 166) decree (cleruchs); II² 1006.29, 69 (122/1) decree; etc.

Exceptional: ἐν Μακεδονίαι II² 3779.18 (ca. 250) ded.

ἐμ μ- is attested as late as ca. 37–32 B.C.: II² 1051.a 10, c 13 (= *Hesperia* 36 [1967] p. 66, no. 12) (post 38/7, ante 31) decree (L.), but ἐν μ- in II² 1029.13 (96/5) decree; II² 1035.10 (10/9–3/2, cf. p. 124 *supra*, no. 59) decree; II² 2776.24, 66 (aet. Trajani, cf. *Hesperia* 41 [1972] p. 476) financial doc.

e) ἐν κ-, ἐγ κ-

α) In fifth-century texts assimilation of ἐν before κ is well attested but certainly cannot be described as normal: ἐν is nearly as frequent as ἐγ. A large inv. of 408–406 shows an exclusive use of ἐν before toponyms beginning with κ, cf. I² 374.14, 29, 60, 70, 86, 93, 235, 322–323 (L.); but another inv. of 409/8 uses only ἐγ before toponyms beginning with κ, cf. I² 373.20, 56, 60, 63, 65, 77, 83, 105, 117, 255, 257. The Attic Stelai show a strong preference for assimilation, cf. ἐγ Κυκλώει *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p. 268, no. 6, line 106 (= I² 325.20) (ca. 414) inv., ἐγ Κυδαθηναίοι *ib.* 76, alongside ἐν Κολλυτῶι *ib.* 13, has ἐγ X- (cf. *infra*); ἐγ Κολωναῖς *Hesperia* 36 (1967) p. 84, no. 16, line 3 (ca. 414) inv. Cf. also ἐγ Κλαμαδῶν I² 101.5 (412/1) decree; ἐγ κύκλοι I² 372.41, 61 (409/8) inv., ἐγ | κύκλοι *ib.* 67–68; ἐγ | κίβωτοι I² 386.22 (ca. 406, cf. SEG 10.219) inv.; but ἐν Κύπρῳ I² 929.2 (ca. 460, cf. SEG 14.19) cas. list; ἐν Κολ[οφῶν] I² 34.13 (ante 445) decree fr. (?); ἐν Κ[υνοσάργει] I² 310.308 (429/8) inv.; ἐν κέποις I² 324.85, 92 (426/5–423/2) inv.

β) In fourth-century texts ἐγ is slightly more frequent before κ than ἐν. Thus in inventories both ἐγ κίβωτοι, ἐγ Κολλυτῶι, etc. and ἐν κίβωτοι, etc. are well attested. For ἐγ κ-, cf. e.g. II² 1400.57, 66 (390/89), II² 1415.5 (post 385/4, non post 378/7, cf. SEG 21.548), II² 1421.116 (374/3, cf. SEG 21.549), II² 1424a (in add.) 38, 314, 315, 318, 354 (369/8), II² 1428 (in add.) 157 (367/6), II² 1445.40, 45 (375/4), II² 1447.8, 14 (ante 371/0), II² 1665.3 (ante 350), II² 1690.6 (ante 350), II² 1673.14, 23, 30, etc. (333/2? cf. AE 1971 p. 112); II² 1631.255 (323/2); etc.

ἐν κ-, cf. e.g. II² 1401.44 (ca. 390/89), II² 1409.17 (ca. 384), II² 1425.33 (368/7), II² 1443.188 (344/3), II² 1451.23 (post 365/4), II² 1455.16, 27–28 (340/39), II² 1464.30, 31 (ca. 330?), II² 1469.136 (post 320/19), II² 1672.10, 19, 47, 56, 81, 122, 163, 164, 187, 202 (329/8), II² 1628.558 (326/5); etc.

In the inv., II² 1388 (398/7), ἐγ κ- occurs in lines 80, 81, 82, but ἐν κ- in line 75; a similar mixture can be seen in the decree, II² 111 (363/2), with ἐγ Κέωι in line 65, ἐν Κέωι in lines 49, 58, 69, ἐν Καρθαῖαι in line 23. But usually ἐγ κ- in decrees, cf. *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p. 229, no. 86, line 16 (ca. 350), II² 404.7 (ante 350, cf. SEG 21.254), II² 229.9 (341/0), II² 492.12 (303/2). ἐν κ- in ἐν | [Κεραμειῶν] (stoich.), cf. Sokolowski, *Lois*² p. 63, no. 33, lines B24–25 (= II² 334 + new frr.) (335–329) decree; and in II² 111 just cited. Only ἐν κ- occurs on Face A of the stele containing an inv. of objects dedicated by manumitted slaves, *Hesperia* 28 (1959) pp. 208ff. (= II² 1554–II² 1559 + new frr.) (ca. 330–320), cf. lines 96, 130, 134, 144, 186,

etc., alongside exclusive use of ἐμ before π (cf. p. 617 supra); but on Face B, in a more slovenly hand, occur both ἐν κ-, cf. lines B 9, B 54; and ἐγ κ-, cf. lines B 56, B 110, B 113, B 115, B 118, B 120, etc., alongside both ἐμ π- and ἐν π-.

A similar mixture of ἐν κ- and ἐγ κ- alongside ἐμ π- and ἐν π- occurs in Π² 1569 and Π² 1576, inventories of the same type and date; both ἐμ π-, ἐν π- and ἐγ κ-, ἐν κ- occur in another, Π² 1570. ἐν κιβωτίῳ in Π² 1517.211 (353/2–341/0), alongside ἐγ κιβωτίῳ *ib.* 224; ἐν καλαθίσκῳ Π² 1518.59, 72 (post 341/0); ἐν κιβωτίῳ Π² 1524.179–180, 182, 238 (post 334/3), ἐν καλαθίσκῳ *ib.* 166, can all be contrasted with the exclusive use of ἐμ before π in this group of inventories, Π² 1514–Π² 1530, in the frequently occurring phrase ἐμ πλαίσῳ. ἐν κ- occurs once alongside ἐγ κ- four times on a small fr. of a record of the ἐκατοσταί, Π² 1597 (ca. 350); this group of inventories usually avoids assimilation of ἐν, even before labials, cf. Π² 1594–Π² 1603.

γ) After 300 B.C. assimilation before κ occurs only in ἐγ Κρήτει Π² 844.20 (181/0, cf. TAPA 95 [1964] p. 239) decree. Such few other cases as occur have ἐν κ-: Π² 682.8 (post 256/5) decree; Π² 1592.12 (ca. 250) inv.; Π² 1248.8 (ca. 250) decree (mesogeioi); Π² 909.6 (ca. 170), Π² 968.14 (143/2), Π² 1035.34 (10/9–3/2, cf. p. 124 supra, no. 59) decrees; Π² 3299.6 (132 p.) ded. (L.).

δ) ἐν γ-, ἐγ γ-

In the fifth-century texts possible cases of ἐν before words beginning with γ- are few. The attested spelling is the assimilated one: ἐγ Γα[ργετῶ] *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p. 287, no. 10, line 16 (= I² 328.16) (ca. 414) inv., has τὸμ π-, ἐς σ-, ἐμ μ-; ἐγ Γερ[ιστῶ] *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p. 249, no. 2, line 314 (ca. 414) inv., has ἐμ π-, ἐμ μ-, ἐλ λ-.

After 400 B.C. ἐν before γ- is altogether rare: cf. ἐγ γύαις in the sacred calendar, Π² 1358.9 (375–350); ἐν γυμνασίῳ in the sep. mon., Π² 12476/7 (ca. 150 p.). ἐγ is for ἐκ, not ἐν, in the ded., *Hesperia* 23 (1954) p. 261, no. 59 (ca. 150 p.), with ἐγ Γαργητῶν.

ε) ἐν χ-, ἐγ χ-

There are fewer possible cases of ἐν before words beginning with χ- in the fifth century, but the evidence probably justifies the statement that the practice was about the same as it was in the case of ἐν before κ, i.e. cases of assimilation are frequent, but it was evidently not normal: cf. e.g. ἐν Χαλκίδι I² 39.38, 53, 72 (446/5) decree; ἐν Χερρονέσοι *ATL* 2, no. 26, col. 1.13 (= I² 231.13) (429/8) trib. list, cf. ἐν [Χ]ερρονέσοι *ib.* 3.55; ἐν Χαλ[*Hesperia* 12 (1943) p. 28, no. 6, line 22 (= I² 376) (ca. 424/3) inv.; but ἐγ Χερρονέσοι I² 375.3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 (6 times) (448/7) inv.; I² 943.1 (440/39) cas. list; ἐγ Χιτρώνο[ις] *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p. 268, no. 6, line 134 (ca. 414) inv., has ἐγ κ- twice, ἐν κ- once (cf. e) supra).

Among the rare cases in the fourth century the assimilated spelling is slightly more common: ἐγ Χίῳ Π² 34.28 (384/3) decree; ἐγ χαλκῇ Π² 1394.12 (init. s. IVa.) inv.; ἐγ χύτρ[αι] Π² 1445.43 (375/4) inv.; ἐγ χερσὶ *AE* 1957, p. 44, no. 1 (= *SEG* 18.120) (init. s. IVa.) sep. mon.; but ἐν χειρῶν Π² 1527.13 (post 327/6) inv.; ἐν Χίῳ Π² 584.10 (fin. s. IVa.) decree.

After 300 B.C., cf. ἐν Χολαργέων, Π² 1248.8–9 (ca. 250) decree (mesogeioi).

48.052 ἐάν, ἐπειδάν, ὅταν, ἄν (e.g. ὅπως ἄν, ὅς ἄν, etc.); -περ

a) In fifth-century texts the only frequent assimilations are before μ, as in ἐὰμ μή, δ' ἄμ μή, etc. (cf. infra); and δταμπερ, δοομπερ, etc. (cf. d) infra). Other assimilations are infrequent, cf. ἐὰμ + π- I² 91.11 (434/3, cf. *SEG* 22.7; 24.3), I² 98.13 (416/5) decrees; but ἐάν πο[*Hesperia* 14

(1945) p. 106, no. 9, line 30 (= I² 68 a + I² 69 b-c + new fr.) (424/3); ἐπειδὴν + π- I² 19.16 (ante 450? cf. SEG 21.10; 22.3), I² 91.7 (434/3, cf. SEG 22.7; 24.3), δν + π- I² 75.27 (430-420?), I² 76.13 (435-414, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 222), I² 137.5 (s. Va., post 445) all decrees; ἡσίομαι δμ βόλονται I² 98.8 (416/5) decree, but ὁπόθεν δν βόλονται I² 58.12 (ca. 428) decree; ἡσίομαι δν βόλεται, ἡσίομαι βόλονται I² 71.9, 59 (ca. 436? cf. SEG 21.30) decree; δτι δν βόλεται I² 114.47 (410/9, cf. SEG 24.15) decree; ἐάν + β- I² 76.33 (435-414, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 222), I² 94.33 (418/7) decrees; ἀγ γράφεται ATL 2, no. D7.36 (= I² 66; Meiggs-Lewis p. 117, no. 46) (447?) decree; cf. ἀγ γίγνεται *Hesperia* 14 (1945) p. 119, no. 11, line 18 (423/2) decree, alongside δτανπερ *ib.* 12; but ἡόπος [δ]ν γίγνεται in I² 128.11 (432/1? cf. SEG 21.37) decree.

Cf. also: δν + φ- I² 45.1 (439/8, cf. SEG 21.29; 10.34) decree; δν + φ- (ΦΣ) I² 58.17 (ca. 428) decree; δν + κ- I² 24.8, 14 (ca. 448, cf. SEG 21.20), I² 25.9 (424/3, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 204, no. 71), *Hesperia* 14 (1945) p. 106, no. 9, line 25 (= I² 68 a + I² 69 b-c + new fr.) (424/3), I² 57.41 (423), I² 84.41 (421/0) decrees; δταν + κ- I² 98.21 (416/5); [ἐ]άν κ[ρι]θεῖ I² 88.10 (fin. s. Va.) decree; ἐάν [κρινό]ν I² 57.13-14 (423) decree; δν + χ- I² 6.71 (ante 460), I² 22.62 (450/49, cf. SEG 23.7), *Hesperia* 14 (1945) p. 106, no. 9, line 24 (= I² 68 a + I² 69 b-c + new fr.) (424/3) decrees; ἐπειδὴν χερσὶ τενέσει I² 63.4 (= ATL 2, no. A9) (425/4) decree; δν ξ- (ΧΣ) I² 81.16 (421/0) decree; etc.

For μ regularly before μ, cf. δμ μέ (all decrees): I² 22.29 (450/49, cf. SEG 23.7); I² 39.33 (446/5); I² 28.16 (ca. 450/49, cf. SEG 23.6); I² 56.8 (ca. 430?); *Hesperia* 14 (1945) p. 106, no. 9, line 12 (= I² 68 a + I² 69 b-c + new fr.) (424/3); cf. δμ μέ ATL 2, no. D7.12 (= I² 66; Meiggs-Lewis p. 117, no. 46) (447?); I² 108.43 (410/9); etc.

For the less frequent δν μ-, cf. δν μισθόσεται I² 94.24 (418/7), ἐάν μέ *ib.* 18; δν [μ]έ I² 76.45-46 (435-414, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 222); δν μέ I² 99.22 (416/5), alongside ἡσίομαι μέ *ib.* 11; ἡδς δν μισθοῖ I² 140.7 (ca. 420); [δ]ν μέ I² 149.11 (429/8 vel 421/0? cf. SEG 12.29) all decrees; cf. δν [μά]λιστα *Eleusiniaka* 1 (1932) pp. 173ff., lines 27-28 (= SEG 10.24) (ca. 450/49) decree.

For ἐάν μέ, cf. (decrees): I² 14.9 (447/6? cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 121, no. 47); I² 42.24 (ca. 446); I² 45.25 (439/8, cf. SEG 21.29; 10.34); I² 71.23, 24 (ca. 436? cf. SEG 21.30); *Hesperia* 14 (1945) p. 94, no. 8, line 34 (= I² 141/2bc + I² 174 + new fr.; cf. SEG 10.51) (ca. 430); I² 63.22, 49 (= ATL 2, no. A9) (425/4); I² 57.56 (423), ἐάν μέν *ib.* 23; I² 115.11 (409/8); *Hesperia* 14 (1945) p. 128, no. 14, line 2 (fin. s. Va.); I² 131.5 (s. Va.); etc.; AM 66 (1941) pp. 171ff., no. 1, line B 13 (= SEG 10.38; 21.27) (ca. 445) sacred calendar; I² 184.4 (ante 446/5) decree fr. (?); I² 186/7B.19, 44 (ca. 450) decree (deme); etc. Infrequent is ἐάν μέ: I² 6.38 (ante 460); I² 86.17 (420/19); I² 94.18 (418/7), δν μ- *ib.* 24; all decrees.

ἡσίομαι μέ: I² 99.11 (416/5) decree, alongside δν μέ *ib.* 22.

b) In fourth-century texts assimilation is well attested before π, β, and μ, but the unassimilated spellings are always more frequent. Thus in decrees ἐάν π- occurs I² 8.20 (paulo post 403/2, cf. SEG 19.16; 24.9); δταν + π- (not περ) in I² 141.24 (376-360); I² 244.32 (337/6); also δταν πρῶτον in line ab 5 of Face A of an extensive sacred law from Athens soon to be published in *Hesperia* by K. Clinton (= new fr. of *Hesperia* 26 [1957] p. 52, no. 9) (367-348); δμ + π- in a sacred law (orgeones), I² 1361.9 (post 350); and in the decree (nomothetai), *Hesperia* 43 (1974) p. 157, line 17 (375/4), which contains many assimilations (cf. pp. 622, 624, 630 *infra*); but cf. ἐπειδὴν + π- in I² 43.92 (378/7); δν + π- I² 204.66 (352/1), I² 222.42 (ca. 344), I² 223.B13 (343/2), I² 226.15, 17 (ca. 343/2), I² 236.18 (338/7), Sokolowski, *Lois*² p. 63, no. 33, line B 27 (= I² 334 + new fr.) (335-329), I² 448.17 (323/2), I² 463.110 (307/6); I² 1172.20 (ca. 400) deme decree; ἐάν + π- I² 1183.22 (post 340) deme decree; δταν + π-

Π² 466.34 (307/6), Π² 1176.16 (ca. 360, cf. SEG 21.516) deme decree; Π² 1254.21 (post 350) decree of the paroloi; etc.

ἀμ is only rarely attested in the frequent formulae ἀν βούληται and ἀν βούλωνται: Π² 374.16 (post 319/8), Π² 450.b 10 (314/3), Π² 541.8 (post mid-330s, cf. ZPE 9 [1972] p.185), cf. the decree (orgeones), Π² 1360.7 (post 350); cf. ἀμ βούλωνται Π² 185.1 (ante 353/2) decree. But usually ἀν βουλ-, e.g.: Π² 43.21 (378/7), Π² 111.65 (363/2), Π² 222.22 (ca. 344), Π² 237.22 (338/7), Π² 438.5 (post 336/5), Π² 448.21 (323/2), Π² 553.15 (ca. 307), Π² 558.21 (ca. 303/2), Π² 507.11 (302/1), Π² 508.5 (fin. s. IV a.) decrees; in the same phrase in locations: Π² 2498.18 (321/0), Π² 2499.37 (306/5) and in the similar text, Π² 2491.14 (ca. 335–325) pactionis formulae. Cf. also δταμ + β- Π² 2493.20 (ca. 340?) loc.; δταν + β- Π² 571.4 (fin. s. IV a.) decree.

ἀμ μή, ἀμ μηδέν, etc. occur, cf. e.g.: AE 1971 pp.137ff., line 8 (400–375) decree on a bronze plaque (cf. p.2 supra); *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p.231, no.87, line 12 (362–355), Π² 226.6 (ca. 343/2) decrees; also ἐάμ μ-, e.g.: Π² 46.40 (ca. 375, cf. *Hesperia* 26 [1957] pp.227–228); Π² 126.7 (357/6), alongside ἐάν μ- ib. 3; Π² 244.85 (337/6); Π² 380.40 (320/19) decrees; Π² 1128.19 (ante 350) decree (of Cean cities); Robert, *Etudes* (1938) pp.296ff., line 27 (= Siewert pp.5–7) (paulo post 350)? cf. *Charisterion Orlandou A*, pp.79–87) oath (ephebes). But ἐν, ἐάν are more frequent before μ-, cf. e.g.: ἐν μ-: *Hesperia* 40 (1971) p.162, no.23, line 16 (= Π² 30 + new frr.) (387/6), Π² 218.20 (346/5), Π² 244.53 (337/6), Π² 275.10 (ante 336/5), Π² 287.12 (ca. 350, cf. SEG 24.90), Π² 292.1 (ante 336/5), Π² 435.7 (post 336/5), Π² 463.100 (307/6), Π² 505.57–58 (302/1) decrees; Π² 1183.10, 14 (post 340), Π² 1196.10 (ca. 335–330) decrees (deme); Π² 1362.9 (fin. s. IV a.) edict issued by a priest; etc. ἐάν μ-: Π² 126.3 (357/6), alongside ἐάμ μή ib. 7 (cf. supra); Π² 179.a8, c6 (ca. 350, cf. *Staatsverträge* 2, p.298, no.321; SEG 21.260) decrees; Π² 1183.9, 17 (post 340) decree (deme); Π² 1361.11 (post 350) sacred law (orgeones); etc.

Assimilation before occlusives is otherwise very rare, cf. ἀγ γίγνηται Π² 1.17 (403/2) decree, ἐάγ γίγνηται ib. 21; to be contrasted with ἀν + γ- Π² 103.40 (369/8), Π² 140.16 (353/2), Π² 463.93 (307/6) decrees; Π² 1184.18 (= Sokolowski, *Supplément* p.208, no.124; SEG 21.518) (post 334/3) decree (deme); etc.

Before aspirates examples are rare, cf. ἀν + φ- Π² 438.6 (post 336/5) decree; ἀν + χ- Π² 244.10 (337/6) decree.

But intended avoidance of assimilation can be demonstrated before κ because of the frequent cases of ν here: ἐάν + κ- Π² 29.1 (387/6) decree; Π² 1249.5 (ante 350) decree (thiasotai or orgeones?); δταν + κ- Π² 505.55 (302/1), Π² 608.5 (s. IV a.) decree(?); ἀν + κ- Π² 47.32 (init. s. IV a.), Π² 42.6–7 (378/7), Π² 111.17 (363/2), Π² 193.4 (ante 353/2), Π² 218.32 (346/5), Π² 222.36 (ca. 344), Π² 223.8 (343/2), Π² 233.b 12, b 18 (340/39), Π² 237.24 (338/7), Π² 244.12, 40, 57, 70 (337/6), Π² 330.21 (335/4), Π² 360.64, 76 (325/4), Π² 545.11 (321/0)? cf. SEG 24.106), Π² 380.34 (320/19), Π² 553.18 (ca. 307), Π² 488.19 (304/3), Π² 509.7 (302/1), Π² 579.16 (fin. s. IV a.); Π² 1176.21 (ca. 360, cf. SEG 21.516) decree (deme); Π² 1128.11 (ante 350) decree (of Cean cities); Π² 1182.11 (ca. 350) decree (deme); Π² 1252.19 (post 350) decree (orgeones); Π² 1262.12 (301/300) decree (thiasotai); etc. But cf. ἐ]ἀν κελεύουσιν Π² 1678.b A 12 (ca. 350, cf. SEG 13.49) inv. with many assimilations; ἀγ καθήται *Hesperia* 43 (1974) p.157, line 42 (375/4) decree (nomothetai) with many assimilations before κ, χ (cf. p.630 infra).

c) Only a few cases of assimilation in these words can be found in texts later than 300 B.C., and the date is often uncertain. In a decree of 285/4 occurs ἀμ βούλῃται, cf. Π² 654.49–50, with τὸμ β- ib. 36, but δταν π- ib. 56, ἀν π- ib. 50–51 (cf. infra). ἀμ π- also occurs in the Themistocles decree, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.48, no.23, line 21 (= *Hesperia* 31 [1962] p.311),

perhaps carved in the third century, but this text contains special problems, especially if it is some sort of a rendition of a document of 480 B.C. as seems not impossible (there are other assimilations of nasals in the text, cf. pp. 627, 632 *infra*). Other examples: *σταμ ποιῶσι* Π² 1214.20 (300–250) decree (deme), has *ἀπερ ἀγ καί ib. 26, τῶν κ- ib. 6, ἐγλέγειμ παρ' αὐτοῦ ib. 27*, etc. (cf. p. 632 *infra*); *Ν ἄμ μὴ ΚΑ* Π² 1216.8 (s. IIIa.) decree (deme).

But the failure to assimilate was clearly normal in this period, as can be shown from many examples, e.g.:

π: *σταν*: Π² 646.51 (295/4), Π² 654.56 (285/4) decrees; Π² 1292.12 (215/4, cf. Vidman p. 4, no. 2) decree (sarapiastai), Π² 1299.31 (post 236/5) decree (troops and Eleusinians); *ἀν + π-* Π² 650.12 (286/5) decree; Π² 654.50–51 (285/4) decree; Π² 1277.29 (278/7) decree (thiasotai); Π² 798.17 (ca. 250) decree; *ἐάν περὶ* Π² 1283.27 (263/2, cf. SEG 24.155) decree (Thracian aliens); etc. After 200 B.C.: *σταν + π-* Π² 947.5 (166/5, cf. SEG 24.136); Π² 980.16 (ca. 150), Π² 981.11 (ca. 150), Π² 988.10 (post 150) decrees; Π² 1227.31–32 (131/0) decree (Salaminian cleruchs); *ἀν + π-* Π² 1013.53 (fin. s. IIa.) decree; Π² 1078.34–35 (ca. 220 p.) decree; Π² 1368.139 (ca. 162/3 p.) Iobacchi regulations, *ἐάν + π- ib. 60*; etc.

β: *ἀν + βουλ-*: Π² 646.33 (295/4), Π² 663.23 (286/5, cf. SEG 16.62); Π² 687.63 (265/4), Π² 707.4 (init. s. IIIa.), Π² 721.17 (init. s. IIIa.), Π² 805.2 (ca. 250), Π² 832.19 (229/8), Π² 856.8 (fin. s. IIIa.) decrees; Π² 1168.16 (s. IIIa.) decreet (tribe); Π² 1241.23, 38, 53 (300/299) decree (phratry); Π² 1263.26 (300/299) decree (thiasotai); Π² 1322.12 (fin. s. IIIa./init. s. IIa.) decree (amphieraistai); etc. After 200 B.C.: *ἀν + βουλ-* Π² 893.22 (188/7), Π² 982.13 (post 150) decrees; *Hesperia*, suppl. 6 (1941) p. 108, no. 24, line 35 (= Π² 1108 + new fr.) (ca. 176–180 p.) in one of a series of imperial letters; *ἐάν βούληται* Π² 1368.156 (ca. 162/3 p.) Iobacchi regulations; etc.

μ: *ἀν + μηδέν*, etc.: Π² 1276.2 (init. s. IIIa.?) decree (?); Π² 1165.34 (300–250) decree (tribe); Π² 1218.11 (ca. 250) decree (deme); Π² 1225.10 (ca. 250) decree (Salaminian cleruchs); Π² 1107.8 (post 131/2 p.) imp. letter; Π² 1121.31 (305/6 p.) imp. edict; *ἀν μέλλῃ* Π² 1099.17 (121 p.) imp. letter; *ἐάν μὴ* Π² 1132.85 (130/29) amphiktyonic decree (this section in Attic); Π² 1013.66 (fin. s. IIa.) decree; Π² 1339.14 (57/6) decree (heroistai); Π² 1366.14 (s. Ip.) regulations for the cult of Menes Tyrannos set up by Xanthus of Lycia; Π² 1368.32 (ca. 162/3 p.) Iobacchi regulations; etc.

φ: *ἀν + φ-*: Π² 652.14 (paulo post 286/5, cf. SEG 23.65), *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p. 287, no. 56, line 24 (= Π² 791 + new fr.) (247/6), Π² 844.70 (181/0, cf. TAPA 95 [1964] p. 239), Π² 900.16 (185/4) decrees; Π² 1273.18 (289/8?) decree (thiasotai); Π² 1366.18 (s. Ip.) regulations for the cult of Menes Tyrannos set up by Xanthus of Lycia; etc.

κ: *ἀν + κ-*: Π² 657.23 (283/2), Π² 735.9 (ante 250) decrees; Π² 1297.11 (237/6) decree (thiasotai); *σταν + κ-* Π² 853.7 (fin. s. IIIa.) decree; *ἐπὶ ἀν + κ-* Π² 1298.18 (246/5) decree (thiasotai); etc. After 200 B.C.: *σταν + κ-* Π² 850.17 (init. s. IIa.), Π² 893.18 (188/7) decrees; Π² 1329.27 (175/4) decree (orgeones); *ἀν + κ-* Π² 909.19 (ca. 170) decree; Π² 1121.26 (305/6 p.) imp. edict; *ἐάν + κ-* Π² 1330.51 (post 163) decree (synodos of technitai); Π² 1366.25 (s. Ip.) regulations for the cult of Menes Tyrannos set up by Xanthus of Lycia; etc.

d) *δμπερ, σταμπερ, δθεμπερ*, etc.:

Assimilation to μ is normal before *περ*, but not universal, in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.:

Thus: (h)όμπερ Π² 110.30 (410/9) decree; Π² 10650 (ca. 410) sep. mon.; Π² 42.13 (378/7) decree; *δθεμπερ* Π² 78.9 (ca. 430) decree; (h)όσταμπερ: ATL 2, no. D7.18 (= Π² 66; Meiggs-

Lewis p.117, no.46) (first extensive text to show pronounced preference for assimilation, cf. 48.0531 *infra*) (447?), I² 128.7 (432/1? cf. SEG 21.37), I² 98.7 (416/5) decrees; (h)όσομπερ I² 19.7 (ante 450? cf. SEG 21.10; 22.3), II² 17.28 (394/3) decrees; δομηπερ II² 1231.12 (fin. s. IV a.) decree (genos); όσομπερ *Hesperia* 43 (1974) p.157, line 52 (375/4) decree (nomothetai), δθεμπερ *ib.* 54; note also: ---ΜΠΕΡ καὶ τὸ II² 824.7 (ca. 250?) decree fr.; στ|αμπερ also in the Themistocles decree, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.48, no.23, lines 26–27 (= *Hesperia* 31 (1962) p.311) (inscribed s. III a.?) (cf. p.622 *supra*).

But: ὁτανπερ *Hesperia* 14 (1945) p.119, no.11, line 12 (423/2) decree; ὁθενπερ I² 88.23 (fin. s. V a.) decree.

Assimilation was probably avoided later, cf. ὦνπερ II² 13173 (aet. Rom.) sep. mon.; καθ' ὄνπερ *Hesperia*, suppl. 13 (1970) pp.3ff., line E 10 (ca. 175 p.) imp. letter.

48.053 Assimilation of the definite article/—π, β, φ, μ, κ, γ, χ

The assimilated spellings are rare until the last quarter of the fifth century. They are most frequent in the fourth century, especially in the first half of it. A decrease in the assimilated spellings observable after 350 B.C. becomes more pronounced after 300, and these spellings are very rare by the end of the Hellenistic Period. Assimilation is virtually unknown in Roman times. The changing orthography does not reflect the pronunciation, but shows a gradual preference for the etymological spelling over the assimilated one, a trend observable elsewhere and perhaps fostered by the advantages of the etymological spellings in facilitating reading texts where the words are not separated. Even in the fourth century the assimilated spellings are never normal, i.e. they do not comprise more than 50% of the instances; assimilation occurs most frequently before π, β, μ, γ, and κ. A pronounced preference for assimilation or its avoidance can be seen in certain texts; inconsistency within a given text is also common. The following data are largely drawn from the decrees, inventories, and sacred laws, as they contain the sufficiently lengthy sections of connected text to provide examples, but there is no greater frequency of assimilation which can be observed in other types of text.

48.0531 Fifth century

a) In decrees earlier than the last quarter of the century assimilated spellings are exceptional, cf.: τὸμ πόλεον *Hesperia* 15 (1946) p.249, no.78, line A 49 (= I² 9.5; part of *Hesperia* 14 [1945] p.61, no.1 [= I² 6]) (ante 460), alongside τὸν π- in I² 6.5, 12, 37, τὸν β- *ib.* 63, τὸν χ- *ib.* 58; τὸμ [π- I² 27.7 (450/49, cf. SEG 21.15) but note also τὸν γ- *ib.* 8; τὸμ πόλεον ATL 2, no. D7.20, 61 (= I² 66; Meiggs-Lewis p.117, no.46) (447?), τὲμ|μ βολέν *ib.* 5, τὸμ φόρον *ib.* 13, 18, 71, cf. τὸμ μ- *ib.* 25, but τὸν φόρον *ib.* 32 (this is the earliest text in which a pronounced preference for the assimilated spellings occurs, cf. p.630 *infra*); τὲμ μὲν I² 52.16 (433/2), has τὲγ χουμμαχ(αν) (cf. p.632 *infra*); τ]ῆγ γέν I² 53.4 (433/2, cf. *Hesperia* 8 [1939] p.170, no.1); τὲμ βολέν I² 56.4 (ca. 430?) has τῆστέλεν *ib.* 28, but τὸν π- *ib.* 14, τὲν μὲν *ib.* 23; τὲμ βολέν I² 59.18 (ca. 427/6), but τὲν β- bis in *ib.* 16; τὸμ π- I² 153.8 (post 446, ante 430).

For the unassimilated spellings in decrees of this period, cf. e.g.: -ν π-: I² 4.3; I² 6.5, 12, 37 (cf. *supra*); I² 19.14; I² 28.8; I² 80.11 (ca. 450? cf. SEG 22.4); I² 71.38 (ca. 436? cf. SEG 21.30);

I² 91.26 (434/3, cf. SEG 22.7; 24.3); I² 29.3; I² 39.5; I² 40.27; I² 44.2; I² 55.5; etc.; --v β-: I² 6.63 (cf. supra); I² 39.4; I² 45.38; I² 59.16 (bis) (cf. supra); I² 61.6; etc.; --v φ-: I² 22.64; I² 39.26; I² 54.15; --v μ-: I² 56.23 (cf. supra); --v γ-: I² 19.12; I² 27.8 (cf. supra); I² 39.58; I² 46.20; --v χ-: I² 6.58 (cf. supra); I² 39.36, 64; I² 91.5, 7, 14, 57 (434/3, cf. SEG 22.7; 24.3); etc.

b) In the period 425–400 B.C. assimilated spellings are more frequent, although still not nearly as common as the unassimilated ones. Noteworthy are a few decrees which show a pronounced preference for assimilation, cf. the decree text in I² 63 (= ATL 2, no. A9) (425/4) with τὸμ [πρ-, τὸμ φ- (lines 38, 58), also τὸμ μ- *ib.* 26–27, τὸμ μ- *ib.* 127, but τὸγ [μ- in ATL 2, no. A9, line 4 (= I² 63.4, corrected); --μ π-, --γ κ- in I² 81.5, 7 (421/0); --μ π-, --μ β- in I² 98.6, 12, and --μ π-, --μ φ- I² 99.13, 34, but --v χ- I² 99.21 (both 416/5); --μ π- in I² 108.3, 37, 40, 46, 50 (410/9), but --v π- *ib.* 7, --μ β- *ib.* 29, --γ γ- *ib.* 49, --γ χ- *ib.* 18; --μ π- I² 116.6, 37, 40 (409/8 aut ca. 407, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 267, no. 87), but --v γ- *ib.* 36. For other assimilations, cf. --μ π-: I² 97.4 (416), I² 115.5 (409/8), I² 152.5 (ca. 420?); --μ β-: I² 70.13, 19 (424/3?); I² 150.6 (ca. 420, cf. SEG 10.97); --μ φ-: I² 97.7 (416); --μ μ-: I² 87.43 (424/3); I² 94.23 (418/7), has --v μ- *ib.* 30, 34; I² 101.5 (412/1); --γ γ-: I² 117.7 (408/7), I² 118.21, 28 (408/7), alongside --v π- *ib.* 8, 30; HSCP, suppl. 1 (1940) pp. 247ff. (= Meiggs-Lewis p. 280, no. 92; SEG 10.136; I² 47 + new fr.) (407/6); I² 1.38, 62 (403/2), alongside --v π- (cf. infra); --γ χ-: *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p. 32, no. 3, line 7 (ca. 435, cf. SEG 10.42) sacred law. But the unassimilated spellings are much better attested: cf. e.g.: --v π-: I² 68.6; I² 75.28 (perhaps slightly earlier, ca. 430–420); I² 76 (unless earlier, dated 435–414, Meiggs-Lewis p. 222). 28 (bis), 38, 46; I² 86.15, 16; I² 87.15 (has --μ μ- *ib.* 43); I² 90.24; I² 94.22, 35, 37 (has --μ μ- *ib.* 23); I² 96.11, 20, 23; I² 103.9, 16; I² 105.4; I² 106a.8; I² 110a.7; I² 1.19, 34, 49, 54; etc.; --v β-: I² 76.30, 59; I² 90.10; I² 94.10, 29 (has --μ μ- *ib.* 23); I² 110.32; I² 114.53; I² 5.7; etc.; --v φ-: I² 82.15; I² 138.1; --v μ-: I² 75.3, 7; I² 76.5, 26, 34, 50; I² 94.30, 34 (has --μ μ- *ib.* 23); --v κ-: I² 76.38; I² 101.5 (has --μ μὲν *ibid.*); --v γ-: I² 106.20; I² 110.29; I² 116.36 (cf. supra); --v χ-: I² 99.21 (cf. supra); etc.

c) The practice does not differ in other types of text. Thus assimilation to τὸμ is rare in the phrase τὸν προτέρον (ταμιὼν, etc.) so common in inventories, cf. I² 242.114 (424/3), I² 366.7 (434/3); for the usual τὸν προτέρον, cf. e.g. I² 234.27; I² 237.57; I² 238.68; I² 241.103; I² 245.155; I² 246.175; I² 247.195; I² 267.91; I² 269.119; I² 279.54; I² 336.3 (alongside τὸμ π- in *ib.* 10, τὸμ μ- *ib.* 11, 12); I² 301.19, 50, 56, 68, 73, 82; etc. Other assimilations in inventories: τὸμ βομόν I² 372.79 (409/8), but --v π- *ib.* 56, 161, 162, 171, 177; --v κ- *ib.* 44, 67, 86, B 4 (at end); has τὸμ μὲν *ib.* 148; τὸμ πυθμένα I² 277.23 (433/2), I² 280.74 (422/1), I² 282.111 (420/19), but τὸν πυθμένα in I² 279.56 (431/0) (τόγ), I² 286.154 (414/3, cf. SEG 24.40); etc.; τὸμ περὶ *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p. 287, no. 10, line 13 (= I² 328.13) (ca. 414); τὸγ χ[I² 386.5 (ca. 406, cf. SEG 10.219). Of the large inventories of the end of the century only one, I² 373 (409/8), shows a preference for assimilation, with --μ π- in lines 95, 226, 233, but --v π- *ib.* 211; --γ κ- in *ib.* 189, 209, 214, 217, but --v κ- in *ib.* 198. Contrast I² 372 (cf. supra) and I² 374 (408–406), with --v π- in lines 162, 179, 195, 224, 225, 263, 295, 296 (L.); --v β- *ib.* 224, 296; --v κ- *ib.* 19, 37, 57, 68, 194, 195, 223, 224, 295; --v χ- *ib.* 249.

48.0532 Fourth century

This is the period in which the greatest number of assimilated spellings occurs, although they are never normal. Assimilation is frequent only before π, β, μ, γ, and

before κ (until ca. 350 B.C. only). There is considerable decrease in assimilation of all types after 350 B.C.

Inconsistency within the same text is frequent, cf. e.g.: $\nu \pi$ - and $\mu \pi$ - in Π^2 42.11–12, 23; Π^2 107.39 (in the same line), 10; Sokolowski, *Lois*² p. 63, no. 33, lines A 21, B 18, B 32, B 33 (= Π^2 334 + new frr.); Π^2 374.7, 9; Π^2 1522.15, 28; $\nu \beta$ -, $\mu \beta$:- Π^2 204.14, 21, 22, 25, 85; Π^2 1443.92, 103, 120; Π^2 426.6, 9; $\nu \mu$ -, $\mu \mu$:- Π^2 107.14, 18, 28; Π^2 448.27, 69; $\nu \gamma$ -, $\gamma \gamma$:- Π^2 8.1, 7; Π^2 223.10, 14; $\nu \chi$ -, $\gamma \chi$:- Π^2 244.25, 27, 44; Π^2 1672.45, 75; etc.

a) ν -, μ -/— π -. In decrees of 400–350 both $\nu \pi$ - and $\mu \pi$ - are well attested, but the failure to assimilate accounts for more than two thirds of the examples. In the second half of the century the assimilated spellings comprise less than 15% of the cases. There is no indication of greater frequency of assimilation in other types of text.

b) ν -, μ -/— β -. The ratio of the assimilated spellings to the etymological spellings in decrees of 400–350 is about 2:3. In decrees after 350 B.C. the assimilated spellings comprise less than 10%. Examples of the article before β - in other types of text are rare.

c) ν -, μ -/— φ -. Assimilation was not normal. Cf. e.g. $\tau\eta\mu$ φυλήν Π^2 1141.9 (cf. *Hesperia* 10 [1941] p. 263, no. 67) (376/5) decree (tribe); $\tau\eta\mu$ φιλών Π^2 1412.23 (post 385/4) inv. Contrast failure to assimilate before φ in Π^2 26.7 (394–387), Π^2 236.11 (338/7), Π^2 237.15 (338/7), Π^2 283.12 (ante 336/5), Π^2 367.12 (323/2), Π^2 557.23 (post 306/5), Π^2 573.13 (fin. s. IV a.) decrees; Π^2 1138.4 (390–380, cf. *SEG* 16.105), Π^2 1149.8 (ante 350), Π^2 1153.6 (ca. 350), Π^2 1155.8 (339/8), Π^2 1159.12 (= Reinmuth, p. 119, no. 19) (303/2) decrees (tribe); Π^2 1611.433 (357/6) inv., has $\tau\omicron\mu \pi$ - *ib.* 202, $\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\mu \mu$ - *ib.* 318, 397, etc.; Π^2 1469.5 (post 320/19) inv.; etc.

d) ν -, μ -/— μ -. In decrees the assimilated spellings are somewhat less frequent than the un-assimilated spellings: $\mu \mu$:- cf. Π^2 10.A 7 (bis) (401/400); Π^2 28.13 (387/6) (L.); Π^2 107.14, 28 (368/7), alongside $\nu \mu$ - *ib.* 18; Π^2 204.37 (352/1); Π^2 244.26, 34, 35 (337/6); Π^2 448.69 (318/7), but $\nu \mu$ - in the other decree on this monument (dated 323/2), cf. *ib.* 27; *Hesperia* 7 (1938) pp. 1ff., no. 1, line 59 (363/2) decree (genos); Π^2 1172.23 (ca. 400) decree (deme); Π^2 1249.4 (ante 350) decree (thiasotai? or orgeones?). But $\nu \mu$ - in Π^2 42.12, 23, 24–25 (378/7); Π^2 107.18 (368/7), alongside $\mu \mu$ - *ib.* 14, 28; Π^2 109.19, 23 (363/2); Π^2 137.6 (354/3); Π^2 211.11 (348/7?); Π^2 212.28 (347/6); Π^2 213.7, 9 (347/6); Π^2 233.b 7 (340/39); Sokolowski, *Lois*² p. 63, no. 33, lines A 14, A 19, B 34 (= Π^2 334 + new frr.) (335–329); Π^2 448.27 (323/2), but $\mu \mu$ - in the other decree of 318/7, cf. *ib.* 69 (cf. supra); Π^2 463.25, 37, 49 (307/6); Π^2 480.9 (ca. 305/4); Π^2 1174.7 (367/6), Π^2 1186.12 (ca. 350), Π^2 1193.14 (fin. s. IV a.), Π^2 1199.15 (ca. 325) decrees (deme); Π^2 1231.11 (fin. s. IV a.) decree (genos); Π^2 1252.16 (post 350) decree (orgeones); etc. Assimilation is not more frequent in other types of texts.

e) ν -, γ -/— κ -. Assimilation is not especially frequent, cf.: Π^2 28.4 (387/6) (L.); Π^2 97.3, 4, 19 (375/4); Π^2 112.6 (362/1); Π^2 145.6, 16, 23 (ante 358/7, cf. *Hesperia* 10 [1941] p. 266, no. 68); Π^2 123.14 (357/6) (L.); Π^2 120.9, 15 (353/2, cf. *Hesperia* 7 [1938] p. 286) decrees. Contrast absence of assimilation before κ - in: Π^2 29.20 (387/6); *Hesperia* 40 (1971) p. 162, no. 23, lines 22, 42 (= Π^2 30 + new frr.) (387/6); Π^2 96.6 (bis), 14 (375/4); Π^2 124.8 (357/6); Π^2 127.15 (356/5); Π^2 204.4, 32, 37, 61, 72 (352/1) decrees; *Hesperia* 7 (1938) pp. 1ff., no. 1, lines 31–32, 66 (363/2) decree (genos); Π^2 1424a (in add.) 279 (369/8) inv.; etc. Examples of $\nu \kappa$ - become very frequent in state decrees after 350 with the appearance of the formulae τὸν γραμματεῖα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανεῖαν and δροχμᾶς ἐκ τῶν κατὰ ψηφίσματα. Cf. more than 75 cases of failure to assimilate the article before κ just in state decrees 350–300 B.C. published in *IG* Π^2 (57 different texts). For τὸν κ [ατὰ πρυτανεῖαν in Π^2 521.5, cf. 48.07, no. 3, p. 638 *infra*.

f) --v, --γ/—γ-. -v γ- and -γ γ- are well attested in decrees. The assimilated spellings comprise between 40% and 50% of the total number of cases in decrees of the period 400–350 B.C. In decrees of the second half of the century they comprise less than 30%. For τὸγραμματα in II² 222.27, cf. 48.06, p. 636 *infra*.

g) --v, --γ/—χ-. τὴν χώρον and τῶν χρημάτων are fairly common in decrees. Assimilation is rare: II² 97.3, 7, 18 (375/4); II² 244.25, 27 (337/6), alongside -v χ- in *ib.* 44; II² 411.23 (post 336/5). Contrast -v χ- in II² 23.7 (388/7); II² 34.33 (384/3); II² 35.9 (384/3); II² 105.13 (368/7); II² 125.7 (357/6); II² 179.a 17 (ca. 350, cf. *Staatsverträge* 2, p. 298, no. 321; SEG 21.260); II² 204.36 (352/1); II² 207.8 (349/8); II² 212.53 (347/6); II² 264.7 (ante 336/5); II² 333.c 6 (335/4); II² 380.26 (320/19); II² 450.15 (314/3); II² 463.93, 94, 97 (307/6); II² 468.12 (306/5); II² 502.18 (302/1) decrees, etc. Noteworthy is τὸν χοῦν in II² 1672.45 (329/8) *inv.*, a text which avoids assimilation of the article before π, β, κ, etc. and has θυροκλινῶς, etc., also τὸν χοῦν *ib.* 75.

48.0533 Third century

a) Before π: The assimilated spelling is unusual: cf. (decrees): II² 654.53 (285/4); II² 666.11 (266/5), alongside τῶν π- *ib.* 4; II² 668.37 (266/5), alongside τῶν π-, etc. *ib.* 14, 15, 32; *Hesperia* 17 (1948) p. 2, no. 2, line 1 (267/6); *Hesperia* 32 (1963) p. 7, no. 8, line 2 (257/6); II² 774.b 9 (ca. 250), alongside τῶν π- *ib.* b 3; II² 777.10 (252/1, cf. SEG 21.381), but τῶν π- *ib.* 12; *Hesperia* 7 (1938) p. 9, no. 2, line 30 (242/1, cf. Meritt, *Athenian Year* p. 234); II² 835.2 (paulo post 229/8); II² 1214.4, 33 (300–250) decree (deme), alongside τὸν π- *ib.* 10 (has τῶν κ-, ἀγ καί, etc.); II² 1283.15 (263/2, cf. SEG 24.155) decree of Thracian aliens, alongside τὴν π- *ib.* 6; II² 1299.41 (post 236/5) decree of troops and Eleusinians, alongside τῶν π-, etc., *ib.* 18, 20, 26, 47, 63; II² 1305.3 (fin. s. III a.?) decree of troops and Eleusinians. With these assimilations may be contrasted more than 110 instances of failure to assimilate in 71 state decrees published in IG II² alone. Note τὸμ π- in II² 1534 A.2 (291/0, cf. SEG 16.118) *inv.*, but τῶν π- *ib.* 88.

b) Before β: Assimilation is quite rare: τὸμ βασιλέα II² 654.36 (285/4); τὴμ βουλῇ II² 677.13 (ca. 275); τὸμ βωμόν *Hesperia* 13 (1944) p. 249, no. 10, line 19 (= *Hesperia* 6 [1937] p. 442, no. 1) (ca. 220), alongside τὸν βασιλέα *ib.* 9; all decrees. With these may be contrasted some 30 cases of the unassimilated spelling in 24 state decrees published in IG II² alone. Note three cases of assimilation in the Themistocles decree: τὸμ β-, τὴμ β-, τὸμ β- cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 48, no. 23, lines 17, 37, 45 (= *Hesperia* 31 [1962] p. 311) (inscribed s. III a.?), which also has αἱ π- (cf. p. 622 *supra*), Ἀθηνῶμ [μεδεο]ύ[σῃ] (cf. p. 632 *infra*); but there are special problems with this text, especially if it is a rendition of a document of 480 B.C., as seems not impossible.

c) Before φ: Assimilation is not attested. For τὴν φ-, etc., cf. II² 678.7 (256/5, cf. SEG 21.377), II² 791.17, 31 (247/6) (L.) decrees; II² 1299.5, 60 (post 236/5) decree (troops and Eleusinians); II² 1304.20, 23 (post 211/0) decree (troops); etc.

d) Before μ: Assimilation (usually τ-μ μέν) is rare: τὴμ μέν II² 861.27 (fin. s. III a.) decree; τὴμ | [μέν] *Deltion* 18 (1963) p. 103, no. 1, lines 42–43 (= SEG 21.525) (282/1) decree (hippeis); τὴμ μέν *Hesperia* 7 (1938) p. 9, no. 2, line 24 (242/1, cf. Meritt, *Athenian Year* p. 234) decree (genos); τὸμ μεγάλων II² 1304.25 (post 211/0) decree (troops), but -v μ- *ib.* 28; τὴμ μητέρα II² 4030.2 (s. III/II a.) *ded.* Contrast 15 cases of failure to assimilate before μ in 10 third-century state decrees published in IG II² alone.

e) Before κ: Assimilation occurs only once: τῶν καιρῶν II² 1214.6 (300–250) decree (deme), alongside τὸν κήρυκα *ib.* 28–29, has τὸμ π-. In 27 state decrees published in IG II² alone there are more than 30 cases of failure to assimilate before κ-.

f) Before γ : Assimilation is rare: τὸν γραμματέα II² 678.5 (256/5, cf. SEG 21.377) decree (known only from an early copy with many errors, but τὸν γ - is not likely to be one of them), II² 835.28 (paulo post 229/8) decree, has τὸν π -; τὴν γυναῖκα II² 1316.3, 27 (four times) (272/1) decree (orgeones), alongside [τ][ῆ]ν γυναῖκα *ib.* 14–15. Contrast some 25 cases of τὸν γ -, etc. just in state decrees published in IG II² (22 different texts).

g) Before χ : Assimilation does not occur. For τὴν χ -, etc., cf. e.g. II² 654.25 (285/4), has τὴν π -, τὸν β -; II² 672.9 (279/8); II² 682.24 (post 256/5); II² 786.6 (s. III/IIa., cf. Pečirka, *Enktesis* p. 106; SEG 24.133); II² 843.21 (ca. 229/8?) decrees; II² 1225.10, 15 (ca. 250) decree (Salamian cleruchs); etc. Even the Themistocles decree, which otherwise shows a fondness for assimilation (cf. pp. 622, 627 *supra*; p. 632 *infra*), has τὴν χώρην, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 48, no. 23, line 44 (= *Hesperia* 31 [1962] p. 311) (inscribed s. IIIa.?).

48.0534 Second century

Assimilation is rarer and is lacking in the large decree texts in the period after ca. 130–125 B.C. (IG II² 1003 ff.).

a) Before π : Assimilation occurs occasionally. Cf. the decrees: II² 886.11 (181/0, cf. TAPA 95 [1964] p. 239; SEG 16.78), alongside τὴν [πρὸς *ib.* 7; II² 889.8 (176/5, with II² 904); II² 897.12 (185/4), alongside τὸν π - *ib.* 6; *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p. 212, no. 59, line 11 (172/1); II² 909.8 (ca. 170), has τὸν κ -, τὸν γ - *ib.* 21; II² 945.13, 17 (168/7), alongside τὸν (?) π - *ib.* 6 (L.); *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p. 72, no. 22, line 5 (164/3); II² 952.3 (161/0); *Hesperia* 16 (1947) p. 164, no. 64, line 13 (161/0); II² 968.21 (143/2); *Hesperia* 17 (1948) p. 17, no. 9, line 39 (140/39), alongside τὴν π - *ib.* 22, 54; II² 974.4 (137/6). Contrast some 45 cases of no assimilation before π - just in state decrees published in IG II² dating to the period 200–130 B.C. (30 different texts).

b) Before β : Assimilation is rare: τὴν βουλὴν: II² 900.20 (185/4), alongside τὴν βουλὴν *ib.* 8, has τὸν κ - *ib.* 24; II² 950.7 (165/4); II² 958.27 (154/3); II² 840.9 (printed text incorrect, = IG II, no. 404) (s. IIa.?) (L.) all decrees. Contrast 9 cases of failure to assimilate before β - just in the state decrees of 200–ca. 130 B.C. published in IG II² (9 different texts). Cf. τὸν βαθύν II² 13124.7 (s. IIa.) sep. mon. (in verse).

c) Before φ : Assimilation is not attested. For τὸν φ -, etc., cf. II² 956.79, 80, 81 (161/0), II² 957.65, 67, 69, 71, 73, 74 (157/6) decrees; etc.

d) Before μ : Assimilation is rare: τὴν μεγίστην *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p. 47, no. 7, line 6 (173/2–168/7); τὴν μὲν II² 909.22 (ca. 170) decrees; τὴν μὲν II² 1224.abc23 (ca. 166) decree (cleruchs); τὸν μή II² 1330.42 (post 163) decree (synodos of technitai). Contrast 10 cases of failure to assimilate before μ - in 6 state decrees of the second century published in IG II² alone.

e) Before κ : Assimilation occurs three times, in decrees: τὸν κατὰ: II² 900.24 (185/4), alongside τὸν γ - *ib.*, τὸν κ - *ib.* 22, has τὴν β - / τὴν β - *ib.* 8, 20 (cf. *supra*); II² 909.21 (ca. 170), has τὸν γ - *ib.*, τὸν π - *ib.* 8, but τὸν χ - *ib.* 23; *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p. 75, line 60 (= *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 [1937] p. 142, no. 79 + *Hesperia* 15 [1946] p. 140, no. 3 + new fr.) (164/3). Contrast some 25 cases of failure to assimilate before κ - in just the state decrees dating 200–ca. 130 B.C. published in IG II² (23 texts).

f) Before γ : Assimilation is certainly abnormal, but is more frequent than before κ :- τὸν γραμματέα *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p. 12, no. 8, line 13 (paulo ante 186/5); II² 908.18 (181–170); II² 909.21 (ca. 170), has τὸν κ - *ib.*, τὸν π - *ib.* 8, τὸν χ - *ib.* 23; τὸν γ - *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937) p. 120, no. 64, lines 13, 23, 35, 36, 40 (178/7), but τ-ν κ -, τ-ν π -; II² 947.6 (166/5, cf. SEG

24.136); II² 918.12 (168/7), alongside τὸν γραμματέα *ib.* 6; II² 952.12 (161/0); *Hesperia* 9 (1940) p. 122, no. 25, lines 13–14 (ca. 155) all decrees. Contrast more than 25 cases of failure to assimilate before γ- just in the state decrees dating 200–ca. 130 B.C. published in IG II² (25 different texts).

g) Before χ: Assimilation is not attested. For τὸν χ-, etc., cf. II² 909.23 (ca. 170), has τὸν κ-, τὸν γ- *ib.* 21, τὸν π- *ib.* 8; II² 1006.7, 25, 67 (122/1) decrees; etc.

48.0535 First century

Despite the greatly reduced body of decree text it is possible to state with certainty that the assimilated spellings have been all but abandoned. The only examples are: τὸν π- in II² 1038.11, a small fragment of a decree dated to the beginning of the first century; there is no very precise indication of date, and the text could be somewhat earlier. With this isolated case of assimilation may be contrasted more than 25 cases of failure to assimilate before π in the state decrees dating ca. 100–ca. 31 B.C. published in IG II² alone (13 different texts). τὸν π- also occurs in a ded. dated to ca. 97/6 on good external evidence, cf. II² 2872.2. τὸν κατά occurs in a decree of 95/4, cf. *Hesperia* 17 (1948) p. 25, no. 12, line 21, alongside τὸν κατά in *ib.* 59, τὸν γραμματέα in *ib.* 21, 59, etc. With this example may be contrasted more than 30 other cases of failure to assimilate the article before κ in the state decrees dated ca. 100–ca. 31 B.C. published in IG II² alone (12 different texts).

Assimilation is not attested before:

- β (contrast 7 cases of failure to assimilate in 5 state decrees dating ca. 100–ca. 31 B.C. published in IG II² alone);
- γ (contrast 7 cases of failure to assimilate in 4 state decrees dating ca. 100–ca. 31 B.C. published in IG II² alone);
- φ (contrast 8 cases of failure to assimilate in 3 state decrees dating ca. 100–ca. 31 B.C. published in IG II² alone);
- χ (contrast 4 cases of failure to assimilate in 4 state decrees dating ca. 100–ca. 31 B.C. published in IG II² alone).

48.0536 Roman Period

The only recorded instance of assimilation is in a priv. ded. carved in the living rock at the Cave of Pan on Mt. Parnes, dated to the third century A.D., cf. II² 4830, with τὸν | καλ(όν) in lines 2–3, but τὸν | καί in *ib.* 3–4.

48.054 Other assimilations of final nasals/—π, β, φ, μ, κ, γ, χ

Assimilation is least frequent in these cases; it is most frequent before μ and π.

48.0541 Fifth century

Instances are rare. Cf. μ]ύτερ με *Hesperia* 15 (1946) p.249, no.78, line C24 (= *Hesperia* 14 [1945] p.61, no.1 [= I² 6.107, corrected]) (ante 460) decree, has --με βολ-- in *Hesperia* 14, p.79, line A22 (= I² 6.14); [αὐτ]όμ παθὲν *ATL* 2, no. D7, lines 40–41 (= I² 66; Meiggs-Lewis p.117, no.46) (447?) decree (first text to show pronounced preference for assimilation, cf. p.624); 'Αλοτεκε]θεμ πρῶτος I² 359.5–6 (447/6–445/4, cf. SEG 24.48) inv.; νῦμ μέν I² 39.48 (446/5) decree; εὐκλέϊσαι πατρίδα I² 943.46 (440/39) cas. list (in epigram), στενάχεμ πολέμο *ib.* 47, but ἀθάνατον μνῆμα *ib.* 48; μέγ χρυσά I² 92.59 (434/3, cf. SEG 22.7; 24.3) decree; μέμ πόλις I² 945.10 (432/1) epigram (originally followed by a cas. list), has μέμ φουχάς *ib.* 6, ἀθάνατόμ με *ib.* 2, εὐπόλεμο μνῆμ' *ib.* 5, ἔλαβομ φθ[ί]μενοι *ib.* 5 (cf. *Hesperia* 12 [1943] p.22, no.4), but ἀρετὴν καὶ *ib.* 13, -ον φουχάς *ib.* 12; μέ]μ περι- I² 74.18 (ante 430) decree; 'Αθηνα]ιοι Μεθοναίοι, ἀ]κόντομ Μεθοναίων I² 57.11, 23 (423) decree, but εἰάν Μεθοναίος *ib.* 19, etc.; ἡθεμ βό]λονται I² 154.17 (ca. 420, cf. SEG 10.98) decree; (τὸν) ἱερεὺς χρημάτων I² 251.261 (411?), I² 253.265 (411/0), I² 304.2 (410/9) inventories (the unassimilated spelling occurs very frequently in fifth-century inventories); τεττάρου ποδὸν I² 373.9 (409/8) inv., has many assimilations of the article before π, κ, etc., but note ἑκατέρων πέντε in *ib.* 149; πλὴγ γῆς I² 116.17 (409/8 aut ca. 407, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.267, no.87) decree, δια]λύεμ π[ρ]ός *ib.* 21, λ]οιπόμ μέ *ib.* 5; 'Αννίβα]γ Γέσκον[ος HSCP, suppl. 1 (1940) pp. 247ff., line 10 (= Meiggs-Lewis p.280, no.92; SEG 10.136; I² 47 + new fr.) (407/6) decree; ἀναγκαιὸς γίγνεται I² 1.19 (403/2) decree, has τὸν γ- *ib.* 38, 62, ἀγ γ- *ib.* 17, 21, but avoids assimilation otherwise, cf. νῦν καὶ *ib.* 8 and τὸν π- *ib.* 19, etc.; α]ὐτόν κα[ὶ *Hesperia* 7 (1938) p.274, no.8, line 4 (s. Va.) decree; ἡ]θγ γ[ε]ίτονες? I² 385.1 (fin. s. Va.?) inv.; α]ὐ[τ]ὸν χ[ρ]υσῶι I² 2.67 (403/2) decree.

48.0542 Fourth century

In this century, especially during the first half, these assimilations are at their greatest frequency. They are not, however, found in a very large percentage of the possible cases; certain texts tend to show a fondness for assimilation.

Among the examples in decrees, noteworthy are: προξένωγ καὶ αὐτόν καὶ in I² 27.10, 11 (394–387), a fragment of only 13 lines, also has τὸν γ-, τὴμ π-; νῦγ καὶ, σ]πονδῶν καὶ I² 28.6, 8 (387/6), has ὦλ λ- *ib.* 6, -ωμ μ- *ib.* 13 (bis), and assimilation of the article before κ-, π-, μ-, but note -ομενίων καὶ *ib.* 11, ἀσπουδίων π[ρ]ός *ib.* 8–9 (L.); πρόξενογ καὶ, ἐστὶμ περὶ, αὐτόν καὶ I² 77.7, 12, 15 (ante 378/7), with τὴμ βουλὴν *ib.* 17, but τὸν γ- *ib.* 6, καὶ νῦν καὶ ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ *ib.* 14, etc. Extensive assimilation in the nomothetai decree, *Hesperia* 43 (1974) p.157 (375/4), frequently before κ, χ, cf. ἀργυρεὺς καὶ line 4, θεῶγ καὶ *ib.* 12, τὸν αὐτόν χαρακτήρα *ib.* 9, χρημάτων καταβολή *ib.* 7, has also ἀμ π- (cf. p.621 supra), ἀγ κ- (cf. p.622 supra), δσομπερ, δθεμπερ (cf. p.624 supra), ἐμ Πειραιεὶ *ib.* 37, 46, μέμ μεταξὺ *ib.* 46, etc. For cases of assimilation in headings, note: ἐργ[α]μμάτευεμ Μυ[ς] I² 86.4 (init. s. IVa., cf. SEG 24.76), alongside ἐνκτησιν *ib.* 14, τὴ]ν βολήν *ib.* 17; ἐ]ργαμμάτευεμ Μαυμακτ[η-] I² 456.3 (307/6). Other illustrative examples in decrees: εικοστήγ κ[αὶ] I² 24.a3 (paulo ante 387/6); ἔγκτησιν καὶ I² 53.2 (390–370, cf. SEG 24.77); α]ὐτόμ πρόξε[ν]ον I² 79.7 (ante 378/7); ἦ]μ πρῶτιστα I² 60.9 (ante 378/7); αὐτόν καὶ I² 82.12 (ante 378/7); Πολ[υ]χαρτίδην καὶ I² 84.12–13 (ante 378/7); μέμ μοι I² 97.25 (375/4); τὸμ μέμ πρότερον I² 204.37 (352/1); τὰ μέμ πομπαῖα I² 217.12 (346/5); οἰκ]οθεμ μέν I² 329.7 (336/5); μίαμ μέν I² 333.9 (335/4); κρήνηγ καινήν I² 338.14 (333/2); αὐτόν καὶ *Hesperia* 9 (1940) p.345, no.44, line 35 (319/8), has τὴμ ψ- *ib.* 39, τ-ν/τ-μ π-, ἀν β-; δσομ παρέλαβον I² 463.99 (307/6); πατρώθεγ καὶ I²

1237.119 (396/5) decree (phratry), but cf. μέν μοι *ib.* 112, πατρόθεν καί *ib.* 120; μέμ | [μοι] Π² 1196.B 19–20 (ca. 335–330) decree (deme); etc.

Similar examples occur in inventories, usually before 350 B.C. Cf. πλινθήτω καί, ἀργυροῦ κοῦλον Π² 1377.13, 21 (399/8); ἱερῶν χρημάτων Π² 1378.1 (399/8); δγ Γέλων Π² 1388.33 (398/7), but δν π- *ib.* 39–40, δν κ- *ib.* 57, δν φ- *ib.* 59; ἀνέθηκεγ Καλλίων, σύμμεικτογ καί, ἡμ[?] Π² 1400.42, 49, 50 (390/89); δγ Κλεινομάχ[η] Π² 1401.41 (ca. 390), but ἐν κ- *ib.* 44; γοργόνεογ χρυσοῦν Π² 1424.15 (part of Π² 1421; 374/3, cf. SEG 21.549), but δν κ- Π² 1424.25; ἦγ Κλέων, ἦγ Καλλίας, δγ Κόν[ων] Π² 1425.91, 210, 284 (368/7), but δν κ- *ib.* 319, ἦν γ- *ib.* 297, ἕτερογ κανὸγ χρυσοῦν *ib.* 89, but ἕτερον χρυσίον *ib.* 105, ἐπίχρυσογ κανὸν *ib.* 82; ἦγ Κλέων Π² 1428 (in add).118 (367/6); ἀργύριογ κίβδη[λον] Π² 1445.16 (375/4); περιχρυσομ μί[αν] Π² 1491.27 (307/6), but has -ν β-, -ν π-.

Assimilation is largely unknown in the naval inventories except for several texts with ἱστὸν μέγαν, e.g. Π² 1606.18, 62, cf. 51 (374/3); Π² 1615.162, Π² 1617.105, alongside ἱστὸν μέγαν Π² 1616.127 (all on one stele, cf. SEG 24.160) (post 358/7); Π² 1612.305, 327, 336 (356/5), alongside ἱστὸν μέγαν *ib.* 274; and a few cases of assimilation of the article. But a surprising spate of assimilation crops up in Π² 1631.403 ff. (323/2), with ἐστὶμ περὶ in line 403, ὑπὲρ τούτωμ προσοφείλουσι πρὸς *ib.* 417–418, but ἀντὶ τούτων παρέδοσαν *ib.* 416; this text also has assimilation of the article before π-, β-, γ-; also unusual are the first line of Π² 1632 (323/2), with σκευὴ οἷδ' ὀφείλουσι: Φιλόδημοξ (note interpunct) and ταρρόμ, πηδόλια in a list in *ib.* 8.

Assimilations occur occasionally in poletai inventories, usually in those dated ca. 350 or earlier: γείτωμ πρὸς, βορρᾶθεν Κηφισόδωρος *Hesperia* 5 (1936) p.390, no.9, lines 7, 8–9 (ante 350); γείτωμ βορρᾶθεν Π² 1579.11, 17 (init. s. IVa.); *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p.243, no.40, line 9 (ante 350); οἰκόπεδον Μελετέ[ω]μ πρὸς *Hesperia* 15 (1946) p.185, no.32, line 16 (ca. 350), but γείτων βορρᾶθεν *ib.* 21.

Assimilation is largely lacking in the building inscriptions of the second half of the fourth century. Exceptional are Π² 1678 (ca. 350, cf. SEG 13.49) with τεττάρωμ ποδῶν, δυοῖμ ποδοῖν some 45 times in lines 32 ff. (failure to assimilate only 8 times), but only one case of ποδῶν καί *ib.* 33 versus more than 40 of -ων καί; ἑκατὸμ πόδα[ς] *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p.245, no.41, line 21 (post 350), but -άρων ποδῶν *ib.* 3; τῆγ γωνίαμ περὶ Π² 1670.8 (ca. 330), πρὶμ μ-, τέταρτομ μ- *ib.* 5, 30; but τῆν π- *ib.* 17, τῆν μ- *ib.* 25, 26.

Some patterns may be seen in the examples of assimilation. Most common are: assimilation of a relative pronoun to the following word in its clause; words preceding μέν; words preceding καί. The remainder of the cases consist largely of nouns and modifiers such as adjectives or numerals. Unusual, and of special interest, are cases of assimilation of nouns in lists such as in Π² 1632.8 (cf. supra) or ὑποδερίδιον ξύλινον ἐπίχρυσογ κανὸν κατάχρυσον in Π² 1425.81–82 (cf. supra), in which ἐπίχρυσον is assimilated to the following noun with which it does not belong and the obvious assimilation κανὸν κατάχρυσον is avoided; note also ἐγραμμάτευεμ Μαυμακτηριῶνος Π² 456.3 (cf. supra), with assimilation before a break in a heading. Rarely assimilation occurs before an interpunct, cf. ὀφείλουσι: Φιλόδημος Π² 1632.1 (cf. supra), or before a break in the sense (*in pausa*).

For -μ τ-, -μ δ-, etc., cf. 48.07, nos. 1, 2, 5, p.638 *infra*.

48.0543 After 300 B.C.

The assimilations are found until the first century B.C., but only rarely, especially after 200 B.C.

a) Before 200 B.C.: Cf. (decrees): -]τος χρεῖαμ π[α]- II² 673.b 10 (278/7); ὧμ προσήκεν II² 682.23 (post 256/5) extensive decree with only this assimilation and ἐμ π- (3), cf. *ib.* 60, 82, 83, elsewhere τήν π-, ἐν κ-, etc.; πρότερον μὲν II² 687.8 (265/4, cf. SEG 21.373); τήν εἰσιούσασα πρ[ι]σταμένη II² 696.5 (post 303/2), has τήμ ψήφον *ib.* 6 (L.); Ἀθηνῶν [μεδεο]ύ[ση] Meiggs-Lewis p. 48, no. 23, lines 4–5 (= *Hesperia* 31 [1962] p. 311) (inscribed s. IIIa.?) Themistocles decree; has τῶμ, τήμ, τὸμ β- (cf. p. 627), ἄμ π- (cf. p. 622). (But there are special problems with this text, especially if it is some sort of rendition of a document of 480 B.C., as seems not impossible); λο]πὸν [χρόνον] II² 694.8 (init. s. IIIa.).

The decree of the demesmen of Piraeus, II² 1214, dated 300–250 only on the basis of the lettering, shows an unusual fondness for assimilation, cf. ἐστὶμ περὶ in line 3, ἐγλέγεμ παρ' αὐτοῦ *ib.* 26–27, has also δταμ ποιῶσι *ib.* 20, ἀγ καὶ *ib.* 26, τὸμ π-/τὸν π-, τὸν κ-; so also a decree of the genos of the Salaminioi dated 242/1 (cf. Meritt, *Athenian Year* p. 234): cf. βορ- ρᾶθεμ μὲν, ἀνετομ μὲν *Hesperia* 7 (1938) p. 9, no. 2, lines 12 and 9; (other texts): ὧμ παρῆδωκε II² 1534B.329 (fr. π) (247/6, cf. SEG 16.118) inv.

b) After 200 B.C.: κατ' ἰδ]αμ βο--- II² 886.16 (181/0, cf. TAPA 95 [1964] p. 239; SEG 16.78) decree, has τὸμ π- *ib.* 11; λέγω καὶ πρῶτων II² 945.11 (168/7) decree, ὡγ καὶ *ib.* 15, δα]ως οὖν καὶ *ib.* 16, has τὸμ π-/τὸν π- (L.); πρῶτομ μὲν II² 1224.abc 13 (ca. 166) decree (cleruchs), has ἐμ Μ-, τήμ μ-, but τ-ν π-, στέφανον μετὰ; ἔθυσεν καὶ, -σεν καὶ II² 1033.11, 12 (94/3, cf. SEG 18.29) decree, but ἐν βουλ[ε]υτηρίῳ *ib.* 6.

The assignation of II² 13127/8, a sep. mon. with ἀγαθῶμ πατέρων, to the Roman Period by Peek (cf. GVI 1, p. 89, no. 352) is very dubious.

For the strange [ε]ρωσ]ύννηγ τοῦ in II² 1325.21, cf. 48.07, no. 4, p. 638 *infra*.

For ὧλ λέγουσιν, cf. p. 633 *infra*.

48.055–48.056 Assimilation of final ν/—ψ, ξ, ῥ, λ, σ

48.055 Assimilation of final ν/—ψ, ξ, ῥ, λ

a) Before ψ: Assimilation is very rare: μὲμ φονχάς I² 945.6 (432/1, cf. SEG 21.125; 22.64) epigram on a public sep. mon., has Ἀθηναίων φονχάς δ' (where -ν is before a sense pause), but shows a fondness for assimilation before μ- and π- (cf. p. 630 *supra*); but -ν is normal before ΦΣ in fifth-century texts: cf. μὲν φσεφίσασθαι I² 39.63 (446/5), ἡ ἄν φσε[φίσεται] I² 58.17 (ca. 428), κοινὸν φσηφ[ισμα], Μεθοναίων φσεφίζονται I² 57.41, 45 (423), πρότερον φσέφισμα I² 71.77 (ca. 436? cf. SEG 21.30) dec. es; etc.; τήμ ψήφον occurs in only two decrees; cf. *Hesperia* 9 (1940) p. 345, no. 44, line 39 (319/8), has τ-μ μ-, π-; -μ μ-; II² 696.6 (post 303/2), has εἰσιούσασα πρ[ι] (L.); τήν ψήφον was clearly normal.

b) Before ξ: Assimilation occurs three times: τὴν χσυμμαχίαν I² 52.2–3 (433/2) decree, alongside τὴμ μὲν χσυμμαχίαν *ib.* 16; contrast -ν χα- elsewhere in fifth-century decrees: I² 46.31 (ca. 440?); I² 51.1 (433/2); I² 57.42 (423); I² 55.6 (cf. BSA 49 [1954] p. 29) (ca. 430, cf. SEG 14.7); etc. A second case of assimilation may be seen in the ded., *Hesperia* 19 (1950) p. 25, no. 1 (400–350), with ἀ]θάνατον ξεγοφῶν μνημεῖον. The third instance is τῶν ξ[έ]νων in line ab 39 of Face A of a sacred law from the Eleusinion in Athens soon to be published by K. Clinton in *Hesperia* (new fr. of *Hesperia* 26 [1957] p. 52, no. 9); this text otherwise greatly favors assimilation of final nasals.

c) Before ῥ: Attested are only isolated cases: ἐρ 'Ρ[ό]δου I² 220.32 (= ATL 2, no. 34, col. 1.102) (421/0); ἐρ 'Ρό[δ]ου I² 221.15 (= ATL 2, no. 40) (415/4) tribute lists, where ἐν 'Ρόδοι is not attested; τὸν 'Ρόδιον II² 19.a 5 (394/3) decree. Contrast τὸν ῥετόν I² 81.5 (421/0)

decree; ἡὗτος ἄν ῥέοσιν I² 54.7 (ca. 435/4, cf. SEG 21.33) decree; ἵεν ῥόδω I² 1489.25 (fin. s. IV a.) inv.; ἐν Πομ[νοῦντι I² 5143 (aet. Rom.) label carved on a theatre-seat.

d) Before λ: ἐν assimilated to ἐλ is well attested in the fifth and fourth centuries: ἐλ Λίνδοι I² 202.18 (= ATL 2, no. 12) (443/2), I² 220.29 (= ATL 2, no. 34, col. 1.99) (421/0) tribute lists, where ἐν Λίνδοι occurs in I² 222.9 (= ATL 2, no. 28) (427/6 aut 426/5) and I² 221.12 (= ATL 2, no. 40, col. 1.13) (415/4); ἐλ Δελάντου *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p. 249, no. 2, line 312 (ca. 414) inv., ΕΛΛΛΕΑ[ΝΤΟΙ, i.e. ἐλ Λελλά[ντοι *ib.* 178 (also has ἐμ π-, ἐμ μ-, ἐγ γ-); ἐλ λίμνας I² 1638.9 (359/8) inv., alongside ἐν λίθω *ib.* 44; Ἐρμῆ ἐλ Λυκεῖο I² 1357.b 4 (= Sokolowski, *Lois*² p. 33, no. 17, line C4) (paulo post 403/2) sacred law; ἐλ Λέσβωι I² 207.bcd 13 (349/8) decree; ἐλ Λακ(ιαδῶν) I² 1672.71 (329/8) inv. A rare simplification of λλ to λ can be seen in ἐ Λουσίαι for ἐν Λουσίαι *Hesperia* 9 (1940) p. 330, no. 38, line B4 (ca. 330) inv., with ἐν Λουσίαι *ib.* B2. For ἐν λ- (other than cited supra), cf. *Hesperia* 40 (1971) p. 162, no. 23, lines 4, 5, 50, 51 (= I² 30 + new frr.) (387/6), I² 456.b 13 (307/6), I² 672.5 (279/8), *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p. 12, no. 8, line 4 (paulo ante 186/5), I² 900.17 (185/4), I² 1006.20(bis) (122/1); I² 1052.3 (post 50?); I² 1051.a 7, c 5 (= *Hesperia* 36 [1967] p. 66, no. 12) (post 38/7, ante 31) (L.) decrees; I² 13132a(in text).2 (= *Hesperia* 7 [1938] p. 470, no. 29; GVI 1, p. 366, no. 1242) (s. IIP.) sep. mon.; etc.

The article is occasionally assimilated before λ in the fifth and fourth centuries, cf.: τὸλ λόγον I² 260.26 (430/29) inv., but τὸν λόγον in another of the same type, cf. I² 256.1 (434/3), and in other types, cf. I² 232.2 (434/3) (only a left upright stroke is preserved, but the spacing rules out λ in favor of Ν) (L.); τὸλ λογιστὸν I² 91.9 (434/3, cf. SEG 22.7; 24.3) decree, τὸλ λόγον *ib.* 28; τὸλ λίθινον I² 373.210, 214, 217 (409/8) inv. But usually the article is not assimilated before λ- in the fifth century, cf. I² 4.27 (485/4), I² 84.34 (421/0) decrees; I² 371.12–13 (421/0–416/5), I² 374.191 (408–406) (L.) inventories; so also only τ-ν before λ- in texts after 400 B.C.

The only other case of assimilation of ν to λ is in ὧλ λέγουσιν I² 28.6 (387/6) decree, has σπονδῶγ καί, etc. (L.). ὧν λ- was certainly normal, cf. I² 110.a.8 (410/9), I² 40.4–5 (378/7), I² 44.7 (378/7), I² 96.5 (375/4), I² 103.16 (369/8), I² 109.8 (363/2), I² 116.8 (361/0), I² 142.8 (ante 350), I² 213.6 (347/6), I² 328.9 (336/5), I² 333.ab 9 (335/4), I² 337.9 (333/2), I² 365.7 (323/2), I² 410.9–10 (ca. 330) decrees; etc.

Only ἄν before λ, cf. I² 22.17 (450/49, cf. SEG 23.7), I² 127.15 (post 433) decrees, and frequently in the fourth century, e.g. I² 46.29 (ca. 375, cf. *Hesperia* 26 [1957] pp. 227–8), I² 43.9 (378/7), I² 107.10 (368/7), I² 109.10 (363/2), I² 139.8 (353/2), I² 218.10 (346/5) decrees; etc.

The spelling σιδηρᾶ λαβήν in I² 1533.34 (338/7) inv. is probably not due to nasal assimilation, but just a careless omission (cf. p. 636 infra).

48.056 Assimilation of final ν/___σ-

48.0561 Assimilation of ἐν/___σ-

The only word frequently assimilated to following σ- is the proclitic ἐν, of which the examples are of two types: assimilation of ἐν to ἐς before σ/___V, as in ἐς Σάμωι, ἐς σανίδι, etc., in which the geminate σσ is retained; assimilation of ἐν to ἐς before σ/___C, when normally the cluster -σστ- was simplified to -στ-, e.g. ἐστήληι, less often ἐσστήληι.

a) ἐς←ἐν before σ/___V. Examples are rare in the fifth century, but assimilation is better attested, cf. ἐς σανίδι ATL 2, no. D 8.19 (= I² 65; cf. *AJP* 88 [1967] pp. 29 ff.) (426/5) decree; ἐς Σίγγοι I² 949.52 (423, cf. SEG 25.57) cas. list, alongside ἐν Σεραυλῶν ib. 50; ἐς Σεμαχι-δ[όν] *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p. 287, no. 10, line 15 (= I² 328.15) (ca. 414) inv., has ἐν γ-, ἐμ μ-; ἐς Σάμοι I² 304A.35 (410/9) inv.; ἐς Σάμωι I² 1.26 (403/2) decree; -- 4E 44 ITOENΔE (= -- Σ ἐς σ[τ]ὸ ἐνδε[ί]αι?) I² 31.6 (449–446) decree.

In the fourth century the assimilated spellings are less frequent than those with ἐν: cf. ἐς Σιδῶνι I² 141.31 (376–360), ἐς Σάμωι I² 244.17 (337/6) decrees; but normally ἐν, cf.: ἐν Σαλαμῖνι I² 1579.10 (init. s. IV a.), I² 1596.14 (ca. 350), I² 1566.22, 25 (ca. 330–320), I² 1570.42 (ca. 330–320) inventories; ἐν σανιδῶνι I² 1237.124 (396/5) decree (phratry); ἐν Σύρωι I² 1638.21 (359/8) inv.; ἐν Σάμωι I² 1437.20 (ca. 354–350), I² 1440.24 (350/49), I² 1443.89 (344/3) inventories; I² 416.5 (ca. 330) decree; ἐν Σησιῶνι I² 274.3 (ante 336/5) decree; etc. Only ἐν occurs before σ/___V in texts after 300 B.C., cf. e.g. ἐν Σαλαμῖνι I² 909.24 (ca. 170) decree; I² 1227.1 (131/0) decree (Salaminian cleruchs); I² 1008.75, 80, 82 (118/7), I² 1009.39 (116/5); I² 1011.17, 58 (106/5) decrees.

b) ἐ(ς) ← ἐν before σ/___C. The only frequent case is ἐν before στήλη, very common in decree texts of all periods (cf. 48.012, nos. 26 ff., p. 577 supra). In the fifth century ἐστέλει (with initial [ē], cf. infra) is the only assimilated form found in texts in Attic script, cf. I² 39.59 (446/5) (L.), I² 60.14 (427/6); *AJP* 88 (1967) pp. 29 ff., lines 25–26 (= new fr. of ATL 2, no. D 8; I² 65) (426/5), I² 82.16 (421/0) (L.), I² 115.7 (409/8) (L.) decrees (restored in others, cf. e.g. I² 27.9, I² 73.21, I² 90.23, I² 1.67); SEG 3.18.3 (= Sokolowski, *Supplément* p. 19, no. 4) (ca. 420) lex sacra. ἐστήλη occurs in the decree, I² 108.34 (410/9), in which H = [ē], and both EI (cf. εἰσ, εἶναι in lines 52, 43) and E (e.g. ποῦν in ib. 46) are used for [ē]. But the unassimilated ἐν στ- is better attested in fifth-century decrees: cf. e.g.: *Hesperia* 16 (1947) p. 78, no. 1, line 9 (= I² 36 + new fr.) (ca. 447/6), I² 91.22 (434/3, cf. SEG 22.7; 24.3); I² 56.23 (ca. 430?), has τῆστέλεν (cf. infra); I² 59.6 (ca. 427/6), I² 80.5 (450? cf. SEG 22.4), I² 76.49 (435–414, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 222), I² 93.8–9 (425–412, cf. SEG 13.11; 23.19), I² 106.20 (409/8, cf. SEG 24.16), I² 116.31 (409/8 aut ca. 407, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p. 267, no. 87), I² 118.22 (408/7); etc.

In the fourth-century decrees the following assimilated spellings are found:

ἐστήλη: Quite frequent, especially in decrees earlier than 350; cf. *Hesperia* 10 (1941) p. 262, no. 66, line 14 (= I² 25.8) (post 389) (L.); I² 27.9–10 (394–387): ἐσ|τήλη; I² 44.15 (378/7) (L.); I² 53.7 (390–370, cf. SEG 24.77); I² 141.14 (376–360) (L.); I² 298 small decree fr. (ante 336/5); *Hesperia* 43 (1974) p. 157, line 55 (375/4) decree (nomothetai), but ἐν σ[τήλ]ῃ ib. 44–45; I² 1199.13–14, 29 (ca. 325) decree (deme), in 13–14: ἐσ|τήλη (L.); ἐστήλη also in a sacred calendar, cf. ZPE 25 (1977) p. 243, line 63 (post 403/2); ἐστήλη restored plausibly in I² 32.8 (385/4), I² 39.4 (379/8), I² 125.17 (357/6).

ἐς στήλη: Fairly rare: I² 24.b 7 (paulo ante 387/6); I² 111.24 (363/2), alongside ἐν στήλη ib. 21, both state decrees; *Hesperia* 7 (1938) pp. 1 ff., no. 1, line 51 (363/2) decree (genos); I² 1128.15 (ante 350) decree (of Cean cities).

εἰστήλη: This is the reading recorded in I² 1138.8, a tribal decree of the decade 390–380 (cf. SEG 16.105), but the only source for the text (non-stoichedon) is Chandler's copy. It is hard to see why he would have altered ΕΣ on the stone to ΕΙΣ (he records ἀναγράφεν, τός), but there is little likelihood that there would be no other cases of εἰστήλη if the vowel before -στ- was really [e] rather than [ē] (note especially I² 1199 of ca. 325, long past the period in which E has ceased to be used for [e]; perhaps even I² 717 of the third century). If Chandler has not made an error in transcribing the text, the spelling is perhaps due to conflation of εἰς στήλην and ἐν στήλη. It must be admitted that the fifth-century spelling ἐστέλει could represent εἰστήλη

(but note ἐστίλῃ in I² 108 with both EI and E for [e], cf. supra), but without better fourth-century examples of ἐστίλῃ it seems preferable to interpret it as ἐστίλῃ, especially as one expects a short vowel here, cf. Ἀθήνῃζε (← *athēnansde*), cf. Lejeune, *Phonétique* p. 139 (= *Traité*² p. 119).

But even in the fourth century ἐν στίλῃ is by far the preferred spelling, cf. at least 20 examples in just the state decrees dated 350 B.C. or earlier published in IG II² alone (19 texts); more than 38 cases in those of 350–300 in IG II² (39 texts).

The only certain case of the assimilated spelling found after 300 B.C. is ἐσοστίλῃ in I² 706.8 (295–287, vel paulo post 262, cf. Pečirka, *Enktesis* p. 96; SEG 24.121) decree. Restored examples are: [ἐσ]τίλῃ λ[ιθίνει etc. II² 717.20 (init. s. IIIa.) decree (stoich.); -νεοσσι- (= -]ν ἐσ στή[λῃμ?) II² 1216.b7 (s. IIIa.) decree (deme). Both these cases are doubtful and on texts dated only on the basis of the lettering. For the normal ἐν στίλῃ, cf. more than 25 occurrences in 28 state decrees of the third century published in IG II² alone.

Other cases in which ἐν is assimilated before α/—C follow the same general pattern. In the very few fifth-century examples there is no assimilation, cf. ἐν Σκιάθῳ I² 118.19 (408/7) decree; ἐν Σκαμβονιδῶν, etc. I² 374.61, 72, 320, 321 (408–406) inv. (L.); cf. ἐν Σκα[μβονιδῶν *Hesperia* 22 (1953) p. 263, no. 4, line 29 (ca. 414) inv. In the fourth century assimilation occurs, but is rare in comparison to ἐν Σκαμ- etc.: ἐξ Σκαρῶδος *Hesperia* 7 (1938) pp. 1 ff., no. 1, line 41 (363/2) decree (genos), has ἐξ στήλῃ *ib.* 51; ἐξ Σκαμβονιδῶν II² 1672.179, 238, 241 (329/8) inv. (ἐσχύρου *ib.* 275 = ἐκ, cf. p. 586 supra), a text without much assimilation, but has ἐστήσαντι (cf. p. 605 supra); ἐΣκαμβονιδῶν *Hesperia* 28 (1959) pp. 208 ff., line B341 (ca. 330–320) inv., but normally ἐν Σκαμ- in this text, cf. *ib.* lines A247, 255, 260 (= II² 1559.51, 59, 64), A456 (= II² 1558.14), A522–523 (= II² 1557.80–81) and in other inventories of the same type, e.g. II² 1553.29, II² 1567.9, II² 1575.3, II² 1576.8 (all ca. 330–320); ἐν Σκύρωι II² 1576.45; ἐν Σκαμβονιδῶν II² 1673.11 (333/2? cf. AE 1971 p. 112) inv.; ἐ[ν] Σκιάθ[ῳ] II² 1443.107 (344/3) inv.; ἐξ Σκ (ἐξ = ἐν, not ἐκ) II² 1951.213 (406, cf. SEG 22.53) cat.

48.0562 Other assimilations of final ν/—σ-

Unless due to careless omission, the article is assimilated to initial στ- in one fifth-century decree, cf. τεστέλεν I² 56.28 (ca. 430?), but ἐν στέλαιν occurs in line 23 of the same text, which has τ-ν/τ-μ before π-, ἄμ μέ, τ-ν μ-, τ-μ β-. Such assimilations were certainly not normal in fifth-century texts, cf. e.g. τ-ν στ- I² 35.18 (post 445), I² 67.4–5 (ca. 424?), I² 74.7 (ante 430), I² 77.18 (ca. 435, cf. SEG 21.31); τ-ν στφ- I² 22.10 (450/49, cf. SEG 23.7), I² 45.27 (439/8, cf. SEG 21.29); I² 60.12 (427/6), ATL 2, no. D8.41 (= I² 65; cf. AJP 88 [1967] pp. 29 ff.) (426/5), I² 108.40 (410/9); τ-ν σπ- I² 6.58–59 (ante 460); τ-ν σφ- I² 57.46–47 (423), I² 87.17 (424/3), I² 107.12 (409/8, cf. SEG 21.54) all decrees; etc. Possibly due to assimilation is τὸ στρογγύλον for τὸν στρογγύλον in II² 1672.20 (329/8), an inv. with ἐστήσαντι (*ib.* 164, cf. p. 605 supra) and ἐΣκαμβονιδῶν, etc. (cf. 48.0561 supra).

Despite a single case of τῶσεμάτων (cf. p. 594 supra) in the Archaic Period there are no cases of assimilation of the article before σ/—V after 480 B.C.; cf. τ-ν σ/—V in I² 75.24, 33 (430–420?), I² 77.7, 13 (ca. 435, cf. SEG 21.31), I² 109.8 (410/9) (L.) decrees; etc.

The only possible case of an assimilation of -ν in another word (cf. ἐἰσαλαμῖνι in a late sixth-century decree, cf. p. 594 supra) is in the epigram on a public sep. mon. of 432/1, I² 945.4 (cf. SEG 21.25; 22.64), for which προγόνδ σθένος has been proposed; but other interpretations are possible, and the letters ΟΣΘΕΝΕΣ were actually read by Fauvel (only Ον, i.e. οσ[θεν] etc. can now be read), which makes the assimilation of the ν doubtful (cf. the apparatus to GVI

no.20 on p.9 for other interpretations and bibliography). Spellings like χρυσίο(ν) ἐπικτητο(ν), στα[θμ]όν in Π² 1376.17 (ca. 400) inv. are due to abbreviatory curtailment, as are probably ναῦ σκεύη in Π² 1622.639, 664, 678 (ca. 342/1) inv., ναῦν σκεύη *ib.* 713, etc.

Note that ἄν, ἔάν are not assimilated before σ-.

The assimilation seen in ἔτερομ σφόνδυλον recorded for Π² 1673.80 (= IG II, add. no.834c) (333/2? cf. AE 1971 p.112) would be of a type not otherwise found; but the correct reading is ἔτερον σφόνδυλον as elsewhere in this text, cf. AE 1971 p.83, no.4, line 80.

Only -ν is found before ζ, cf. ἐν ζέαι (cf. p.592 *supra*).

48.06 Special types of assimilation: nasal deletion, geminate simplification

Assimilation of the nasal before ρ, λ, and σ caused the nasal to disappear altogether, e.g. ἐν Ῥόδωι → ἐρ Ῥόδωι, τὸν λόγον → τὸλ λόγον, ἐν Σάμωι → ἐς Σάμωι, etc. The result was a geminate, normally left unsimplified in the case of ρ and λ and of σ before a vowel. But -σσ- was normally simplified to -σ- when assimilation has occurred before σ/___C: thus in the fifth and fourth centuries ἐστήληι is considerably more frequent than ἐς στήληι and by Roman times συνστ- and συστ- are both frequent, but συσστ- (attested in the fourth century) is not found at all (cf. 48.0561b, pp.634ff.; 48.04245, pp.615–616 *supra*).

A geminate -μ μ- resulted when -ν was assimilated to μ-, but this geminate was almost never simplified (for ἐάμῃ in I² 1, with archaic use of -M- for -μμ-, and χουμαχο- in I² 10, copyist's error, cf. 43.011, p.512 *supra*). The spelling σύμαχοι in a decree, Π² 42.5 (378/7), is probably due to careless omission, as συμμαχ- occurs seven times in the same text (cf. 43.012, no.3, p.515 *supra*). There is no reason to separate extremely rare cases of omission of final ν before μ from other cases of its omission when assimilation is not involved (cf. *infra*). The -γγ- in συγγράφω, τὸν γραμματέα, etc. was not a true geminate but [ŋ] + [g] as in MG.

A few cases of omission occur where assimilation to μ or γ would be normal: internally there are χυβολὸν, συβாலόντι, and συγραφάς (cf. 41.011, nos.5, 9, and 38, pp.485ff.) and σύμαχοι in Π² 42 (cited *supra*). But there is no reason to suppose that the assimilation has anything to do with the omission of the nasal; note other cases (cf. 41.011) of its omission /___C as in ἀφί, ἀγγελιανός, ἐποιήσατο (plural), Ἄκυρανός; πέτε for πέντε occurs in the text with συβாலόντι; οἰκοῦτι for οἰκοῦντι.

The omission of the final nasal is better attested: cf. οἰκτίρο προσορὸν for οἰκτίρον προσορὸν in AM 78 (1963) p.118, no.4, line 1 (= SEG 22.78) (ca. 510) sep. mon.; παῖδοι ἐπέθηκεν θανότοι (for παῖδοιν, θανόντοι, cf. 49.00b, p.642 *infra*; 41.011, no.16, p.486 *supra*) I² 1016.2 (= IGAA p.136, no.41; LSAG p.77, no.22) (ca. 540?) sep. mon.; τὸ π[ρ]ύτανιν is the accepted restoration in the decree, I² 4.24 (cf. also line 23) (485/4) (L.), where it is virtually certain that μ of τὸμ πρύτανιν (not π of τὸπ πρύτανιν) has been omitted (cf. 43.011a, p.511 *supra*); τὸ γραμματέα in Π² 222.27 (ca. 344) decree (L.); [φ]έρει ξύλα for φέρειν ξύλα Π² 1362.5–6 (fin. s. IVa.) edict issued by a priest; σιδηρᾶ λαβήν Π² 1533.34 (post 338/7) inv.; θεῶ χαριστήριον Π² 4710.3 (s. Ia.) ded. (priv.); ΘΕΡΕΙΜ[= φέρειν μή Π² 13189.7 (ca. 150p.) sep.

curses. But here too it is possible to assemble examples of omitted final -v where no assimilation is involved, cf. e.g. Μεγάρω (gen. pl.) δαίξας I² 1085.3 (446, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.137, no.51) sep. mon. for Pythion of Megara (set up by three Athenian tribes), careless omission, cf. εωισεν for ἔσωισεν *ib.* 5; ἀναθεῖναι ἐ ἀκροπόλει in a decree fr., *Hesperia* 40 (1971) p.197, no.50, line 3 (s. IV/IIIa.); ἦν ἔχω διατελεῖ I² 652.22 (paulo post 286/5, cf. SEG 23.65) decree; etc. It is tempting to regard spellings like τὸ γραμματέα, etc. as careless omissions rather than simplifications of τὸν γραμματέα, etc. An exception could be τὸ στρουγύλον in I² 1672.20 (329/8), an inv. which shows a fondness for simplification of -σσ- ← -νσ- to -σ- (it has ἐστήσαντι, ἐσκαμβωνιδῶν, cf. pp.605, 635 *supra*); but τῇ|πρυτα(νεῖαν) in *ib.* 42–43 looks like dropping the last letter at the end of the line, cf. κεφάλαιο | ΔΔΔ at the end of *ib.* 68. Certainly careless omission is τῶαλμάτων (= τῶν ἀγαλμάτων with omission of ΝΑΓ) in only one of the sep. curse-texts set up by Herodes Atticus, cf. I² 13188.4 (ca. 150p.). But certain very late Roman examples might be either careless omissions or evidence for loss of final -v, e.g. ἀνδρῶ πάντω I² 13162.3 (s. IIIp.) sep. mon.; Θράσω Τισάνδρου *Hesperia* 3 (1934) p.54, no.41, line 15 (s. IIIp.) pryt. cat.

The defixiones are the only group of texts which show frequent omission of final -v. But in them it occurs not only in cases where assimilation to [m] or to [ŋ], or to [s]/—σ- are involved, but frequently before dentals and even before vowels. In IG III.3, no.110 (400–375) the spelling τῇ τήρνῃ[v] cannot be separated from numerous cases of omitted nasals before tau within the word, e.g. ἀνατία, ἄπατα, ἀγοράτας, ἀποπωλῶτι, τιμάτι[σ]ι; presumably this individual (non-Athenian?) tended to pronounce the nasal weakly before a stop (all the cases are before the dental τ) or at least did not write it. These spellings look much like the spellings frequent among the dipinti and found rarely on stone, in which the nasal is omitted before a stop, e.g. νύφη, Ἀφιτρίτη, Μέναδρος, Νέαδρος, etc. (cf. 41.011, pp.485–488 *supra*). For other omitted final nasals in defixiones cf. τῇ Λιτίου, τῇ βουλήν, τῇ ψυχῇ, τῇ [γ]λῶταν, τῇ Δη[με]τρίου, τέ (= τῇ) ἐργασία in *Kerameikos* 3, p.97, no.9 (ca. 350); τὸ χλακέα (= χαλκία), Σωσία τόν, ἐργασία καί in *Hesperia* 20 (1951) p.223 (s. IVa.); τῇ Πασιφάνου in Ziebarth, GGN 1899, p.107, no.4, line 5 (init. s. IIIa.?) ; τὸ χθόνι[σ]ον in Ziebarth, GGN 1899, p.114, no.16, line b5 (400–350?); ψυχῇ καί, also has κα for καί, cf. Ziebarth, *SB Berlin* 1934, p.1036, no.13, line b4 (date?); Ἀρτεμι τόν in IG III.3, no.75.a3 (s. IIIa.?) ; νοῦ θυμόν in IG III.3, no.51.2 (s. IVa.); etc. Some caution is in order in interpreting all of these omissions as due to weak sounding of final -v. Note the omission before a vowel in one case, before the voiceless tau (without any sign of voicing of the τ-, contrary to practices in MG) in others. The defixiones also contain many cases of omitted final -ς which are hard to explain phonetically (cf. 48.08, pp.638ff. *infra*) and cases of κα for καί. Some of these omitted nasals may be mere dropping of the final letter of a word to save space.

The only evidence for an intervening stage τὸπ π-, etc. between τὸν π- and τὸ π-, are very rare cases in which an actual geminate is written: ξυμβάλλεσθαι occurs for ξυμβάλλεσθαι on a decree, I² 107.11 (368/7), a text with τὸμ μ-, τ-μ/τ-ν π-, τὸν γ-, ἐν στήλῃ (L.); σταθμόκ καί I² 1652.24 (334/3) inv., probably an error of Fourmont (cf. *ib.* 7, 11); ἐπ Πευ(αιεῖ) in line B35 of an inv. of objects dedicated by manumitted slaves, *Hesperia* 28 (1959) pp.208ff. (ca. 330–320) (= I² 1554–I² 1559 + new frr.), alongside six cases of ἐμ Π-, etc. in *ib.* B60, B70, B94, B96, B212, B214, and

three cases of ἐν Πειρ-, etc. in *ib.* B 19, B 37, B 40. Such rare cases are probably copying mistakes; there is no other evidence that the disappearance of nasals before stops entailed the development of a geminate stop. The interpretation of τοπ[ρ]ύτανιν as τὸ(π) πρύτανιν in the decree of 485/4, cf. I² 4.24, cf. line 23, is very dubious (cf. 43.011 a, p. 511 *supra* and this section *supra*, p. 636).

There is no evidence in the orthography of Attic inscriptions for the voicing of a voiceless stop after nasals which is standard in Modern Greek. Spellings like τὸμ βατέρᾱ, τὸν γαλόν, etc. do not occur. Cases of συμβαντ- can all be referred to the aorist of συμβαίνω, cf. συνβάντος, I² 774.b 14 (ca. 250) decree; συμβάντα, *Hesperia*, suppl. 13 (1970) pp. 3ff., line E 61 (ca. 175 p.) imp. letter.

48.07 False assimilations

In perhaps five places -μ appears for final -ν before a dental or velar. It is possible that such spellings are related to the hesitation between e.g. τὸμ and τὸν before labials.

- 1) ἐπιδέμομ τρεῖς *Hesperia* 11 (1942) p. 334, line 5 (paulo post 490) decree (deme) (= 41.03, no. 5, p. 491 *supra*);
- 2) ἡμωβελῶμ τὸ[ν] στατ]ῆρα I² 1673.52–53 (333/2? cf. AE 1971 p. 112) inv. (= 41.03, no. 9);
- 3) --τὸν γρα[μ]ατέα τὸμ κ[ατά] I² 521.4–5 (fin. s. IV a.) decree (= 41.03, no. 10) (L.);
- 4) [τὴν] ἱερῶσ]ύνηγ τοῦ I² 1325.21 (185/4) decree (dionysiastai).

Doubtful:

- 5) τοξευμ]άτωμ [δ]ύ[ο] I² 1422.8 (post 371/0) inv. (= 41.03, no. 21).

But it is perhaps better to take nos. 1, 2, and 4 as examples of confusion of μ and ν, also found in spellings like Ἀθνονέως, βοῦμ ἀρρέν, etc., which can only be copying mistakes (cf. 41.03, pp. 491–492 *supra*). Certainly copying mistakes are τὼμ αἰρεθέμων, ἀπαμτας, etc. in the crude deme decree, I² 1183 (post 340) (= 41.03, no. 7). It is also difficult to explain τὴμ ἀφ'έστας in a ded. dated s. III p., I² 3693.7 (= 41.03, no. 18), as assimilation of τὴν to the φ of ἀφ'έστας, both because it is of a type not otherwise found and because spellings like τὸμ φ-, etc. are not in use at this time.

[Σ]πιμθάρο for Σπινθάρῳ on a fifth-century ostrakon is probably due to semi-literacy (cf. 41.03, no. 4); [Π]αμδιονίδος for Πανδιονίδος in a third-century decree, I² 654.2 (285/4) (L.) (= 41.03, no. 11), might be related to lack of standardization in words like Πάμφιλος versus Πάνφιλος, etc., but it is certainly an isolated example. Perhaps due to influence of Παμβωτάδαι, as suggested by A. S. Henry, *CQ* n. s. 17 (1967) p. 293.

48.08 Treatment of final -ς

Final -ς is assimilated to λ in two cases: τ]ὸλ λίθος[I² 350.46 (436/5) inv. (L.); τὸλ λίθος I² 313.151 (408/7) inv. It is risky to suggest that [οἰ]λυσικλες for h]οἰ

Λυσικλῆς in another inv., I² 270.132 (416/5), shows οἷλ λ- with a simplified geminate rather than accidental omission of -ς, especially as Φυλάσιο(ς) καὶ occurs *ib.* 131 (cf. *infra*). Assimilation was certainly not normally indicated graphically before λ at this time, cf. τὸς λογιστάς I² 91.27 (434/3, cf. SEG 22.7; 24.3) decree; τὸς λίθος I² 76.56 (435–414, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.222) decree; τὸς λίθος I² 372.85, 199 (409/8) inv.; ἐς Λακεδαίμονα II² 1.45 (403/2) decree; etc. στατέρες Λαμψακενοί even in I² 350.37, 52 just cited for τοῖλ λ-.

The geminate -ss- resulting when final -s preceded a word beginning with s- was frequently simplified at all periods, especially when the initial s- was followed by another consonant or consonants, to produce spellings like τοῦστεφάνους, τοῦστρατηγούς, ἐΣάμωι, etc.; for the examples, cf. 48.012, pp.576 ff. *supra*. Likewise ἐστήληι was more frequent than ἐς στήληι in the fourth century; for the examples, cf. 48.012, p.577 *supra* and 48.0561 b, p.634 *supra*.

It is doubtful if other cases of omitted final -ς can be explained as due to assimilation, although some have argued for assimilation to a following nasal as the cause of omissions of a rare type like the following: ταῖ νύμφαισιν for ταῖς νύμφαισιν I² 778 (cf. M. Mitsos, *Robinson Studies* 2 p.349, no.1) (fin. s. VIa./init. s. Va.?) ded. (L.); ἐς τὰ ναῦς τὰς ἐς Σικελίαν I² 302.66 (418–414, cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.229, no.77) Διονύσιος | Παρμένοντο(ς) | Ναυκρατίτης II² 9984.1–3 (fin. s. Va.) sep. mon.; πόλους στρογγύλους τοῦ μὲν κάτω II² 1675.10–11 (ca. 337/6) inv. (L.). But it is doubtful if the τὰ ναῦς and τοῦ μὲν cited above are for τὰν ναῦς, τοῦμ μὲν and belong here as suggested by Nachmanson, *Altgriechische Volkssprache* p.17, simply because of the absence of the intervening stage ταῖν νύμφαισιν, whereas ἐς Σάμωι, ἐς στήληι, etc. are well attested. It is, however, barely possible that ταινυμφαισιν is for ταῖν νύμφαισιν (rather than ται νύμφαισιν), with simplex writing of geminates characteristic of Attic texts of the Archaic Period as in 48.011, p.575 *supra*.

Sporadic omission of final -ς before voiceless stops is found at all periods: cf. Δεχ[σίθεο]ς [Φυλά]σιο(ς) κα[ί] I² 270.131 (416/5) inv., has hoί(ς) Λυσικλῆς (cf. *supra*); τὸ(ς) παρὰ I² 374.221 (408–406) inv. (L.); [δίπ]ο[δ]α(ς) πάχος II² 1666. A99–100 (356/5–353/2) inv., perhaps an abbreviatory shortening, although there are no others in this text; φυτεύοντα(ς) καὶ II² 2492.5 (346/5) loc., has other copying errors, e.g. μηδεμί for μηδενί, also εἰστήλας *ib.* 21, cf. 48.012, no.16, p.577 *supra*; ὑγιή(ς) ποδανιπτηρ[ίδιον] II² 1469.B98 (post 320/19) inv., perhaps just confusion of ὑγιής and ὑγιή (frequent elsewhere), although this text has τήστοαῖς *ib.* B120 (cf. 48.012, no.43, p.578 *supra*); πᾶσι τοῖ(ς) τὴν σύνοδον *Kerameikos* 3, p.10, no.6, line 5 (127/6?) decree (synodos); πρὸ(ς) τοὺς θεοὺς *Hesperia* 26 (1957) p.25, no.1, line 19 (= II² 989 + new fr.) (104/3) decree; etc. So also omission before aspirates: [Ῥαφ]ύδνατο(ς) Φρασίας II² 1468.3 (heading) (321/0) inv., probably an abbreviatory shortening; ταῖ θύραις twice, cf. II² 1672 *infra*. Χαιρεδέμο Φιλέα in I² 661 is probably a gen. sing., cf. DAA p.225, no.191. Or before vowels: πρᾶχοι(ς) ἐς τό *Hesperia* 4 (1935) pp.13 ff., no.1, line 7 (410–404) law-code fr.; τοῦ(ς) ἐκ[γόνους] II² 105.28 (cf. *Hesperia* 7 [1938] p.627, no.2) (368/7) decree; τῆ(ς) εἰς τοὺς II² 1252.7 (post 350) decree (orgeones); ἄρχοντο(ς) ἐπὶ II² 847.1 (215/4) decree; γενομένη(ς) ἱερείας

Π² 1328.29 (175/4) decree (orgeones); etc. Also before voiced stops: πυρ[ρ]ιχισταῖ(ς) βοῦς Π² 2311.72 (400–350) cat., the correct spelling *ib.* 73, 74. *Doubtful*: ---Σ Ἐαλαίσχορο [ἀνέθεκε τ]οῖ(ς) δόδεκα θεοῖ(ς) in I² 829 (s. Va., probably after ca. 445) ded. (priv.), known only from early copies.

Omission of -ς in more than one type of environment within the same text is also attested: τοῦ(ς) δημότας, τοῦ(ς) ἱερέα(ς) Π² 1183.21, 28 (post 340) decree (deme), this text has many crude copying errors; in a single inv.: ἐκτεῦ(ς) πένθ' Π² 1672.282 (329/8), ἱερέα(ς) καὶ *ib.* 305; θύραι(ς) ταῖς *ib.* 162; ταῖ(ς) θύραις(bis) *ib.* 162; οἰκοῦντο(ς) εἰς *ib.* 26; τοῖ(ς) δημοσίοις *ib.* 167; this text contains a large number of careless omissions, but also spellings like ἐστήσαντι, ἐσχύρου (= ἐκ Σκ-), etc. which have a phonetic basis (cf. pp. 586, 605 supra). Certainly abbreviatory shortenings are τῆς γῆς τῆ(ς) ἐφ' Ἑρακλ[εῖω] *Hesperia* 7 (1938) pp. 1 ff., no. 1, line 94 (363/2) decree (genos), cf. Ἴων for Ἴωνι *ib.* 87; Μένωνο(ς) Ἀχαρ: *Hesperia* 9 (1940) p. 330, no. 38, line B 5 (ca. 330) inv.

Similar omissions occur frequently on bf. and rf. vases, cf. e.g.: ἡποτέλε(ς) καλός ABV p. 668 (Hippoteles); Πάρι(ς) καλός CVA, Spain 1, plate 8.2; Ὀρθαγόρα(ς) καλός ABV p. 672, Würzburg 205; ἡο παῖ(ς) καλός CVA, Austria 1, plate 3.1; Χαῖρια(ς) καλός ARV² p. 176, near the Chairias painter no. 2 (Berlin 4040); ἡο παῖ(ς) καλός ARV² p. 246, Painter of the Munich Amphora no. 8; Δάμα καλός (= Δάμας?) ARV² p. 385, Brygos painter no. 228; Στεσσαγόρα(ς) καλός ARV² p. 1609 (no. 2, Villa Giulia); etc.

Final -ς is not infrequently omitted on vases when no word follows (*in pausa*), e.g.: Γερῶνε(ς) ABV p. 136, Group E, no. 49 (= CVA, France 4, plates 19–20); Ἀγῆ(ς) ARV² p. 977, Agathon painter no. 1 (= HRF 1, p. 10, no. 1); etc. But Κισσο, Χορο are women's names, Κισσώ, Χορῶ, not Κίσσος, χορός, on ARV² p. 20, Smikros no. 1 (= CVA, Belgium 2, plate 13f); Χορό; ARV² p. 1253, Eretria painter no. 57 (= CVA, Germany 22, plate 112.1); Χορό(bis); ARV² p. 1247, Eretria painter no. 1 (= Pfuhl, *Malerei* no. 560); Κισσό. Read ἡδὺς ἡοῖνος on the rf. vase in Munich by the Epeleios painter, ARV² p. 146, no. 2 (= FR plate 155) (L.). Similar omissions of final -ς occur rarely on the defixiones, cf. e.g.: πρὸ(ς) τὸν IG III.3, no. 90.a.3 (s. III a.?), a text with many omissions, cf. Θεοδτην, ἀγθόν, ἐγάζεται, etc.; τακοῖ = τὰς κοι[νάς? Ziebarth, *SB Berlin* 1934, p. 1032, no. 6, line a 5 (s. IV/III a.?): ατοκαι = αὐτὸς καί? IG III.3, no. 59.6 (s. III a.?) (cf. 19.00 b, p. 344 supra).

The instances of omitted final -ς occur in so many cases in conjunction with other careless omissions, even in dipinti and defixiones, that it seems likely they are not evidence for the dropping of final -ς in the pronunciation. If such a weakening of final [s] occurred in the speech of some persons it did not become general, as the [s] has normally been preserved in the modern language.

For οὔτω(ς), ἄχρη(ς), μέχρη(ς), cf. Morphology.

Lit.: MS³ p. 109, note 1019.

49.00 Movable Ny

a) Movable ny is well attested in texts of the earlier Archaic Period. Thus ἔγραψεν, ἐποίησεν occur on some of the earlier bf. vases: cf. e.g. the François vase (ca. 570) and

others of the same artists, *ABV* pp. 76ff.; vases of Sophilos (ca. 575–550, cf. *LSAG* p. 77, no. 14), *ABV* p. 39, nos. 15 (= *HBF* p. 336, no. 2), 16 (L.), and p. 42, no. 36 (= part of *ABV* p. 40, no. 21, cf. *Paralipomena* p. 18 [= *CVA*, Greece 1, plate 1.1]), reading μέγρεσεν with *ABV* (cf. p. 328 *supra*). In vases after ca. 550 movable ny is normal in signatures; in most of these the ἐπο(ι)εσεν or ἔγραψεν is the final word. There are cases, however, in which ny is not present, even when it would be final: thus ἐπο(ι)εσ is the final word on a vase of Group E, *ABV* p. 136, no. 49 (= *CVA*, France 4, plates 19–20), and on vases of Exekias, cf. *ABV* p. 144, no. 7; p. 146, no. 20, no. 21; etc. But on another vase of Exekias the ny appears when ἐποίησεν is the final word in Ἐχσεκίας ἐποίησεν but is omitted in the iambic trimeter [Ἐχσε]κίας ἔγραψε κάτοισέ με, cf. *ABV* p. 145, no. 13. This last stichos also on *ABV* p. 143, no. 1. Movable ny is also rarely absent in the large number of cases of ἀνέθηκεν on archaic dedications, cf. *DAA* pp. 446–447. Raubitschek notes certain tendencies which are also found in many fourth-century dedications. The tendency to use movable ny was especially strong when a word was at the end of the text; exceptions are quite rare, cf. *DAA* p. 39, no. 38; I² 520, I² 534. In some cases there was literally no room left for the ny on the stone, cf. *Hesperia* 12 (1943) p. 18, no. 3; I² 676; *DAA* p. 163, no. 147 (= I² 767 + new fr.), in this last text ἐποίησε is the final word of signature at the end of the text. Compared to 112 cases of movable ny (before vowels, consonants, and pause) in archaic dedications collected by Raubitschek, there are only 23 cases of its omission. More than half of these (13) are cases of omission before consonants in metrical texts where the omission is necessary for the metre. The remaining cases of omission of movable ny are those mentioned above (at end of the text), and a few examples of omission before consonants (once before [h]). ἀνέθηκε, ἐποίησε continue to occur as the final word in the text in dedications of the fourth century and the Hellenistic and Roman Periods, but they are quite rare in comparison to ἀνέθηκεν, ἐποίησεν.

In the lengthy prose texts of the decrees of the fifth to the first centuries B.C. there can be seen a gradual increase in the use of movable ny. Thus in the headings of fifth- and early fourth-century decrees movable ny is normally absent in ἐγραμμάτεε, ἦρχε (but never ἔδοχε, cf. *infra*), etc. There are exceptions, cf. e.g. I² 109 (L.), II² 26, etc. But the normal practice was to omit the movable ny. The same is true when words admitting movable ny occur within the body of the text in the decrees of this period, although there are frequent exceptions, especially in the datives and locatives in -σι(ν). A gradual increase in the frequency of movable ny can be noted from the later fifth century until Hellenistic times, by which the use of it is virtually universal before vowels and pauses, and certainly normal before consonants. Thus εἶπεν is virtually universal in the formulae at the beginnings of decrees of the Hellenistic Period. For an exception, cf. the decree of paroikoi at Rhamnus published in *AE* 1953/54, Part 1, pp. 126–129, no. 2 (= *SEG* 15.113) (ca. 215). There are detailed statistical studies of texts of the fourth century and Hellenistic times in Lademann pp. 76–83 and of texts on the period 323–146 B.C. in A.S. Henry, *CQ* n.s. 17 (1967) pp. 277–284.

The formulaic expressions with ἔδοξεν are a special case. Here the use of movable ny is virtually universal, even in the decrees of the fifth century, beginning with the first, I² 1 (fin. s. VIa., cf. Meiggs-Lewis p.25, no.14). Exceptions are very rare: II² 123.6 (357/6) (L.), II² 207.1 (349/8) both decrees with ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ. This reading is doubtful in II² 207.1 (349/8) decree, because the only authority for the text is Pittakes, who recorded ἔδοξε for II² 71.1, which had to be corrected to ἔδοξεν when the stone was rediscovered, cf. *Hesperia* 14 (1945) p.118; *AJP* 61 (1940) pp.347–353. In II² 123 there is crowding due to an insertion, the probable cause of the omission of the ny of ἔδοξεν, cf. *SIG*³ no.192, note 2. The restoration of ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ in a few other decrees is not at all convincing, cf. II² 58.3, II² 276.4; II² 561.2; II² 592.4; *SEG* 2.8.7. Another case without ny occurs in a decree of the nomothetai of the year 375/4, where the heading begins ἔδοξε τοῖς νομοθέταις, cf. *Hesperia* 43 (1974) p.157. Very doubtful is the restoration ἔδοξε τῇ Κεκροπίδι φυλῇ in the decree (tribe), II² 1145.1 (post 353/2). Worth noting is the occurrence of ἔδοξε in the non-Attic decree of two Cretan cities, II² 1135.10 (111/0).

A strange addition of movable ny to the present subjunctive ἀγνοεῖ (= ἀγνοῇ) can be seen in the decree, II² 487.6–10 (post 304/3), cf. ὅπως ἄν..μηδὲ εἰς ἀγν[ο]εῖν τοὺς τῆς [πό]λεως νόμους. Probably a graphic mistake caused by the infinitive σκοπεῖν in line 8, cf. A. S. Henry, *Lit. infra* p.282, note 2.

b) In metrical texts the use of movable ny is normally governed by the needs of the metre: cf. e.g. II² 7195.5 (post 350) sep. mon., where ny is omitted, *ib.* 7, where it is used; II² 4077.3 (fin. s. IIIp.) ded., where presence of ny gives the necessary long syllable; II² 3811.8 (ante 250p.) ded., ny added for long syllable; II² 3661.4 (ca. 200p.) ded., ny omitted for short syllable before πρὸς; etc.

But there are also rare cases of movable ny written *contra metrum*. A certain instance occurs in a sep. mon. of the fourth century B.C., cf. *AM* 78 (1963) p.154 (= *SEG* 22.196), with the hexameter Ἰάτρως θνητοῖσιν νόσων ὃ κράτιστος ἅπα[ν]των. The remaining examples are subject to some doubt:

σῆμα τόδε Κύλον παῖδοι ἐπέθεκ' ἑνὶ θανάτῳ perhaps for παῖδοι ἐπέθεκε θανόντων in I² 1016.2 (= *IGAA* p.136, no.41; *LSAG* p.77, no.22) (ca. 540?) sep. mon.; if this interpretation is correct we must assume metrical lengthenings in τόδε Κύλον to accommodate the name to the metre. For the omitted internal nasal, cf. 41.011, no.16, p.486 *supra*; for the omitted final nasals, cf. 48.06, p.636 *supra*. All the spelling anomalies may be clerical errors, cf. μεμα for μνῆμα (L.). Cf. *GVI* 1, p.42, no.147.

ἔθεκεν Ἀφιδναῖος τάθναίαι makes a good hexameter if taken as: [Καλῖμαχος μ'άν]έθεκ' Ἀφιδναῖος τάθναίαι in the ded., I² 609 (= *DAA* p.18, no.13; Meiggs-Lewis p.33, no.18) (just after 490); that the first line was prose or only quasi-metrical seems less convincing.

Διογένης ἀνέθεκεν Αἰσχύλο ἠὺς Κεφαλέος in the ded., I² 571 (= *DAA* p.47, no.46) (460–450?), is a line fraught with uncertainty, but whether taken as a hexameter or as a pentameter (cf. *CSCA* 10 [1977], p.194, note 9) ἀνέθεκ' Αἰσχ- would be unavoidable. The word order is against taking the line as prose (as Schwyzer finally did, cf. *MS*³ p.60, note 510b). For the scansion of Κεφαλέος, cf. 10.04 a, p.212 *supra* (L.).

Very doubtful:]εν : Διδς γλαυρό[πιδι I² 468 (vas) (not part of the text inscribed on stone published as I² 468, cf. DAA p.358) (ante 550) ded.; looks like a line of the following type: ὁ δεῖνα ἀνέθηκε Διδς γλαυκόπιδι κόρη.

εἶχεν γάρ εἰκοστόν II² 12794 (fin. s. IIp.) sep. mon.; virtually certain although the stichos does scan as a dactylic heptameter catalectic; lines 1 and 4 are faultless, and 3 will scan if μνήσκεσθαι is taken as μνηῖσκεσθαι (cf. p.412 supra).

ἦ σύ, Μέτον, πάντεσσιν τετεῖ[μέν-^{υ-υ-υ-υ-}] II² 13223 (s. IIIp.) sep. mon.; the text is certainly metrical, cf. -οιο in the next line, and the scansion suggested seems virtually certain.

νῦν ὄντως πύργωσεν λαμπρά χιρ ἡγεμονῆος II² 5201 (267p.) ded.

Very doubtful: [μοῖραν φυγεῖν οὐκ] ἔστιν διὰ τὸν δαίμονα Peek, AG 2, p.63, no.210 (act. Rom.) sep. mon.

Forms admitting movable ny are frequently elided in metrical texts, e.g. ἔστησ' ἐγγύς, ἔλιπ' εὐδαίμων, etc.; this elision is also frequently not indicated in the writing (*contra metrum*), e.g. εὐκλείσε Ἀνδοκίδαν, ἔδρασε ἀγαθά, etc. For both these types of spellings, cf. 33.012, p.425 supra.

Lit.: MS³ pp.113–114, notes 1054–1055; Lademann pp.76–83; A.S. Henry, CQ n.s. 17 (1967) pp.277–284; CSCA 10 (1977) pp.175–178.

ADDENDA

p.62 There are very prominent horizontal guide-lines on the catalog, Π² 1711 (ca. 150) (L.), which are clearly decorative. These lines are carved completely across the front of the stone, but the text is inscribed only between every other pair to produce a curious alternating effect.

p.197, p.200 Although the i of Calvisius is short, the frequency of Καλουεῖσιος suggests that in Greek this name was normally treated like other names in -isius which had long i.

p.235 The Eleusis deme decree is now published REG 91 (1978) p.289; for Ἡρακλέως, cf. lines 22, 32, 38, 45, and 48.

p.360 Cf. also -η *Hesperia* 28 (1959) p.195, no.11, lines 21, 32 (= Π² 975 + Π² 1061) (post 150) decree; ἥ Π² 1015.2 (121/0) decree (L.); -ω *Hesperia* 37 (1968) p.277, no.15, lines 4, 11 (init. s. Ia.) decree; ἔκτη AE 1964, pp.36ff., line 3 (= Π² 1039.3, corrected) (79/8, cf. SEG 22.110) decree; φιλοτιμία Π² 1343.35 (37/6) decree (soteriastai), also η/ηι, ω/ωι, τῶν (cf. 22.031, no.11, p.366 supra).

p.365 A certain exception to the lack of these spellings in the decrees of the late second century is ἐκκλησίαι in *Hesperia* 24 (1955) pp.220ff., line 106 (127/6), a text with η/ηι/ει, ω/ωι (cf. 22.021, no.11, p.361 supra). The iota is very clear on the stone, and the reading ἐκκλησία of *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p.71, no.37, line 60 is erroneous (L.). There is also the fragmentary ἀγο]ρά in the decree, *Hesperia* 30 (1961) p.229, no.28, line 4 (112/1).

p.366 Cf. Π² 1343 in note to p.360 supra.

p.383 An even earlier example might be seen in ἐατῇ[ς, a certain reading in the ded., *Hesperia* 29 (1960) p.40, no.50, line 6 (= Π² 3894 + new fr.), alongside ἐαυτῆς ib. 2 (L.). The text is dated ca. 130 B.C. by B.D. Meritt, who identifies the Θεοφραστίδης of line 5 with a man mentioned in a text from Delos of just before 150; but perhaps that man was the grandfather of the man in the dedication from Athens.

p.409 The reading Πειριεύς is certain in Π² 1072.4 (116/7p.) decree (L.). If not a careless omission perhaps a rare case of ι for [e] (αι) similar to Ἐρικιεύς.

p.426 Cf. κέμι κένο (verse) ABV p.85, Eleusis no.4267 fr. (new no.280). Here, however, the form may be the poetical form κείνος.

p.481 Cf. Χολαγεύς *Hesperia* 24 (1955) pp.220ff., line 188 (127/6) decree (L.).

p.572 Add: Λανπερέα in *Hesperia* 24 (1955) pp.220ff., line 41 (127/6) decree (L.).

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